

Correspondence respecting the affairs of Italy presented to both Houses of
Parliament by Command of Her Majesty

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PART III.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY.

From July to December 30, 1848.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1849.

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PART III.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY.

No. 1.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 2.)

My Lord,

Turin, June 24, 1848.

MY Bavarian and Prussian colleagues at this Court have received instructions from their respective Courts to make conjointly earnest representations to the Sardinian Government on the subject of the blockade of Trieste, a port of the Confederation, and also with regard to the hostile attack with which that port and town were threatened, as appears by the communication of the 11th instant addressed by Admirals Albini and Bua, commanders of the Sardinian and Venetian naval squadrons in the Adriatic, to the Consuls of foreign nations residing at Trieste.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that the language held by the Marquis Pareto to my Bavarian and Prussian colleagues in the interview which they had with the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs upon the subject of their demands for the exit from, and entrance into, the port of Trieste of merchant vessels, and of security against any hostile attack being made by the combined squadrons upon the town, has been considered by them as satisfactory, and I trust therefore that the difficulties which at one moment appeared likely to arise from the letter of the Italian Admirals will now be avoided.

Orders have been sent to Admiral Albini positively to refrain from any attack upon the town and forts, and he has been instructed not to impede commercial operations beyond what is necessary to ascertain the fact that merchant vessels leaving the port of Trieste are not employed to convey military stores or succours to the Austrian troops in Italy.

During an interview I had with my Bavarian colleague upon this business, I stated to him that if the Sardinian Government consented under the peculiar circumstances in which the port of Trieste is placed, to raise the blockade of that port, it would be but just that an agreement should be come to with the Confederation that the port of Trieste should not be permitted to become an arsenal from which the Austrian army in Italy was to draw its military resources. M. d'Abel agreed in this opinion, and he told me that although he was not empowered by his instructions to give a positive assurance to such an effect, he was ready to recommend to his Government the adoption of such a course, and he trusted that such a proposition would not fail to meet with the approbation of his Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 2.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 2.)

My Lord,

Turin, June 27, 1848.

WITH reference to the subject of my despatch of June 24, I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday evening my Bavarian colleague, M. d'Abel, received a note from the Marquis Pareto notifying to him that renewed and precise orders had been sent to Admiral Albini to grant free exit and entrance into the port of Trieste of merchant-vessels, and to confine his operations to the measures necessary to prevent the transmission of military stores and succours.

These explanations having satisfied my Bavarian and Prussian colleagues, I trust I may now consider the critical question raised between this Government and the German Confederation as happily settled.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 3.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 3.)

My Lord,

Milan, June 26, 1848.

THE reoccupation of the Venetian provinces by the Austrians has awakened the Lombards from the too confident state of security into which they had been lulled by their first successes. The Provisional Government, being called upon from all quarters to adopt more vigorous measures in the prosecution of the war than hitherto, issued six decrees in the course of this day, a summary of which I do myself the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information.

The first and the second decrees order the formation of an army of reserve, for which purpose all those born in the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, except married men, are called upon to serve. The levy of 1826 and 1827 being already organizing, that of those born in 1828, whose turn for service would be next year, will be brought forward during the present year.

The corps as they are organized and equipped will proceed to the camp, battalion by battalion.

The third decree abolishes the poll tax throughout all Lombardy, which it states as being founded on arbitrary principles, and hateful and vexatious to all classes, particularly to the rural population.

The fourth decree establishes an extraordinary central committee to complete the organization and armament of the national guards throughout the country, in order that the greater part of them may be sent to the frontier. The central committee is named by the Provisional Government near which it will reside. Besides this central committee, in every principal provincial town of Lombardy a provisional committee is established; and likewise, in every chief place of a district, a district committee is formed on the same plan and for the same purposes. These committees are to be named by the officers of the national guard in their respective chief places, and to correspond with the central committee.

The fifth decree declares that all Neapolitan officers, soldiers, and volunteers of every class and denomination, under the orders of General Pepe, shall retain their rank and pay, and be admitted into the regular Lombard army when they wish it.

The sixth decree establishes a committee for the Venetian refugees, authorising it from the present moment to open subscriptions in their favour.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 4.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 3.)

My Lord,

Venice, June 23, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of June 14, transmitting copy of a note to the Provisional Government of Venice, respecting the interpretation to be put upon a paragraph of the letter from the Sardinian and Venetian naval Commanders to the Consular Body at Trieste, notifying the blockade of that port, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I have directed Mr. Raven, the Vice-Consul at Trieste, to address a similar note, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Sardinian Admiral commanding the Sardinian squadron off Trieste.

I am informed that a protest has been made, in the name of the Germanic Diet, against the blockade of Trieste.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 5.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 3.)

My Lord,

Venice, June 23, 1848.

THE Austrian forces are in possession of all the mainland adjoining Venice, and are preparing rafts and floating batteries for an attack which is daily expected to be made.

The gun-boats in the Lagunes and the forts in the hands of the Venetians fire upon the Austrian troops whenever they show themselves near enough; but hitherto, I believe, with little effect.

As your Lordship is well aware, Venice, if properly garrisoned, is almost impregnable; but I doubt much whether it would now resist a well-planned and vigorous attack.

There are about 15,000 troops in the town and fortresses, but these troops are principally newly-raised corps from all parts of Italy, without discipline or confidence in their officers; and we are fortunate that they have up to this moment committed no disorders in Venice, which is entirely at their mercy.

The Neapolitan General Pepe is the Commander-in-chief.

Venice is now completely blockaded from the land side, but the communication by sea is open. Money is getting very scarce, and the Provisional Government issued a decree on the 21st instant, calling upon the Venetians to contribute another 1,500,000 Austrian livres, about 50,000*l.*, to the forced loan of 4,500,000 which they have already been called upon to pay.

Great difficulty will be experienced in raising this money, which is all to be paid up before the 8th July; and should the pay of the troops not be forthcoming, as seems very likely to be the case, Venice will soon fall again into the hands of the Austrians.

The Assembly, the meeting of which I stated in my despatch of June 14, had been put off, is now fixed for the 3rd July.

Her Majesty's ship "Spitfire" remains here for the present, for the protection of British subjects and property.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 6.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, June 25, 1848.

I HAD yesterday a long conversation with Count Szechenyi, and I perceived that he desires to have it believed that the Emperor can best find support in the Hungarians, if not only there.

The revolution has altered the position of the Hungarians, and they no longer possess the power they formerly enjoyed. They have lately completely failed in forcing the Croats to submit to their superiority, although they employed the authority of the Austrian Government. The seven towns, being a large portion of Transylvania, have protested against being included in the union made between Transylvania and Hungary; and it has lately been seen that the Hungarian Government could not induce certain of its own troops to act against the Croats; and it is asserted with great confidence, that should a struggle take place between them and the Banus, he could easily beat the Hungarians. The disunion of the Hungarians and Croats, deprived the former of the command of that territory in which Fiume is situated, and therefore places to a certain degree the foreign trade of Hungary in a dependent state, and diminishes its value. The Croats possess an immense sea coast; and the frontier colonies afford perhaps the best soldiers of the Austrian armies. Some time ago the Banus summoned the Diet. His legal power to do so was denied. He refused also to acknowledge the Palatine. He came to Innsbruck the other day, and being questioned upon the subject, he said, "I am here in your power; arrest me, if you please: but what I did was done by the will of our people. Arrest me, if you please; but if you do, the Croats will recall all their soldiers from Italy, and I cannot prevent it."

The Ban was extremely well received by the Tyrolese; they know him to be the friend of the Emperor.

The Archduke John—the *alter ego*—I am told has a very strong feeling of the difficulty of his present office. It is doubted if the proposed Diet will meet at Vienna. It is known that it is not certain to be such an assembly as the affairs of the day may require. Many elections have I am told produced the returns of uneducated men having no property; and it is thought that the Diet will be under the absolute control of the students and the national guard, or rather of those persons who govern both bodies.

I have reason to be sure that the friends of the Emperor are of opinion that His Imperial Majesty could not, with any degree of regard to his own liberty, return to Vienna; and I believe they think it necessary he should have a secure asylum before things are more settled. The Ministers at Vienna by their own authority, or by that of the so-called Committee of Public Safety, have imposed very heavy taxes, ten per cent., upon church property, a less amount upon the property of others.

I have no information on which I rely respecting affairs in Italy. I believe no movement of any magnitude is likely to be made there before Radetzky shall receive the reinforcements he asked for.

The Tyrolese have lately brought in here a great many prisoners, chiefly Italians, but some Piedmontese.

I communicated to the Austrian Government the statement made to your Lordship by Mr. Abercromby, that the Sardinian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had declared that there is no intention on the part of his Government to cause Trieste to be attacked.

No. 7.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, June 28, 1848.

ACCOUNTS were received here yesterday of the surrender of the fortress of Palmanuova on the 24th instant, after a protracted blockade which has lasted since the entrance of General Nugent's corps in the Frioul. This fortress

was defended with great obstinacy by General Zucchi, who had proved unfaithful for the second time to the Austrian Crown, by many deserters from the Italian portion of the Austrian army, aided by a company of Piedmontese artillery, and numerous Italian volunteers (Crociati). General Nugent had on his advance turned this fortress, and merely left a brigade to blockade it, which accounts for the length of the siege.

I inclose in original and translation, the act of capitulation, which shows great clemency to the deserters from the Austrian army.

The surrender of this fortress is important, as it was the only place in the Venetian provinces (with the exception of Osopo) which had not submitted to the Austrian arms. It contained also all the heavy siege artillery of the Austrian-Italian army; it had been usual to store it there from the security which the strength of the place itself and its vicinity to the Austrian frontier was supposed to offer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Act of Capitulation of Palmanuova.

(Translation.)

ACCORDING to a despatch of Colonel Kerpan's from Palmanuova the 25th instant, which has just reached the War department by courier, that fortress had opened its gates to the Imperial troops, in conformity with the annexed capitulation, and was occupied militarily on the morning of the 25th after the hostile garrison had laid down their arms on the esplanade.

The aforesaid Colonel promises to send in a later despatch a statement of the government stores found in the fortress. All persons included in this capitulation, and who for the full period of a year engage not to bear arms against us, (Piedmontese artillery) together with Baron Zucchi who has been amnestied, and the ci-devant Major Boni, are to be sent with the necessary escort to the frontiers; on the other hand, 500 men of the disbanded 3rd battalion, Zanini, 150 Crociati, and 1,000 men of the disbanded 3rd battalion of the Regiment of Este (No. 26), will be marched to their own districts.

Capitulation between Colonel Joseph Kerpan, &c., Commanding the Blockade of Palmanuova, and Baron Zucchi.

Mereto, June 24, 1848.

1. Life, freedom, and property are guaranteed to all civilians, military, and national guards, and no one will be called to account for the past, as regards what he performed.

2. Every citizen may leave the fortress, temporarily or permanently, and settle where he chooses within the frontiers of the State. Those who remove to be regarded as emigrants.

3. General Baron Zucchi betakes himself to his home, Reggio, in company with the Piedmontese artillery, and for better security will be furnished with a safeguard.

4. Major Boni may also repair with his family and baggage to Reggio, and will also have a safeguard and be deemed an emigrant.

5. The regular troops belonging to the provinces of Frioul or Belluno will deliver up their arms and be marched to Udine, and then disbanded and sent home. Those from Treviso, disbanded at that place. The officers are to keep their swords till they arrive at the paternal home. Soldiers, from sergeant down, to be furnished with provisions on the march.

6. The company of Piedmontese artillery are at liberty to return home and keep their arms, and are to be treated with the honours of war, and to receive the same pay and provisions as Austrian troops; on their side, they promise not to serve against Austria for an entire year.

7. The Crociati from Venice to be sent there, and furnished with the necessary means of transport, precisely in conformity with Article 5. If there

be strangers among them, they shall be provided with means of subsistence to the frontiers.

8. The National Guard to depose their arms, and disband themselves at the same moment the Imperial troops enter the fortress.

9. All sick soldiers, of whatever corps, shall be treated with requisite care, till their recovery, and then according to Articles 5, 6, and 7, be set at liberty.

10. Every citizen to depose his arms within twelve hours; in the case of transgression, to be subjected to punishment according to existing laws.

11. All public officers who were already appointed on the 23rd of March, remain at their posts.

12. All public property to remain in the fortress and to be duly delivered up.

13. The commander of the place, Major Boni, to remain behind to deliver the fortress up, and then according to Article 4 to be set at liberty.

14. To-morrow morning at 7, the Imperial troops to take possession of the three gates of the fortress and the principal guard.

15. The officers of the line and of the Crociati to receive their travelling expenses.

16. Finally, the city being sensible of its errors, submits, though still provided with provisions and means of defence, and gives up the fortress to the Imperial authorities; it at the same time appeals to the magnanimity of the Emperor, to distribute the public debt, which has been contracted during the blockade, upon the province in general, as many innocent families in the town have already lost their entire fortunes. Under the painful circumstances which press upon the city of Palma, Colonel Kerpan undertakes preliminarily to recommend this prayer to the gracious consideration of the Emperor.

Drawn out, collated and signed in double by each party.

(Signed)

JOSEPH KERPAN, *Colonel.*

JOSEPH PATELLI, *President.*

CIRILLO GRAFFI, *Captain.*

C. EUGNIA, *Sardinian Artillery Captain.*

No. 8.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)

My Lord,

Florence, June 24, 1848.

GREAT sensation has been caused in Tuscany in consequence of the Piedmontese troops having violently occupied a part of the territory of Lunigiana which had recently annexed itself to Tuscany, and made prisoners the garrison of some of the frontier towns. The Tuscan Government feel greatly aggrieved at this insult, and the Grand Duke has sent to Turin to demand an explanation.

Considerable troubles have occurred at Modena and Reggio, after the withdrawal of the Piedmontese troops to reinforce the Sardinian army. The adherents of the House of Este took this opportunity to declare themselves in favour of the Duke of Modena, and they were joined by a great part of the Republicans.

1400 Tuscan troops, with artillery and baggage waggons, left Florence on the 22nd for Lombardy; they showed great enthusiasm for the national cause and for the Grand Duke, who put himself at the head of them, and accompanied them for some distance, when the troops defiled before him, vociferating "Viva Leopoldo Secondo!"

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 9.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 5.)

(Extract.)

Florence, June 27, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Legislative Chambers of Tuscany were opened yesterday by the Grand Duke, when His Royal Highness delivered the speech of which I inclose a copy.

The Grand Duke was very well received both in the streets through which he passed and in the Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where the Senate and the Deputies were assembled.

It is impossible as yet to form a correct judgment as to the composition of the second Chamber, as many of the members are unknown men, chiefly advocates, but I understand it is generally composed of respectable persons, mostly remarkable for their liberal opinions.

Gioberti has arrived in Florence and has been received with the honours usually reserved for crowned heads.

Inclosure in No. 9.

Speech of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the Opening of the Legislative Assembly.—June 26, 1848.

Signori Senatori, Signori Deputati!

QUESTO maraviglioso risorgimento d'Italia, onde noi fortunati vediamo adempirsi il voto di tanti secoli, ci ha finalmente concesso di ordinare lo Stato secondo i bisogni dei tempi, e di proclamare e difendere in faccia all' Europa la nazionale indipendenza.

Le istituzioni, per le quali mi trovo ora in mezzo a voi, non sono per la Toscana che il naturale progressivo perfezionamento dei suoi ordini di governo. Le circostanze non consentirono che prima se ne stabilissero le forme; ma i principj ne erano scritti in quelle leggi, che ci valsero pubblica prosperità e civile educazione. Ringrazio la Provvidenza di avermi condotto ad effettuare l'avito pensiero inteso a cogliere somigliante frutto da quelle riforme per le quali la Toscana acquistò il vanto di matura civiltà.

Infatti il nostro Statuto fondamentale chiude un' epoca della nostra storia, e ne apre una nuova che ci affida di più glorioso avvenire mercè la benefica influenza dei principj che vi sono consacrati, e di quell' ulteriore sviluppo che posson ricevere a seconda delle convenienze dei tempi e della uniformità di sistema, che deve comporre l'armonia degli Stati confederati d'Italia. Così la Toscana, che el secolo scorso fu la prima a costituire la piena libertà economica e civile, non che la tolleranza politica, dopo aver provveduto e molti miglioramenti materiali coll' imprendere il bonificamento delle Maremme; coll' ampliamento del porto franco di Livorno; colle nuove strade aperte sull' Appennino; coi vantaggi commerciali procurati specialmente all' Romagna, al Volterrano, al Senese; colla protezione accordata alle vie ferrate, collo sviluppo dell' industria mineralogica; e dopo i benefizj morali venuti dalle riforme dei tribunali e della istruzione universitaria, la Toscana, accresciuta di popolazione e di floridezza, superate molte e funeste calamità, di cui si cancellarono in brev' ora le tracce, potè la prima secondare in più importanti riforme l'esempio del glorioso Pontefice che siede adesso in Vaticano.

Non meno preziosi peraltro degl' interessi speciali dello Stato sorgevano quelli generali della nazione; ed il mio Governo non poteva scordare i doveri che gl' imponevano le mutate condizioni di questa cara patria Italiana. La Lega Doganale si stabiliva, avviamento a quella politica e nazionale, che pur deve assicurare le nostre sorti, e che la Toscana promosse con ogni studio; nè per lei stette se non si vide ancora formalmente conclusa. Il mio Governo, fedele a questo pensiero, si adoprerà sempre, senza curare sacrificj, a condurre l'Italia all' unità federale consigliata dalle influenze del passato e dalle necessità del presente.

Ma perchè l'ordinamento della penisola possa liberamente effettuarsi, conviene affrettare il fine vittorioso della guerra collo straniero. A questa guerra nazionale partecipò la Toscana con generoso entusiasmo, e le sue schiere furono le prime a porsi oltre Po sotto gli ordini del magnanimo Re di Sardegna, perchè le guidasse sui campi di battaglia a conquistare l'indipendenza. Nè il valore dei nostri fu inutile alla causa d'Italia. Dopo altri fatti onorati e felici, si combatteva nel 29 Maggio una pugna diseguale, in cui se la Toscana ebbe a piangere la morte di molti prodi, dovè pure riconfortarsi vedendo rinnovati dai suoi figli

esempj di antico valore. Gloria a chi morì per la patria, ed onore a quelli che in dolorosa prigionia forse volgono in questo giorno un desiderio ed un voto alla presente solennità patriottica. Se agli sforzi che per noi si fecero, non lievi in vero per un popolo tolto da lunga pace alle militari abitudini, abbisognasse aggiungerne altri e maggiori, siatene pur certi, il mio Governo sarà sempre pronto, sol che forte del vostro suffragio trovi in esso la misura degli ulteriori sacrificj da sostenersi per una causa sì santa.

Ad eccezione dell' Austria, noi siamo in ottime relazioni con tutti gli esteri Potentati. La Regina Isabella di Spagna è stata recentemente riconosciuta, ed il Ministro Sardo ci rappresenta a Madrid. I mutamenti politici sopravvenuti in Francia non hanno punto interrotti i nostri amichevoli rapporti con quella nazione. Legami anche più stretti ci uniscono cogli altri Governi d'Italia. Accogliamo i Deputati Siciliani siccome fratelli della grande famiglia Italiana, e facemmo voti perchè la Sicilia potesse ordinarsi nel modo più rispondente al suo bene ed al comune interesse.

Lucca fu aggiunta al Granducato in un momento di pericolo, nè ci ritennero difficoltà perchè trattavasi della salute d'Italia. Nella inattesa occupazione di Fivizzano l'onore Toscano fu gelosamente salvato; e se dovemmo cedere alla forza dei trattati allora esistenti, la dignità nazionale ebbe per noi un primo trionfo, e la politica straniera per la prima volta fu vinta. Nel rapido giro degli avvenimenti le popolazioni già costrette a separarsi tornarono a noi volonterose. A noi vollero pure unirsi i popoli di Massa e Carrara, della Garfagnana e della Lunigiana già Estense, mossi da conformità d'indole, di bisogni, di affetti; ed io non poteva esitare ad accoglierli, e farli partecipi dei più importanti benefizj del nostro pubblico diritto, fidando che il supremo interesse d'Italia non esiga altrimenti. La Legge Elettorale estesa a quelle provincie condurrà presto fra voi i loro rappresentanti a rafforzare quella unione con tanta spontaneità consentita. Vi saranno presentati i progetti delle leggi necessarie per ordinare quelle nuove provincie in conformità dei nostri sistemi e delle condizioni espresse negli atti di unione.

Mentre altri Stati furono scossi da interne turbolenze, la Toscana, ove la libertà non è privilegio di pochi ma retaggio di tutti, in mezzo a molte cause di agitazione, e non ostante l'indebolimento della pubblica forza, inevitabile ovunque in tempi di mutamenti politici, ebbe da lamentare sì pochi e passeggeri disordini, che in ciò ancora diede novello argomento di matura civiltà. D'altronde una santa istituzione era sorta fra noi: la guardia civica vegliava con zelo al mantenimento dell'ordine, supremo bene dei popoli.

Saranno presentate al vostro esame le leggi prestabilite dallo Statuto, ed altre ancora. Frattanto mi piace più specialmente raccomandarvi la legge municipale, quella sulla polizia, la legge sull'arruolamento militare, e quella sulla responsabilità dei Ministri. Oltre il bilancio consuntivo del 1847 ed il preventivo del 1849, vi sarà presentata una dimostrazione dello stato della finanza, che i pubblici bisogni vollero soccorsa di straordinarj provvedimenti. Quantunque le presenti condizioni de' tempi non consentano uno sgravio d'imposte, pure è mio desiderio che si studi profondamente ogni possibile modo d'economia, onde a tempo opportuno possano abolirsi alcune gravezze già condannate dalla pubblica opinione, e ridursene altre che pesano sulla parte più indigente del popolo, e perciò più bisognosa delle nostre cure e del nostro affetto.

Signori Senatori e Signori Deputati, l'opera vostra è per cominciare, e la patria ha diritto di attender molto da voi. Fu chi tenne opinione che nei Governi Rappresentativi sia necessario un antagonismo essenzialmente discorde. Io credo piuttosto che il maggior bene dei popoli non possa operarsi se non colla concordia dei tre poteri dello Stato; e spero di vederne splendido e costante esempio in Toscana. Mi gode l'animo di confermare qui solennemente le istituzioni sancite, di confermarle non come lettera morta, ma come spirito di vita e di progresso e al nostro patto di verità e di giustizia invocare con voi la testimonianza e la protezione di Dio. Nel farvi questa dichiarazione, o Signori, l'animo mio si sente lieto e sicuro, perchè non fo se non ripetere al cospetto vostro quella promessa che feci e tenni sempre a me stesso, son già molti anni, di consacrare cioè tutta la mia vita alla felicità dei ben amati Toscani.

(Translation.)

Senators and Deputies,

THIS wonderful resurrection of Italy, by which we are fortunate enough to see fulfilled the wish of so many ages, has at last permitted us to regulate the State according to the necessities of the times, and to proclaim and defend in the face of Europe our national independence.

The institutions, by virtue of which I now find myself amongst you, are for Tuscany only the natural result of the progressive improvement of her different orders of government. Circumstances till now have prevented us from establishing the forms thereof, but their fundamental principles were inscribed in those laws which procured us both public prosperity and a civilized education. I thank Providence for having enabled me to put into execution the hereditary idea of my family in obtaining such a result from those reforms by which Tuscany became noted for her mature civilization.

In fact our fundamental Statute closes an epoch in our history and opens a new one, which promises us a most glorious future through the beneficent influence of the principles consecrated therein, and through the development which they are capable of receiving in later years, according to the exigencies of the times and the uniformity of system which ought to compose the harmony among the confederate States of Italy. Thus Tuscany, that in the last century was the first to establish complete liberty, commercial and civil, as also political toleration, after having effected many material improvements by undertaking the reclamation of the Maremma; by enlarging the free port of Leghorn; by opening new roads over the Apennines; by securing commercial advantages, especially to Romagna, Volterrano, and Senese; by affording protection to railroads, and by developing metallurgic industry; after the moral advantages obtained from the reforms in the courts of justice and in university education, Tuscany, increased in population and prosperity, having surmounted many fatal misfortunes, the traces of which soon disappeared, was the first to follow in his most important reforms the example of the glorious Pontiff who now sits in the Vatican.

Not less precious however than the special interests of the State were the general interests of the nation, and my Government could not forget the duties imposed upon it by the altered condition of our dear Italian country. The Customs Union was forming a step towards that political and national union which is to secure our future destinies, and which Tuscany has promoted with the greatest zeal, nor, if it has not yet been concluded, has she been the cause of the delay. My Government, true to this idea, shall always, without regarding sacrifices, strive to bring Italy to that federal union which is recommended by the influence of the past and by the necessities of the present.

But in order to effect easily the arrangement of the future state of Italy, it is necessary to hasten to a glorious conclusion the war against the stranger. In this national contest, Tuscany took part, with a most generous enthusiasm, and her battalions were the first to cross the Po under the orders of the magnanimous King of Sardinia, who was to lead them over the battle-fields to the conquest of their independence. Nor was the valour of our troops useless to the cause of Italy. After several engagements, honourable and successful, an unequal combat took place on the 29th of May, in which Tuscany had to deplore the loss of many of her brave soldiers, but in which she had the happiness of seeing renewed by her own sons the examples of ancient valour. Glory to those who fell for their country, and honour to those who in their mournful prison turn perhaps on this day a desire towards the present patriotic solemnity! If to the efforts we have already made, and which were not small for a nation just issuing from a long peace, it be necessary to add other and greater ones, be certain my Government will be ready to make them, if, strengthened by your own suffrage, it finds therein the measure of the sacrifices yet to be borne for a cause so sacred.

With the exception of Austria, we are in the best relations with all foreign Powers. We have lately recognized Queen Isabella of Spain, and the Sardinian Minister represents us at Madrid. The political changes which have happened in France have in nowise interrupted our friendly intercourse with that nation. Even closer ties unite us with other Governments of Italy. We have received

the Sicilian Deputies as brothers of the great Italian family, and we have prayed that Sicily may choose the Government most suiting to her own welfare and to the general interests of Italy.

Lucca was joined to the Grand Duchy in a moment of peril; no difficulties were made, because the welfare of Italy was in question. In the unexpected occupation of Fivizzano the Tuscan honour was jealously preserved, and though we yielded to treaties then existing, the national dignity obtained through us a first triumph, and for the first time foreign policy was conquered. In the rapid course of events, the people once forced to separate themselves from us, returned to us of their own accord. The inhabitants of Massa and Carrara, of Garfagnana and of Lunigiana, formerly Estensian (Modenese), induced by a conformity of character, wants and affections, desired also to join us. I could not hesitate a moment to receive them, and to make them participate in the benefits of our laws, trusting that the supreme interests of Italy require it to be thus. The Electoral Law extended to these provinces will soon bring amongst you their representatives, in order to strengthen that union consented to so spontaneously. The necessary laws will be presented to you for regulating the new provinces, in conformity with our system and with the conditions expressed in the articles of union.

Whilst other States were shaken by internal disturbances, Tuscany, where liberty is not a privilege of the few but the inheritance of all, in the midst of many causes of agitation, and notwithstanding the weakening of the public force, inevitable in times of political changes, Tuscany had to deplore so few and such momentary disorders, that here again she offered a new proof of mature civilization. Besides, a sacred institution had arisen amongst us: the civic guard watched vigilantly over the maintenance of order, the supreme blessing of nations.

The laws determined by the Statute and others besides will be presented to your examination. In the meantime I especially recommend to you the municipal law, the laws upon police and upon military enrolment, and that upon the responsibility of Ministers. Besides the accounts for 1847 and the estimates for 1849, you will be presented with a detailed account of the state of the finances, which it was necessary to relieve by extraordinary measures. Though the present state of affairs does not permit of a reduction of taxes, it is however my desire that the greatest economy should be studied, in order that, when the opportunity presents itself, certain burdens already condemned by public opinion should be removed, and certain others diminished which weigh on the most indigent classes, and therefore most in need of our care and affection.

Senators and Deputies, your labours are going to commence, and your country has reason to expect much from you. There have been some who believed that in Representative Governments a discordant antagonism was essential. I rather think that the greatest happiness of nations cannot be attained without the concord of the three powers of the State; and I hope to see a splendid and constant example thereof in Tuscany. I rejoice to confirm here, solemnly, the institutions I have already sanctioned—to confirm them, not as a dead letter, but as a spirit of life and progress, and to invoke the testimony and the protection of God upon our compact of truth and justice. In making to you this declaration, my mind feels happy and secure, because I only repeat now in your presence, that promise which I have made many years ago to myself and always kept, to consecrate my whole life to the happiness of my well-beloved Tuscans.

No. 10.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, June 28, 1848.

I HAD the honour this afternoon to receive your Lordship's instructions of the 20th instant,* and in obedience to them I will to-morrow send by the messenger to Baron Wessenberg a note calling upon him to inform me, with as

* Part II, p. 597.

little delay as possible, what are at this moment the intentions of the Imperial Government as to the Venetian Kingdom; recalling, at the same time, to his Excellency's memory the opinions expressed by your Lordship in your letter to Baron Hummelauer dated the 3rd of June. I will add such observations of my own as I may hope will have some useful effect. I shall probably have a reply in a short time, and if it be favourable I presume I shall be furnished with such authority by the Government as will enable me to proceed to execute your Lordship's instructions in Italy in concert with Mr. Abercromby, to whom I will immediately give precise information of what has taken place.

It is my duty now to call your Lordship's attention to two or three points which touch the question of Austrian interests or supposed interests, and may have influence upon the conduct of that Government. The situation of the Austrian military affairs in the Lombardo-Veneto territories is considered by the Austrians to be extremely favourable, and it is such that possession has been gained of nearly every important post and city without much difficulty and without inspiring the inhabitants with alarm or much regret. It is added that Venice itself might possibly be obtained at no very great cost of exertion, and also without any violent regret being created amongst large classes of the population.

Your Lordship will be pleased to bear in mind that the foregoing expresses the opinions of the Austrians themselves.

I have before this acquainted your Lordship with the substance of Marshal Radetzky's reports, sent by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg to the Imperial Government, respecting the position of the Marshal's army and that of the army of King Charles Albert, and the opinion of the Marshal that, with a reinforcement of 25,000 men, he would be able to beat the King out of his position and possibly obtain great and effective advantages over the Piedmontese.

I have also stated that it was said that 10,000 troops had been sent as part of the required reinforcement of 25,000 men, but that it had not, when I wrote, been determined whether or not the 15,000 wanted to make up the gross number would or would not be forthcoming.

I have not the means to clear up this point at present, but I have some reason to think that the taxes lately levied by the Government at Vienna are intended to be more or less applied to the military demands.

In this state of things it is probable enough that the Austrian notions about the retention of the Venetian territory may have more weight than some time back. I do not hear that the Austrians consider themselves to be in the position in Italy such as it is described to be by your Lordship, and therefore it may not be matter of surprise if they continue to maintain the point of the Venetian territory as one not to be ceded without some further necessity than is apparent to them at the moment. It will be seen whether or not the Austrians will consent to a modification, such as might be found in some division of the Venetian territories, as suggested by your Lordship.

There are some things connected with the possible eventual situation of Austria, if obliged to give up all Italy, which, having come to my knowledge, I must lay before your Lordship.

It is firmly believed that the design of those who have influenced the King of Sardinia is, that ultimately Tuscany also should be annexed to His Majesty's dominions. It is not believed by the Imperial Government that the French will consent to the creation of so large a kingdom, and it has been a mooted point whether or not Austria should not come to an understanding with the French, aiding them in the establishment of Lombardy as an independent State, and repelling the union proposed.

Another matter is this— if Austria should be compelled to give up the Venetian provinces and retire absolutely within her ancient territorial limits, it is also a question mooted whether or not it would be the interest of Austria to contract engagements by treaty with France beneficial to her commerce, and should at the same time show herself to be perfectly indifferent to the conquests or aggrandizements of the French in Italy. This indifference might even be extended to the interest of other places. Austria is no longer interested or obliged to look with her former anxiety to the state of Germany. She has now no peculiar interest so great in the preservation of those States of the Confederation which formed for her a barrier against the French power. The changes in the internal situation of Austria, and the presumed feeling of large masses of people still connected with the Austrian Crown, might afford a motive for making an

amicable arrangement with France, and peace between that country and Austria might have the security for that endurance between them which arises from the absence of motives of interest in either of the parties for disturbing it.

In elucidation of the state of affairs in Italy I inclose for your Lordship a short account of the military events in Italy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Summary of the Military Events in Italy.

AFTER General Radetzky evacuated Milan and retired to Verona towards the end of March, and in consequence of this retreat the whole of Lombardy and the provinces of Venice, Frioul, Treviso, Vicenza, and Padua, rose against the Austrians and drove them away, the Italian troops to the number of 20,000 men joining their countrymen, some small Austrian garrisons succeeded in uniting themselves with the main corps d'armée at Verona, which, including the garrison of that fortress, did not exceed 30,000 men. Under these circumstances General Radetzky declared his intention of defending the line of the Mincio, reserving that of the Adige to fall back on if obliged to retreat from the Mincio, as he foresaw in the event of the Sardinian army, with its numerous bodies of auxiliaries, attempting to force the passage of that river, he would be obliged to do. This was however not attempted by the Piedmontese, but the Italians subsequently crossed the Lake of Garda and marched on to the heights of St. Lucia in the Venetian territory, from whence they were after some hard fighting driven back by the Austrians. The Italians however still occupied the country from St. Pietro to Lasize, and from thence to the gates of Peschiera, to which place they laid siege and eventually took. In the meantime the corps d'armée under General Nugent marched into the province of Frioul. The result of this was the immediate surrender of Udine and the whole of Frioul except the strong fortress of Palma which still holds out. The free corps were driven back and the inhabitants disarmed. General Nugent pursued his march viâ Posdenone and Conegliano (where he met with but slight resistance) to Treviso, which he bombarded but without success. After having lost some days before that city, he resigned the command to General Thurn, who immediately left Treviso with the main body of his division, and succeeded in effecting a junction with General Radetzky at Verona. A few days after this accession of force, General Radetzky made a forced march from Verona to Curtatone, and succeeded in turning the right wing of the Piedmontese army. Heavy rain coming on prevented the General from marching immediately to Goito, and reinforcements having come to that place from the Piedmontese army, all hope of taking it by surprise was lost; and after a severe fight between General Radetzky's advanced guard and the Piedmontese at Goito, General Radetzky retired to Mantua, and from thence by forced marches viâ Legnano to Vicenza, which city he captured and made a capitulation with the Commander-in-chief of the Papal troops to the number of 15,000 men, by which they were to cross the Po and not to serve against Austria for three months. The result of these operations was that Treviso and Padua submitted to General Welden, and at this moment the whole of the Venetian territory, except Venice and Palmanuova in the extreme east, and Peschiera and Rivoli in the extreme west, is again in the possession of the Austrians, who are now in a better position than they have yet been since the commencement of the war. At that time the whole of the Venetian territory, except Verona and Peschiera, was in arms against Austria, and General Radetzky had but 30,000 men with him. At this time the whole of the Venetian territory, except Venice, Palmanuova, Peschiera, and Rivoli, is in possession of Austria, and General Radetzky has in addition to the garrisons of the various places upwards of 40,000 men under his orders, and expects considerable reinforcements from Austria.

Innsbruck, June 28, 1848.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 5.)

(Extract.)

Turin, June 29, 1848.

THE last week has been passed in the midst of a good deal of political excitement, owing to the wording of the project of law establishing the union of the Lombard and four Venetian provinces to the States of His Sardinian Majesty.

The wording of the law as originally proposed by the Minister of the Interior for the sanction of the Piedmontese Parliament dissatisfied a portion of the Piedmontese public, as affording too extensive a latitude to the powers of the Constituent Assembly, and creating an apprehension that that body might take upon itself the right of fixing the seat of Government for the newly-constituted kingdom, and that Turin thereby might cease to be the capital.

These opinions and fears made so much impression upon the public as to induce the Sardinian Cabinet, with the exception of the Marquis Pareto, to decide upon annexing an additional article to the already proposed project of law, restricting the powers of the Constituent Assembly to the sole point of settling the basis and form of a new constitutional monarchy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy; declaring every other act or measure of an executive character null and void; and concluding by decreeing that the question of the capital was to be decided not by the Constituent Assembly, but by the Parliament of the kingdom.

The restrictions proposed to be placed by this additional article on the powers of the Constituent Assembly by no means pleased the Lombard and Genoese parties, which desired to see the Constituent Assembly invested with the most ample prerogatives.

The same parties likewise raised the cry that Piedmont, yielded to a narrow and municipal policy, was endeavouring to secure partial interests at the expense of those of the whole kingdom, to the detriment of the cause of Italy and of that union and spirit of nationality which ought to stamp all their actions.

On the report of the committee on the original project of law being communicated to the Chamber of Deputies, the reporter stated that the committee had been inclined to propose the pure and simple adoption by Parliament of the original project, but that on receiving from the Minister of the Interior the addition article, they had hesitated to do so until further documents explanatory of the article should be laid before them and upon which they might form their opinion.

The speech of the reporter of the committee gave rise to an animated debate, in which a strong division of opinion and of party took place.

After much discussion, an amendment supported by the Sardinian party in contradiction to the Lombardo-Genoese party in the Chamber, was carried by a majority of 68 to 64, to the effect that the ministerial additional article should be communicated to the Chamber, and on its being read, the Chamber adjourned.

The whole of the Cabinet, with the exception of the Marquis Pareto, voted in the majority.

This parliamentary success of the Sardinian party, though carried by a very small majority, was sufficient to raise the pretensions of one side and to rouse the fears of the other.

Party feeling began to run high, and a good deal of excitement against the Government additional article was manifested both at Genoa and at Milan.

Those persons however who looked at the position of affairs with the greatest degree of calmness, perceived at once how desirable it was to prevent matters from coming to extremities.

The Sardinian party felt that the opinion of the country had been sufficiently marked both by the vote of the Chamber and by the voice of the public, to enable them to modify with safety a portion of the ministerial additional article, and endeavours were made to come to a compromise with the other party, by adopting another wording of the article.

For some time there did not appear to be much chance of accommodating

the differences of opinions ; a deputation against the Government proposal came from Genoa, petitions to the same effect arrived from various provincial towns in which the ultra-Liberal party possessed influence, and the accounts from Milan were far from being satisfactory.

Yesterday morning, however, after much negotiation, a new wording of the article was proposed to the committee, to which the whole of the Cabinet including the Marquis Pareto gave their support ; and on the debate on the annexation of Lombardy and the four Venetian provinces to Piedmont being resumed, the reporter of the committee communicated it to the Chamber, adding at the same time that it united the suffrages both to the Government and of the committee.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that, after an animated debate, this question was finally settled by an affirmative vote of the Chamber of 127 against 7.

I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy and translation into English of the Article as passed by the Chamber of Deputies in the debate of yesterday.

Your Lordship will observe that the powers of the Constituent Assembly are limited to particular points, beyond which they cannot go, but that on the other hand the Government using a wise discretion have refrained from inserting in the newly composed article any allusion to the question of the capital.

The Genoese deputation returned last night to Genoa with the news of the passing of this law, and a courier was despatched to Milan immediately after the debate, with letters conveying the same intelligence.

The Chamber is now occupied with another law, regulating details of internal administration consequent upon the union of these new provinces, but those details are not likely to give rise to any angry discussions or feelings between the parties to whose interests they refer.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Law for the Annexation of Lombardy and Venice to Piedmont, passed in the Sardinian Chamber, June 28, 1848.

L'IMMEDIATA unione della Lombardia e delle Provincie di Padova, Vicenza, Treviso, e Rovigo, quale fu votata da quelle popolazioni, è accettata. La Lombardia e le dette provincie formano cogli Stati Sardi e cogli altri già uniti un solo regno.

Col mezzo del suffragio universale sarà convocata una Assemblea Costituente, la quale discuta e stabilisca le basi e le forme di una nuova monarchia costituzionale colla dinastia di Savoia, in conformità del voto già emesso dal popolo Lombardo e Veneto sulla legge del 12 Maggio p.p. del Governo Provvisorio di Lombardia.

La formula del voto sopra espresso contiene l'unico mandato della Costituente, e determina i limiti del suo potere.

(Translation.)

THE immediate union of Lombardy and of the Provinces of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Rovigo, voted by their populations, is accepted. Lombardy and the above-mentioned provinces will form, together with the Sardinian States and those already united, one sole kingdom.

A Constituent Assembly will be convoked by universal suffrage, to discuss and settle the bases and forms of a new constitutional monarchy under the House of Savoy, in conformity with the vote of the Lombardo-Venetian people already pronounced upon the law of the 12th May proposed by the Provisional Government of Lombardy.

The wording of the above-mentioned vote contains the sole object of the Constituent, and determines the bounds of its powers.

No. 12.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord,

Turin, June 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Parma has arrived at Turin, and that she is now living at the Vigna de la Reine, one of the royal palaces near this capital.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 13.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 6.)

(Extract.)

Naples, June 28, 1848.

THE Neapolitan Parliament will be opened on the 1st of July, as originally contemplated. The ceremony will not take place in a church, nor will it be honoured by the presence of His Sicilian Majesty.

The discontent has been increased by the new creation of Peers, which contains several persons disliked by the moderate Liberal party.

No. 14.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 7.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, June 29, 1848.

INTELLIGENCE was received here yesterday, that General Zucchi had capitulated at Palmanuova. The terms of the capitulation were favourable to the garrison.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 15.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 8.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, June 29, 1848.

IN your Lordship's note to Baron Hummelauer, dated June 3, there is a passage to which I beg leave to revert. Your Lordship says, "that Her Majesty's Government are convinced that in calculating the chances of future events, the Cabinet of Austria will not cast out of the account the number and the nature of the forces of all kinds which might eventually be brought to bear upon the Austrian troops, and the difficulty of converting again into submissive subjects a population which would have been almost universally engaged in hostilities against Austrian arms. If then, upon a full consideration of all the circumstances of the present case, the Austrian Government should feel disposed not to withhold its assent to an arrangement which, being framed upon principles stated in your (M. Hummelauer) memorandum of the 24th ultimo, with reference to Lombardy, should include also such portions of the Venetian territory as may be agreed upon between the respective parties, Her Majesty's Government would lose no time in setting on foot a negotiation founded on such a basis."

Your Lordship has also said, "that some difficulty would arise as to the line of frontier between Austria and Northern Italy. It must be drawn somewhere between Venice and Trieste; possibly the Tagliamento might be the boundary, and the Northern line in the Italian Tyrol might be somewhere between Trent and Bolzano; but these are matters of detail to be considered after the general principles shall have been agreed upon."

I understand the foregoing to be your Lordship's opinion that the same concessions should be made by Austria to the Venetians, as those which were proposed in Baron Hummelauer's memorandum to be made to the Lombards, with the exception that the Austrians and Venetians may by agreement make a certain arrangement by which Austria would retain some portion of the territories of Venice. Your Lordship has said that the line of separation might be between Venice and Trieste, and you have mentioned the Tagliamento as one place where it might be drawn, and your Lordship has suggested that the line in the Italian Tyrol should be between Trent and Bolzano. Supposing that the Austrian Government, having conceded all that is proposed in the memorandum about Lombardy, shall refuse to submit to the abandonment of the territories within the lines your Lordship has indicated, there will not then be any point for negotiation, unless you may be willing to allow of some alteration. I hope to be favoured with your instructions upon this matter, because it is possible (and I think very probable) that the Austrian Government will refuse to make the proposed arrangement.

The whole of the Venetian territory with the exception of the small fortress of Peschiera and the district near the lake towards Rivoli is in the power of the Austrians. They possess all the strong fortresses. They have been successful in almost every combat, and entertain no fear whatever of the Piedmontese being able to attack them with success; but, on the contrary, the Austrians meditate an attack upon King Charles Albert, and have a great belief that they will succeed in such an operation.

No. 16.

Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.—(Received from the Admiralty, July 8.)

(Extract.)

"Hibernia," Malta, June 24, 1848.

I TRANSMIT the last communication which has reached me from Captain Ramsay of the "Terrible," who appears to apprehend that Trieste will be blockaded by the combined Italian squadrons.

In this event I have intimated to Captain Ramsay that formal notice must be given by the blockading squadron and due time allowed for English vessels to depart.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Captain Ramsay to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

Sir,

"Terrible," Trieste, June 6, 1848.

I AM glad to say that arrangement has been made with the Sardinian Admiral, by which Austrian Lloyd's vessels are again to run. One starts (and will convey this) to-day.

The Italian squadrons are anchored outside at present; they consist of ten sailing-vessels and three steam-vessels (yesterday nineteen vessels in all).

I inclose the state and condition of "Terrible," "Spartan," and "Harlequin."

By that it appears that the "Terrible" is getting low in biscuit, sugar, and spirits, and as we now serve out soft bread we are in no immediate want of provisions of any kind.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. RAMSAY, *Captain.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Captain Ramsay to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

"Terrible," Trieste, June 10, 1848.

I INCLOSE you a duplicate of a letter that was to have gone by the Austrian Lloyd's steam-vessel.

I have already informed you that the Sardinian Admiral had agreed to allow these vessels to run under certain conditions.

On Tuesday afternoon the 6th instant one was dispatched but was sent back again by the squadron outside; no reason assigned.

On that night (Tuesday) the fleet stood pretty close in, so much so that I expected they were about to attack. I immediately moved the "Spartan," "Terrible," and "Harlequin" into a bay out of the line of fire and very commodious for those who might have to take refuge on board.

The French steam-frigate "Asmodée" adopted the same plan; however the greater part of the squadron anchored before dark. The steam-vessels and one or two of their sailing-vessels kept under weigh and got within range of the batteries and I believe were hit, but the distance was too great for damage to be done. The greatest damage arose from two of the Neapolitan steam-vessels stemming each other and carrying away their bowsprits and figure-heads.

On Wednesday, the morning after the Austrian Lloyd's steam-vessel was sent back, the English Consul, Mr. Raven, applied to me to send out a boat to convey a request to the Sardinian Admiral signed by all the Consuls at Trieste that he would allow Austrian Lloyd's vessels to run. Inclosed is a copy of my letter which I desired the Lieutenant to give to the Sardinian Admiral. An answer was promised but none has been sent. The stoppage of these vessels has caused the greatest inconvenience, particularly the one that was to have gone to Alexandria, passengers from England having arrived, &c.

I have reason to believe that there is an intention of blockading Trieste; if so I would wish to have instructions how far British ships can be protected. The Sardinian Government has certainly declared war against Austria, but in their declaration it was expressly stated that there would be no interference with commerce.

The Neapolitans have as far as I understand never made any declaration of war. There is considerable alarm here, and I have received a request that British subjects may be allowed to send money, plate, and jewels on board the British men-of-war. I shall give an order for the "Spartan" to receive the same.

These despatches will go by the "Harlequin," which I am sending to Venice and Ancona.

From the stoppage of Austrian Lloyd's steam-vessels we have received no communication from you later than the 14th of May. The Italian squadron is now anchored about three miles off this town.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Captain Ramsay to Rear-Admiral Count Albini.

Sir,

"Terrible," Trieste, June 7, 1848.

INCLOSED is a communication addressed to you, signed by all the Consuls of the different nations now at Trieste, which I have been requested to forward. If you have any answer to return to these gentlemen the officer who is the bearer of this will take charge of it and see it delivered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. RAMSAY, Captain.

No. 17.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 9.)

(Extract.)

Florence, July 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a despatch dated 27th June, from Mr. Petre at Rome, relative to the projected address from the Chamber of Deputies to the Pope.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, June 27, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 6th and 10th instant, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that yesterday was brought before the Chamber the project of an address in answer to the speech of Cardinal Altieri on the opening of the Chambers on the 5th instant, together with that of the Ministry on the 9th.

It appears that there is to be only one address directed to His Holiness.

The address, after thanking His Holiness for calling them to the exercise of political rights, touches on the justice of continuing the war at all costs, and on the Italian League soon, it is hoped, to be concluded under the protection of the victorious sword of Charles Albert and of the authority of the Pontiff. It calls upon the Government of His Holiness to demand reasons for the ignominious flight of the Neapolitan troops from him who ordered it, and which, in addition to the hurt and scandal brought on the country, obstructs the noble design of the Italian League. It alludes to the "offers of a courageous people who now no longer aspires to wicked and dangerous conquests," and who might with effect assist, if called on, in opposing those who deny to Italy the right of being Italy, and who, by riveting its chains, would rivet their own. It then speaks of the wisdom and necessity of a responsible Minister for Foreign Affairs, as it would be presumptuous to answer for internal quiet, and order, and liberty, without an exact knowledge of external relations. This has reference to the supposed irresponsibility of an Ecclesiastical Minister, especially a Cardinal, which is denied, and his responsibility is expressly provided for in Article XLVI of the Fundamental Statute, by which an Ecclesiastical Minister, accused by the Council of Deputies, is to be tried before the Sacred College according to the canonical forms of procedure.

The address concludes in general terms on the necessity of a searching inquiry into every branch of the administration, and in the promise to assist, with "courageous dignity," His Holiness in the great work of the regeneration of the country.

No. 18.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 9.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 3, 1848.

FOR some days past great excitement has prevailed here in consequence of reports that the important fortress of Palmanuova could not have a timely supply of provisions and troops. Although no official account has been published by the Provisional Government, I do myself the honour to inform your Lordship that certain intelligence arrived yesterday of General Zucchi, the commander of that fortress, having capitulated and surrendered to the Austrians.

Since I did myself the honour of addressing your Lordship on the 26th of June last, several decrees have been issued by the Provisional Government, some of which, although of no great moment, may perhaps be worthy of being communicated to your Lordship. Among them is a decree for the demolition of the fortified parts of the castle of Milan; another for the establishment of a committee charged with investigating all correspondence in order to discover both foreign and domestic enemies.

At 7 o'clock yesterday morning about 600 refugees from the city of Vicenza arrived here in the most deplorable condition. They were met outside the Porta Romana by a large body of the national guard under arms, who accompanied them into the city, where they were received by the members of the committee appointed to relieve all Venetian refugees.

At 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon the hostages who were carried off by the Austrians on the 18th of March, arrived here. They were met outside the Porta Nova by some battalions of the national guard under arms, who accompanied them into the city to the Palazzo Marino where they were received by the Provisional Government. Several of the hostages came forward on the balcony of the Palazzo Marino, and were enthusiastically cheered by the assembled multitude in the Piazza St. Fedele.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 19.

Mr. Milbanke to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.)

Munich, July 1, 1848.

THE Sardinian Minister informed me last night that he had just announced officially to the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs the intention of his Government to send immediate orders to Admiral Albini to raise the blockade of the port of Trieste. This information was confirmed to me this morning by Count Bray, who said that the Marquis Pallavicini had read him a despatch to that effect which he had received yesterday from Turin. In the course of our conversation Count Bray took occasion to speak in terms of commendation of the friendly support afforded to the Bavarian and Prussian Agents in this matter by Her Majesty's Representative at the Court of Turin.

No. 20.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.)

Naples, July 1, 1848.

PARLIAMENT was opened this morning at 11 o'clock in the library of the Bourbon Museum.

There was no extraordinary concourse of people in the streets, nor any unusual display of military force. There was no acclamation and no opposition. Many of the shops were shut; many respectable families left Naples shortly before, and the lower orders did not assemble on the occasion.

At the end of the hall there stood a vacant throne. A chair on the lower level received the King's deputy, the Duke of Serra Capriola. The Commons, to the number of about forty, occupied the benches on the left, the Peers were placed on the right.

In the immediate vicinity of the throne were seats on either side for the Ministers and for the Diplomatic Body.

The Duke of Serra Capriola read the accompanying speech. The attention of the legislature was called in general terms to measures of internal improvement. The country was stated to be at peace with the whole world; and Sicily, Austria, and Calabria passed unnoticed.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Royal Speech on the Opening of Parliament, July 1, 1848.

Signori,

MENTRE nel mio animo io vagheggiava il sospirato giorno in cui sarei circondato dalle Camere Legislative del regno, un fatale disastro, del quale non lascerò mai di contristarmi, sopraggiunse sventuratamente a prostrarne la

solenne riunione. Al dolor profondo di un sì malaugurato ritardo mi è oggi conforto il vedervi qui radunati: poichè a far prestamente rifiorire in questa comune patria diletteissima la prosperità vera, cui ogni popolo incivilito ha ragion di pretendere, ho bisogno del vostro leale, illuminato, e provvido concorso.

Le libere istituzioni da me irrevocabilmente sanzionate e giurate rimarrebbero infeconde se apposite leggi dettate sovra basi analoghe non venissero ad affiancarle de' loro vari sistemi di applicazione. Invoco dunque la vostra particolare sollecitudine su questo prominente obbietto.

Su i diversi progetti che vi saranno presentati, voi formerete soprattutto le utili norme a stabilirsi per la speciale amministrazione delle comuni e delle province che dan primo strato ad ogni società politica; quelle che debbono riordinare definitivamente la guardia nazionale, a cui si appartiene di vegliare al sostegno della tranquillità interna dello Stato; quelle finalmente che sono dirette a diffondere con più sicuri metodi la pubblica istruzione in tutte le classi, affin di promuovere la ognor crescente civiltà, e serbare nell' avvenire intatta quella gloria che tanti egregi ingegni ci procacciarono per lo passato.

Le finanze pubbliche meritano di occupare innanzi tutto la vostra particolare attenzione. Al dissesto inevitabile cui esse istantaneamente soggiacquero, per tante politiche vicissitudini, si richiedono pronti e generali provvedimenti. Nè io diffido che in questa ubertosa terra l'equilibrio fra gl' indispensabili bisogni ed i mezzi più acconci a provvedervi possa ritardar molto a ristabilirsi.

Delle sì funeste perturbazioni che agitando pertinacemente il reame paralizzarono da una parte ogni specie d'industria e di commercio, e strariparono dall'altra, fino ad attentare alla proprietà ed all'onore de' privati, voi cercherete di smascherare coraggiosamente le cagioni o i pretesti, e con provvedimenti energici darete opera che un sì rincrescevole stato di cose cessi per sempre nè più si riproduca; essendo questo un bisogno universale, di cui tutti sentono l'urgenza e l'importanza. L'ordine, senza del quale non è possibile alcuna prosperità civile, non può derivare che da savie leggi, e la libertà sta esclusivamente nell'ordine.

In generale io non ho ragion di credere che le nostre pacifiche relazioni con le altre Potenze di Europa sieno in nulla cangiate. Posti così nella felice attitudine di rivolgere tutte le nostre cure all'amministrazione interna dello Stato, noi potremo contribuire d'accordo a farlo prosperare tranquillamente nelle sue vie. Inflessibile nel mio proponimento di assicurare il benessere e il godimento d'una benintesa libertà, farò di questo nobile obbietto la costante preoccupazione della mia vita: ed il vostro autorevole concorso me ne garantirà pienamente il successo. Avendo a ciò chiamato a giudice Iddio della purità delle mie intenzioni, non altro mi rimane oggi che chiamare a testimoni voi e la storia.

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,

WHILST from my heart I looked forward for that longed-for day when I should be surrounded by the Legislative Chambers of the kingdom, their solemn meeting was postponed by a fatal misfortune which took place, and which I shall never cease to bewail. To-day, however, the joy which I feel at seeing you here assembled, consoles me for my previous sorrow, because I have need of your loyal, wise, and provident assistance in causing true prosperity, to which every civilized nation has a right, once more to flourish in our common beloved country.

The free institutions which I have irrevocably sanctioned and sworn to observe, would prove useless unless supported by the proper application of apposite laws founded upon corresponding principles. I therefore beg for your particular attention to this essential object.

Among the various projects which will be submitted to you, you will be careful to form those laws which you may consider advantageous for the special administration of the communes and provinces, which in fact compose the first stratum of all political society; likewise measures for the definitive reorganization of the national guard, whose office it is to watch over the internal tranquillity of the State; and finally, for the more certain spread of public instruction amongst all classes, so as to promote daily increasing civilization, and hand down

untarnished to posterity that glory which so many illustrious men of genius acquired for us in times gone by.

The finances of the country deserve first of all your particular attention. Liberal and immediate measures are required to remedy the inevitable disorders to which they have momentarily been exposed, owing to so many political vicissitudes. Nor do I doubt that in this fertile country, sufficient means will soon be found to supply the most pressing wants of the nation.

You shall boldly reveal the causes or the pretexts of the melancholy agitations which disturbed the tranquillity of the realm, paralysed every kind of industry and trade, and went so far as to attack the property and honour of private individuals, and by energetic measures you will undertake to put a stop to this deplorable state of things and to prevent its repetition; this being an universal want of which everybody understands the urgency and the importance. Public order, without which it is impossible that any civil prosperity can exist, can only be produced from wise laws, and real liberty is founded on public order.

In general I have no reason to believe that our pacific relations with the other European Powers will be in any way changed. Being thus placed in the happy position of directing all our cares to the internal administration of the kingdom we may contribute together to make it progress calmly and prosperously. Firm in my resolve to secure the welfare and happiness of a well-understood liberty, I shall make this noble object the constant occupation of my life, and your important assistance will fully ensure its success. Having invoked the Almighty as judge of the purity of my intentions, it only remains for me to call yourselves and history as witnesses.

No. 21.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 3, 1848.

THE want of a recognised official organ in which the Government could correct misstatements so prevalent in the present unrestrained freedom of the press of this country, and make known its views on those topics which engage public attention, has been so strongly felt here, that the Ministry resolved to declare the "Vienna Gazette" the journal in which not only official publications were to be made known, but in which it purposed giving such explanations on general questions as it thought requisite to remove doubts or to enlighten public opinion.

This decision was made known for some time past in the columns of that newspaper; it was added that the arrangement was to commence from the first of this month, and the change was further marked by its publication in a new and improved form.

I have thought it necessary to make these observations, before calling your Lordship's attention to the inclosed article, which I have the honour to transmit in original and translation, upon the negotiations for peace in Italy; it formed the leading article of that newspaper on the first day of its publication as the official organ of the Government. I believe that it may be stated with certainty that it expresses the opinion and determination of the Cabinet on that question; and may be regarded as an appeal to the country for support to obtain by force of arms an honourable settlement of the Italian question.

It is my duty to add that I believe this appeal will be heartily responded to by the entire country. The greatest sympathy exists in the public mind for the army in Italy, and a peculiar sensitiveness for the honour of their arms.

The rumours of an armistice were very badly received, and public opinion appears to be so decided on the Italian question, that I think that the Government, if even so inclined, could not act in opposition to it. I may remark that this article caused a considerable rise in the funds here on the day of its publication, and I have been told by very competent authority, that it would have probably produced some weeks ago, when public opinion was not so strong upon this question, a contrary effect.

Reinforcements are constantly sent to Marshal Radetzky's army, and it is thought that if the Government require or desire it, the Hungarian Diet,

which has just opened at Pesth, will pass an immediate vote for a considerable levy of troops. I can scarcely doubt that any demand of a similar nature to the Constituent Assembly about to open here in a few days, would meet with quite as ready an acquiescence.

Since writing the above I have seen Baron Wessenberg, to whom I had forwarded an official note from Lord Ponsonby, founded on your Lordship's last instructions. His Excellency informed me that he had been so entirely taken up with conferences on the internal affairs of the country, that he had not yet found time to reply to either of those documents, but that he hoped shortly to do so. He added that I might however apprise your Lordship that for the moment nothing would be done with regard to the proposals which they contained; that this Government must see what turn affairs at Paris would take; that their chief difficulty lay in Charles Albert, &c.

His Excellency's conversation confirmed my previous impressions that this Government intends to trust to their arms in Italy to procure for them what they can regard as an honourable solution to the Italian question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 21.

Article from the "Vienna Gazette" of July 1, 1848.

(Translation.)

Negotiations for Peace in Italy.

THE desire of peace of the Austrian Government is nowhere less appreciated than in that country where it ought justly to find the greatest sympathy, namely, in Italy. Every one knows from whence the attack on the Austrian Government proceeded, and how it was compelled to have recourse to arms; but it is less known, or at least less acknowledged, how this latter, notwithstanding that provocation, animated with the spirit of reconciliation, has from the commencement of the troubles which broke out left nothing untried to restore peace and to set limits as quickly as possible to the misfortunes of war. Its public declarations prove this most unequivocally. It met the excited feelings of the people with the most paternal assurances for the future. With the greatest lenity for what had happened, it placed before the sight of its erring subjects a constitution based upon the widest possible principles of freedom and independence, a constitution which went far beyond all their former wishes and pretensions, in which an entire regard for their nationality was kept in view, and which assured to them a lasting prosperity. How it has happened that to such an appeal enmity alone has been responded, is reserved for history to declare. The Austrian Government did not allow itself to be deterred by this conduct; keeping pacification and reconciliation constantly in view, it did not cease, even at the moment that the fortune of its arms was the most propitious, to attempt everything to attain its proposed end,—the re-establishment of peace. It invited, with this object, the Provisional Government at Milan to a negotiation upon the basis of a complete independence of Lombardy, connecting with such acknowledgment only reasonable conditions of a financial and commercial nature; and to facilitate such a negotiation, it declared its readiness to conclude an armistice. Who could have supposed that a proposal, whose pure and magnanimous object was so manifest, would not have met with the most ready acceptance, and especially on the side of authorities who had heretofore loudly proclaimed the desire of negotiating on the above-mentioned basis? But so it is. It remains doubtful whether the Provisional Government at Milan did not feel enabled to give effect to this conciliatory invitation from the dread of a fanatical excitement, or whether it cherished other views at that moment. The previous personal character of the members of this Government justified us in expecting the greatest readiness on their part to co-operate in effecting peace; but the fact is, that these same persons declined negotiating, under the pretext that the question at issue must be regarded and treated not as a simple Lombard, but as an Italian question, and consequently that an isolated negotiation could not take place. The Austrian Government can however treat with Lombardy alone, it knows no Power which represents Italy. The Provisional Government declared there-

upon that an understanding was possible only in the event that independence should be extended to all Austrian possessions in Italy. It gave it even to be understood that the southern part of the Tyrol was comprehended in such possessions.

The world may judge whether such a reply to the proposal of Austria, which was as generous as it was conciliatory, was becoming, worthy, equitable, and right, or whether it ought not to be rather regarded as insulting. The world may decide whether it was altogether fitting for the Provisional Government to put forward such conditions; conditions which extend to lands and territories which are in the possession of the Austrian Crown, not only in accordance with rights, but *de facto*; in which the power of Austria's arms has entirely the upper hand, and of which even a portion belongs to the common German Fatherland. The world may judge with what feelings the Austrian Government must receive such declarations, and what remains for it to do after such a contemptuous rejection of its conciliatory proposals, after so deliberate a refusal to re-establish peace.

The Austrian Government will not allow itself to be led astray by these; it will not cease to pursue its object,—the establishment of peace; it will not cease to manifest on every occasion its wish, its firm will in this respect; but it owes it to its own honour, to the honour of its faithful people, to employ all its warlike power, to attain by force of arms a peace, which in spite of its readiness was not to be attained by other means. It neither conceals from the world its views, nor the means which it will employ to attain so noble, so just an end. With equal candour it prepares for this struggle which is forced on it, and declares its readiness to make peace, the object it has in view. It has not been in its power to put an end to the shedding of blood. The Austrian Government has declared its wish for an armistice, in connection with negotiations for peace. The Provisional Government in Milan, on the contrary, declares the one and the other under present circumstances to be impossible, devoted as it is to its new ally the King of Sardinia. The prolongation of the war and all its miseries fall alone on the party that thus declined to put a stop to it. The Austrian Government has done its part towards pacification; it is impossible to deny its deserts; may the other Powers, who likewise desire peace, represent also on their side the interests of humanity, and use the weight of their influence to establish a speedy peace on the principles of justice and equity. The Austrian nation will not remain behindhand in their exertions. The deputies who are about to assemble at the Reichstag will take proper measures to enable our brave army, which under the command of its veteran chief has so gloriously maintained its former fame by fidelity and perseverance in presence of an enemy its superior in numbers, to conquer an honourable peace.

No. 22.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 2, 1848.

MR. MAGENIS has informed me that Baron Wessenberg told him that His Majesty King Charles Albert refused the armistice offered by the orders of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 23.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 3, 1848.

I HAVE not heard from Baron Wessenberg upon the subject of the negotiations for peace, but rumours have reached me that this Government is not at present disposed to make anything like the concessions which have been recommended by your Lordship to be made to the Italians. These rumours

may be true. The Austrians have had accounts of the state of the Piedmontese in Italy not descriptive of strength. I repeat what I wrote to your Lordship the other day, that the Austrians may ultimately look to the French with regard to the affairs of Italy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 24.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.)

Venice, June 28, 1848.

INFORMATION was received here yesterday of the capitulation of the fortress of Palmanuova to the Austrian troops.

The only Articles of the capitulation which are known here, as mentioned in the proclamation which I have the honour to inclose, state that General Zucchi is to be allowed to proceed to Reggio, his native place, and that the Venetian crusaders who formed part of the garrison of Palmanuova are to be allowed to return to Venice.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Bulletin issued by the Provisional Government of Venice relative to the Capitulation of Palmanuova.

Bulletino della Guerra.

Venezia, 27 Giugno, 1848.

SUA Eccellenza il Generale in capo dell' armata di riserva Austriaca, Tenente-Maresciallo Barone di Welden, spedì ieri un parlamentario al forte di Marghera a chiedere un salvocondotto onde mandare a Venezia il Maggiore Conte Crenneville per abboccarsi col comandante della città e fortezza.

Il Generale Antonini fece rispondere che riceverebbe oggi a mezzogiorno l'inviato Austriaco fuori del forte di Marghera, come ha fatto realmente, a circa un chilometro di distanza, sotto apposita tenda.

Il Signor Maggiore Conte Crenneville presento il seguente dispaccio :

Monsieur le Commandant,

Trévise, le 26 Juin, 1848.

L'Article VII de la capitulation conclue le 24 Juin, 1848, avec la garnison de la ville de Palmanuova, fixe que tous les Crociati provenant de Venise soient dirigés sur cette ville pour retourner dans leur patrie.

Veillez en conséquence, M. le Commandant, m'indiquer le lieu et les mesures à prendre pour remplir le sens de cet Article.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

Le Général en Chef de l'Armée de Réserve,
WELDEN.

Fra l'inviato Austriaco ed il Generale Antonini fu stabilito che i Crociati Veneziani si presenterebbero a Marghera il giorno 30 di questo mese, od il 1 di Luglio.

Non si è ricevuta la copia della capitolazione di Palmanuova, nè si poterono conoscere altri patti della medesima, avendo per altro il Maggiore Conte Crenneville assicurato che il Generale Zucchi è salvo, e restituito a Reggio, sua patria.

(Translation.)

Bulletin of War.

Venice, June 27, 1848.

HIS Excellency the General-in-chief of the Austrian Army of Reserve, Lieutenant Marshal Baron de Welden, sent a person yesterday to the Fort of Marghera to demand a safe-conduct to Venice for Major Count Crenneville to have a conference with the Governor of the city and fortress.

General Antonini answered that he would receive to-day at 12 o'clock the Austrian Envoy out of the Fort of Marghera, which he did, at a distance of about one kilometre, under a tent set up for that purpose.

Major Count Crenneville presented the following despatch :

M. le Commandant,

Treviso, June 26, 1848.

The VIIth Article of the Capitulation concluded the 24th June, 1848, with the garrison of the city of Palmanuova, establishes that all the Croats proceeding from Venice shall be sent to that town in order to return to their country.

Have the kindness therefore to point out to me the place and the measures to be taken in order to fulfil the sense of this Article.

I have, &c.

The General-in-Chief of the Army of Reserve,
(Signed) WELDEN.

It was agreed between the Austrian Envoy and General Antonini that the Croatian-Venetians should present themselves before Marghera the 30th of this month or the 1st of July.

The copy of the Capitulation of Palmanuova has not been received nor could the other conditions be known; Major Count Crenneville has however made known that General Zucchi is safe, and returned to Reggio, his country.

No. 25.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Venice, June 28, 1848.

IN consequence of an order given by General D'Aspre after the occupation of Vicenza by the Austrian troops, to the effect that all inhabitants of the city and Province of Vicenza must return thither within a specified time under penalty of the confiscation of their property, the Provisional Government of Lombardy has issued a proclamation in which it states that the penalty of confiscation of property having been abolished by the Austrian Government, the Provisional Government of Lombardy considers the order of General D'Aspre as illegal, and that all the natives of Lombardy who formed part of the force which capitulated to General D'Aspre at Vicenza, are thereby absolved from their engagement not to serve against Austria for three months.

I inclose copies and translations of the documents above referred to for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 25.

Notice issued by the Municipality of Vicenza.

La Congregazione Municipale della Reale Città di Vicenza.

IN esecuzione dell' ordine espresso di sua Eccellenza il Barone d'Aspre, Tenente-Maresciallo, manifesta con nota 17 Giugno corrente, No. 9722-914 di codesta Imperiale Reale Delegazione, la Municipale Congregazione diffida tutti gli abitanti della città e provincia di Vicenza, che dietro gli ultimi casi militari e politici fossero assenti dagli Stati di Sua Maestà Imperiale e Reale a ritornare senza eccezione alcuna, sotto la ingiunta comminatoria della confisca de' loro beni.

Il perentorio termine pel ritorno in patria rimane prefinito in giorni otto per quelli che si trovassero nella provincia di Venezia; in giorni quindici per quelli che si fossero condotti in Lombardia, Ferrara, Bologna, Parma, e Modena; in un mese per quelli che si avessero recato in luoghi più lontani dei sopraindicati.

Tutti i suddetti termini saranno continui, e decorribili dalla data del presente avviso.

Il municipio, confidente in sua Eccellenza il Tenente-Maresciallo Barone d'Aspre, per l'esperienza dei trascorsi giorni può con ogni fondata ragione rassicurare che i cittadini assenti al loro ritorno saranno trattati sotto il rapporto

degli avvenimenti sino ad ora accaduti secondo i principj benevoli del Governo già promessi nell' Articolo III della conchiusasi capitolazione.

Vicenza, 18 Giugno, 1848.

Il Podestà, COSTANTINI.

Visto da sua Eccellenza il Tenente-Maresciallo D'ASPRE.

(Translation.)

The Municipality of the City of Vicenza.

IN execution of the express command of his Excellency Baron D'Aspre, Lieutenant-General, signified in the note of the 17th June instant from this Imperial Royal Delegation, No. 9722-914, the municipality summons all the inhabitants of the city and province of Vicenza, who in consequence of the late military and political events may have absented themselves from the States of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, to return home, without any exception whatever, under pain of the confiscation of their property.

The period peremptorily fixed for the return of those who may be in the Venetian provinces is eight days; for those who may have proceeded to Lombardy, Ferrara, Bologna, Parma, or Modena, fifteen days; and for such as may have gone to a greater distance than the above-mentioned places, one month.

All the above periods are to be reckoned from the date of the publication of this proclamation.

Confiding in his Excellency Lieutenant-General the Baron d'Aspre, after the experience of the past days, the municipality considers it may with reason assure the absent citizens, that on their return they will be treated, as regards events that have taken place up to the present time, according to the benevolent principles of the Government promised by Article III of the capitulation.

Vicenza, June 18, 1848.

(Signed)

The Podesta, COSTANTINI.

Approved of

His Excellency Lieutenant-General BARON D'ASPRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 25.

Proclamation issued by the Provisional Government of Lombardy.

IL nostro Governo Provvisorio Centrale ha fatto pubblicare l'avviso della Congregazione Municipale della Regia città di Vicenza, 18 Giugno, 1848, sottoscritto Costantini, Podestà, e visto da sua Eccellenza il Tenente-Marescialle d'Aspre, e fa seguirne il detto nostro Governo Provvisorio Centrale ciò che segue:

Visto l'Articolo III della Convenzione 11 Giugno, 1848, fra le truppe dell'Imperatore d'Austria e le truppe di Sua Santità Pio IX, per le sgombrò della città di Vicenza;

Vista l'abolizione in genere della confisca contenuta nella patente 3 Settembre, 1803, posta in fronte al Codice Penale Generale Austriaco;

Vista in ispecie la legge sull' emigrazione, 24 Marzo, 1832, che esclude pure la confisca, ed anche pel sequestro richiede termine, giudizj e discipline speciali;

Visto che l'ordine del Tenente-Maresciallo d'Aspre, a cui si riferisce l'avviso sopraccitato, viola patentemente quanto si era convenuto in favore degli abitanti della città e provincia di Vicenza;

Il Governo Provvisorio Centrale della Lombardia

Decreta:

1. Quei cittadini Lombardi che avessero fatto parte delle truppe in concorso delle quali fu stipulata la capitolazione di Vicenza, si dichiarano sciolti dall'osservanza della medesima.

2. Potendo i Governi Italiani ignorare le disposizioni delle leggi Austriache in fatto d'emigrazione, una copia del presente decreto verrà spedita ad ogni Governo, e specialmente a quello di Sua Santità, affinchè possa ciascuno provve-

dersi a termini di diritto in quanto può loro importare la flagrante violazione dei patti come sopra stipulati.

Milano, 22 Giugno, 1848.

CASATI, *Presidente.*

BORRAMEO.

DURINI.

LITTA.

STRIGELLI.

GIULINI.

BERETTA.

GUERRIERI.

TURRONI.

MORONI.

REZZONICO.

AB. ANELLI.

CARBONERA.

GRASSELLI.

DOSSI.

Pel Segretario Generale in missione,

A. MAURI, *Segretario.*

(Translation.)

Our Central Provisional Government has published the notice from the Municipality of the Royal city of Vicenza, dated 18th June, signed by the Podestà Costantini and approved of by his Excellency Lieutenant-General D'Aspre, and has annexed thereto the following :

Considering the IIIrd Article of the Convention of the 11th of June, 1848, between the troops of the Emperor of Austria and those of His Holiness Pius IX, for the evacuation of Vicenza ;

Considering the abolition of the penalty of confiscation contained in the Patent of the 3rd September, 1803, and placed at the head of the General Penal Code of Austria ;

Considering especially the law on emigration of the 24th of March, 1832, which also excludes confiscation, and also for sequestration requires limits, judgments, and special proceedings ;

Considering that the order of Lieutenant-General D'Aspre, to which the above-cited notice refers, openly violates the conditions stipulated in favour of the inhabitants of the city and province of Vicenza ;

The Central Provisional Government of Lombardy

Decrees :

1st. Those citizens of Lombardy who formed part of the troops with whom the capitulation of Vicenza was stipulated, declare themselves absolved from the observance of the conditions of the same.

2nd. It being possible that the Italian Governments may not be acquainted with the Austrian laws of emigration, a copy of the present decree shall be transmitted to each Government, and especially to that of His Holiness, in order that each may respectively take the measures which may be deemed suitable to its interests as regards the flagrant violation of the above stipulated conditions.

Milan, June 22, 1848.

(Signed) CASATI, *President.*

BORRAMEO.

DURINI.

LITTA.

STRIGELLI.

GIULINI.

BERETTA.

GUERRIERI.

TURRONI.

MORONI.

REZZONICA.

AB. ANELLI.

CARBONERA.

GRASSELLI.

DOSSI.

Pel Segretario Generale in missione,

A. MAURI, *Secretary.*

No. 26.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 11.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 6, 1848.

THE project of a law has been presented to the Sardinian Parliament by the Government, for the purpose of "mobilising" 30,000 men of the national guards.

It is expected that a considerable proportion of this number will be made up by volunteers for this service.

This corps will be employed in furnishing garrisons for towns within the frontier, thus setting at liberty for the service of the active army those regular troops now employed on garrison duty.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 27.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 11.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 4, 1848.

THE papers, as well as private accounts, state that a strong opposition exists in Turin against the annexation of Lombardy and Venice to Piedmont.

This fact may have a great deal of influence upon the conduct of affairs in Austria. I have known for a long time the feelings on this subject in Turin, and have expected the manifestation of them. Your Lordship may perhaps hear of something similar with regard to feelings at Milan. The result of such facts, if they are truly stated, will I presume facilitate the attainment of peace, and (as I hope) upon terms which may make it the interest of the parties to maintain it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 28.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 12.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that since the surrender of Palmanuova, the greatest discontent has prevailed among the Milanese, a discontent increased by a report that Venice was on the point of being given up to the Austrians. For some days past a demonstration against the Provisional Government had been preparing, which the leaders of it intended should take place yesterday. It was arranged that a large body of citizens should assemble in the Piazza St. Fedele, under the windows of the Marino Palace; that a deputation should wait on the French Consul to congratulate him on the restoration of order in France, but in reality to press upon him the necessity of French intervention, and to beg him to be the organ of their wishes; whilst bodies of the people should simultaneously proceed to and make a strong remonstrance at the Committee of War for their inactive, inefficient, and mysterious conduct. The Provisional Government took every precaution to prevent any disturbance, by ordering that in every parish (of which there are twenty-five in Milan) 100 armed national guards, well supplied with ball cartridges, should hold themselves in readiness to act at a moment's notice. This measure, coupled with many printed addresses made by the national guards and private individuals, appealing to the good feelings of the people not to embarrass the Government, have had the best effect for the present. The consequence was, that with the exception of a number of persons who collected on the Piazza St. Fedele from mere curiosity, no demonstration took place. The Committee of Public Safety, however, caused several individuals to be arrested, from their

using violent language against the Provisional Government. The discontent of the Milanese is grounded on the belief that the Government are endeavouring to quench the enthusiasm of the people in the national cause. They suspect that the Government, acting under the direction of the King of Sardinia, are effectually, though not apparently, abandoning the Venetian provinces to their fate. This, however, is contradicted by the fact that the Provisional Government have already guaranteed the Venetians 1,000,000 current livres, and have forwarded them in the meanwhile 100,000 current livres, promising 200,000 more by the 10th instant. Besides this supply of money, His Majesty Charles Albert has dispatched 1600 Piedmontese troops (800 of whom had arrived at Modena on the 3rd instant) to co-operate with the allied forces in Venice. In addition to these regular Piedmontese troops, the Provisional Government have sent to Venice considerable numbers of well-armed Lombard volunteers, with orders to put themselves under the direction of General Pepe, the commandant in that city. The Venetians having almost unanimously expressed the wish of being incorporated with Lombardy, Piedmont, &c., look now to His Majesty Charles Albert as their natural protector.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 29.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, July 12, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 29th ultimo, upon the conditions of peace between the Austrians and Italians, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have no pretension to dictate terms to either party in regard to these matters, for Her Majesty's Government have neither the right nor the power to do so.

That which has happened is simply this. The Austrian Government knowing the deep interest which England has always taken in the well-being of the Austrian Empire, of its own accord sent M. de Hummelauer to London to ask Her Majesty's Government to use its good offices as mediator between the Austrian Government and its revolted subjects in Italy, and to undertake a negotiation for the purpose of effecting a cessation of the hostilities in the North of Italy. Her Majesty's Government expressed their willingness to undertake this office, provided the conditions upon which the Austrian Government was prepared to treat, were such as Her Majesty's Government, upon a full consideration of the state of affairs and of the prospects and chances of the contending parties, might think they could propose to the other party with a probability of success. But the conditions stated by M. de Hummelauer did not appear to Her Majesty's Government to be of such a nature, and Her Majesty's Government therefore declined to undertake a negotiation upon the basis proposed. Her Majesty's Government, however, in reply to M. de Hummelauer, stated other and different conditions upon which, if the Austrian Government should consent to them, Her Majesty's Government thought that peace might be concluded; and I informed M. de Hummelauer that Her Majesty's Government would willingly open a negotiation between Austria and the Italians upon that basis. The basis so proposed by Her Majesty's Government as one upon which they thought that an early settlement might be arranged was, that the Austrian Government should relinquish its claims upon the whole of Lombardy, and upon such portion of the Venetian territory as might be agreed upon between Austria and the Italians, and that the people of the territories so relinquished by Austria, should be free to dispose of themselves as they might think fit, and that the compensation which Austria should receive for this relinquishment of territory, should consist in her being relieved from a portion of her public debt, the territories so relinquished taking upon themselves a fair and just proportion of the general debt of the empire. Such was the substance of my communication to M. de Hummelauer; and in a letter of the 20th ultimo to your Excellency, I said with reference to that part of my communication to M. de Hummelauer which related to the Venetian territory, that

I thought that the line of separation between the territory to be relinquished by Austria and the territory to be retained by her, might probably be drawn in regard to the Italian Tyrol somewhere between Trent and Bolzano, and in regard to the Venetian territory at the Tagliamento or along some of the neighbouring rivers; and from what I have lately heard, I am inclined to think that the Italians would be willing that the Piave should be the boundary in that direction.

But there was nothing in all this which bore in any degree the character of a decision as to what Austria should do; it was indeed a decision as to what Her Majesty's Government would do; that is to say, it was a decision by Her Majesty's Government not to mix themselves up with matters with which Great Britain has no direct concern, unless they were empowered by Austria to do so, upon conditions which might afford a reasonable prospect that negotiation might end in peace; and although your Excellency was instructed to advise the Austrian Government to consent to these terms, and was also desired to explain the reasons why Her Majesty's Government thought that on the whole it would be more advantageous to Austria to treat upon those terms, than to take the chance of the result of a protracted war, yet your Excellency was never instructed to insist upon the acceptance of these or of any other conditions whatever by Austria.

The state of the case is simply this: that Her Majesty's Government are ready to open a negotiation as mediators between Austria and the Italians upon the basis explained by me to M. de Hummelauer, but not upon the basis proposed by M. de Hummelauer to me; but that if the Austrian Government are unwilling to treat upon the basis so stated by Her Majesty's Government, and prefer taking the chance of a prolongation of the war, Her Majesty's Government have only to express their regret at not finding it in their power to be useful to the Austrian Government. It would of course be presumptuous for Her Majesty's Government at this distance from the scene of operations, and with imperfect knowledge of the resources of the contending parties, to pretend to fortell with certainty the future events of the war; but nothing has hitherto happened which seems calculated to show that lapse of time is not against the Austrians and in favour of the Italians; and it is at all events manifest that if the Austrians should find it necessary, for military reasons, to withdraw from Italy, they could not then expect the pecuniary arrangements which might now be obtained for them.

No. 30.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 12.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, July 7, 1848.

YOUR Lordship will have heard from Mr. Magenis what is the prevailing disposition of the public at Vienna respecting the continuation of the war in Italy, and of the probable compliance of the Austrian Ministers with that disposition. I have had the honour to state to your Lordship more than once my opinion that the terms of which you approve as a basis on which peace may be negotiated, would not be approved of by the Austrian Government, and the fact is so. I have reason, from what I know here, to think that Austria will not yield to the concession of those terms, until her armies have been vanquished; and also that the Austrians do not see any reason for entertaining the opinion of their inability to continue the war. They believe that the state of things in the Venetian territory is different from that which your Lordship imagines it to be. The Austrians further are persuaded that King Charles Albert has great difficulties to fear from other things as well as from the Austrian arms, and they do not apprehend that French interference will be the consequence of the policy they (the Austrians) intend to pursue.

I believe that if it should be the pleasure of Her Majesty to offer to mediate, and to take the Adige as the line of demarcation, the Austrians would gladly receive that proof of the good will of Her Majesty's Government.

I took the liberty in my despatch of July 3 to make some observations upon the possible, if not probable, policy of the Austrians, should they be driven to an extremity. I see no reason to alter what I said of that policy as far as it relates to the French connexion.

The elections for the Diet which is to assemble at Vienna, have not been to the satisfaction of the Committee of Public Safety, and it is in contemplation to have a new modification of the constitution.

The Committee of Public Safety have just voted that a commission, of which three of their own body be members, shall be sent to Prague to judge and decide upon the conduct of Prince Windischgrätz in the resistance he offered to the attempts of the insurgents.

It has been observed that the Committee have not been endowed with power to meddle with other matters than those of internal safety at Vienna and its territory. The Committee are the masters of the Ministry and of the city, and may if they please act upon their vote.

The weakness of the Government and the authority of others are things detrimental and dangerous to this empire, but I will venture to express a hope that it may regain strength.

I have only to add in more explicit terms than I used above, that I do not believe the Government will take any measures for the promotion of peace in Italy, unless it should be on the terms I have mentioned, but that the Government will wait for the result of military measures.

Having just received a report that I wish to send to your Lordship, and it being too late to send it by the post in a better form, I take the liberty to inclose it as it is.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Report of Affairs at Vienna.

Innsbruck, July 7, 1848.

AT Vienna the Committee of Public Safety, composed of citizens, national guards and students, has demanded the removal from office of Count Leo Thun and of Prince Windischgrätz.

The Ministry has notified to the President of the Committee, Dr. Fishhof, that by making a similar request the Committee went beyond its limits.

This answer dissatisfied the Committee. Subsequently the Ministry resolved to send a new Commissioner Extraordinary to Prague, in order to make a full report on the late and present events there.

The Committee (according to the news of the 3rd July) insists now on adjoining three members of their choice to act with the Commissioner Extraordinary, and on having their special instructions to act as a Commission of Inquiry, countersigned by the Archduke John, in order to enforce obedience on the part of Prince Windischgrätz, whose influence amongst the military party at Prague and Lemberg is much dreaded by the Vienna Committee.

Reports say that the troops at Prague declare openly their intention to maintain Prince Windischgrätz as their Commander-in-chief, and that if it is intended to remove or offend him, they will entreat him not to submit, but to march them in a body into Italy, there to fight against the Italians, leaving the burghers at Prague and Vienna to protect themselves.

On the 5th, at nightfall, Prince Milosch at Ischl had just received information from Vienna, that the Turkish Servians were coming over in great numbers to assist the Croatians and Servians, &c. in Austria, against the Hungarians.

Weisskirchen and Kikinda had been taken by these combined forces, and Colonel Danilewsky and M. Mayerhofer, the Russian and Austrian Consuls-General at Belgrade, had proceeded to Peterwardein, in order to induce General Hrabowsky, the Hungarian Commissioner Extraordinary, not to attack the Croatians and Servians.

It is apprehended that in case of an attack on the part of the Hungarians, the Turkish Slavic populations along the Austro-Turkish frontiers will join the Croatian, Slavonic, and Servian tribes in Austria, and that an insurrectionary movement will take place in those parts of Turkey, which will subsequently change into a revolution against Ottoman rule.

The Russian General Duhamel and Talaat Effendi had just arrived at Belgrade from Bucharest, with a joint special mission. Count Erdody, at Ischl, said that the Hungarian Ministry had come to a compromise with the Archduke John, on the basis of placing again the departments of Finance and War under Austrian control.

No. 31.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 14.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, July 8, 1848.

THE inclosed note, dated July 5th, from Baron Wessenberg, will put your Lordship in full possession of the steps taken by the Imperial Government in pursuit of peace, and of the views taken by the Lombards of the mode by which peace is alone to be obtained. It further shows the present determination of the Imperial Government to make no more attempts at negotiation, but to endeavour by force of arms to settle the Italian question. It states that the Imperial army has been reinforced, that the successes obtained in the Venetian Kingdom have ameliorated the state of affairs for the Austrians in Italy. It refers to what the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. de la Cour, had done at Innsbruck, and speaks of waiting for better information of the feelings, &c., of the French Government.

Your Lordship need not be troubled with more by me, as the note will be laid before your eyes, but I have one or two remarks to make.

In a preceding despatch, which I had the honour to write to your Lordship, and to which I referred in my despatch of yesterday's date, I spoke of the possibility of a connexion being formed between the Austrians and the French, and of its being caused by the defeat of the Austrians in Italy. What we hear in this country gives us no reason to suppose that the Italian force, taken altogether, has any superiority over the Austrian. A victory may be gained by the King of Sardinia, but he may also be beaten. A victory, if gained by him, might lead to the retreat of the Austrians within those limits where it would be out of the question for an Italian army to follow them, and then the result I have mentioned would ensue. The defeat of Charles Albert would lead to the repetition of the offer on the part of Austria to treat for peace, and I doubt not that the terms proposed would not be other than those which have been already adopted by the Imperial Government.

At Vienna hopes are now entertained of the surrender of Venice. The reinforcements demanded by Marshal Radetzky, of which I reported the amount to your Lordship some time ago as stated by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, have been ordered, and will reach the Marshal ere long.

 Inclosure in No. 31.
*Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.**Vienne, le 5 Juillet, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que son Excellence M. le Vicomte Ponsonby, &c., lui a adressée en date du 28 Juin, pour lui annoncer que dans le cas que le Gouvernement Impérial aurait accordé sa sanction aux bases d'arrangement concernant la Lombardie indiquées dans le mémorandum remis à Londres par M. de Hummelauer au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, en date du 24 Mai, et consentait d'étendre ces mêmes bases à telles parties du territoire de l'Etat Vénitien dont on conviendrait de part et d'autre, il serait autorisé à se rendre, si le Gouvernement Impérial le désirait, en Italie, pour intervenir au nom du Gouvernement Britannique dans la négociation qu'il s'agirait d'ouvrir pour le rétablissement de la paix sur les bases sus-mentionnées.

Le Gouvernement Impérial apprécie cette démarche amicale du Gouvernement Britannique comme une nouvelle preuve de l'intérêt qu'il lui porte, et le Soussigné est chargé d'exprimer à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur la haute satisfaction qu'en éprouve l'Empereur son Auguste Souverain.

Si le Gouvernement Impérial ne croit pas qu'une négociation pour l'objet

en question puisse déjà être ouverte en ce moment avec espoir de succès, c'est que des circonstances sont survenues depuis que des propositions de paix ont été faites directement à Milan, propositions dont le Soussigné a donné connaissance à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur, lesquelles ont apporté des modifications importantes à la situation des choses. D'une part le Gouvernement Provisoire à Milan a décliné les propositions faites par le Gouvernement Impérial, sous prétexte qu'il ne s'agissait point d'une affaire uniquement Lombarde, mais d'une affaire Italienne, mot dont la définition reste à attendre, et qu'il ne pouvait par conséquent entrer dans aucune négociation séparément; que d'ailleurs un arrangement ne serait possible qu'autant qu'il s'étendrait sur toutes les possessions Autrichiennes en Italie, y compris même, à ce qu'il paraît, la partie méridionale du Tirol. Il semble donc évident que la partie adverse avec laquelle le Gouvernement Impérial a à faire, n'est encore rien moins que disposée à prêter la main à un arrangement à l'amiable, et qu'elle croit gagner encore à la continuation de la lutte engagée entre les deux parties. Le Gouvernement Impérial doute par conséquent que même la voix d'une Puissance médiatrice eût de grandes chances d'être écoutée avant que les armes Impériales n'eussent remporté quelque nouveau succès signalé sur l'armée ennemie. En attendant, presque la totalité de la terre ferme de l'Etat Vénitien est rentrée sous la domination de l'Autriche, ce qui, outre l'avantage politique de ce fait, a considérablement amélioré la situation de l'armée Autrichienne en Italie, qui d'ailleurs d'ici à peu de tems recevra de nouveaux renforts qui la mettront à même de reprendre l'offensive.

D'autre part, son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur connaît les ouvertures que le Gouvernement Français a fait faire au Gouvernement Impérial peu avant le départ du Soussigné d'Innsbruck, par rapport aux complications Italiennes. Le Gouvernement Français est ainsi venu se mettre lui-même en contact avec les affaires en question, et il importe au Gouvernement Impérial d'obtenir des notions plus précises sur le rôle que la France compte s'y ménager, et cela d'autant plus que d'après les nouvelles de Paris, il y aurait déjà eu des explications entre le Gouvernement Français et l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté Sarde à ce sujet. Le Gouvernement Impérial est par conséquent porté à croire qu'il y aurait de l'avantage à attendre pour le moment que les dispositions de ces deux Gouvernemens se dessinent plus clairement avant de hasarder de nouvelles ouvertures de conciliation, dont on n'entreverrait pas un résultat favorable.

Le Soussigné prie son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de porter ces observations à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, et d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, July 5, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which his Excellency Viscount Ponsonby addressed to him on the 28th of June, announcing to him that in the event of the Imperial Government giving its sanction to the basis of the arrangement with Lombardy pointed out in the memorandum dated May 24, delivered by M. de Hummelauer in London to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of its consenting to include in the said basis such other parts of the Venetian States as might be agreed upon by both parties; he would then be authorized to set out for Italy, if the Imperial Government so desired, to intervene in the name of the British Government in the negotiation which was to be opened for the re-establishment of peace upon the bases above mentioned.

The Imperial Government appreciates this friendly proceeding of the British Government, and considers it a further proof of the interest which they take in the Imperial Government; and the Undersigned is instructed to express to his Excellency the Ambassador the great satisfaction which it has caused his august Sovereign the Emperor.

If the Imperial Government thinks that a negotiation for the purpose in question cannot yet be entered upon with any hope of success, it is because since proposals of peace were made directly at Milan, circumstances have arisen of which the Undersigned has informed his Excellency the Ambassador, and which have occasioned important modifications in the position of affairs. On one hand, the Provisional Government has declined the proposals made by the

Imperial Government, on the plea that it was not a question of a purely Lombard question but an Italian question,—a phrase the meaning of which remains to be explained,—and that consequently it could not enter separately into any negotiation; that, moreover, no arrangements would be practicable which did not include all the Austrian possessions in Italy, even, as it would appear, the southern portion of the Tyrol. It seems therefore evident, that the adverse party with which the Imperial Government has to deal, is anything but disposed to concur in an amicable arrangement, and that it still expects to be a gainer by the continuance of the war now waging between the two parties. The Imperial Government doubts, therefore, whether even the voice of a mediating Power would be listened to until the Imperial armies shall have obtained some signal successes over the army of the enemy. In the meanwhile nearly the whole of the Venetian States on the mainland have returned to their subjection to Austria, and, besides the political advantages of this circumstance, it has considerably improved the position of the Austrian army in Italy, which will moreover shortly receive fresh reinforcements, which will enable it to resume the offensive.

On the other hand, his Excellency the Ambassador is aware of the overtures which the French Government made to the Imperial Government relative to the Italian question shortly before the Undersigned left Innsbruck. The French Government has thus brought itself into contact with the affairs in question, and it is requisite that the Imperial Government should obtain more precise information as to the part which France reserves to herself in the question, and this more especially as, according to the news from Paris, explanations have already passed on the subject between the French Government and the Envoy of His Sardinian Majesty. The Imperial Government is consequently inclined to believe that it would be advisable to wait till the intentions of those two Governments are more clearly defined, before it ventures upon further overtures for reconciliation from which no favourable result can be anticipated.

The Undersigned begs his Excellency the Ambassador to bring these observations under the notice of his Government, and to accept, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

No. 32.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 14.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 2, 1848.

PROBABLY you have already seen the inclosed despatch from Baron de Wessenberg to Count Casati, dated Innsbruck, 13th June, and the Count's reply; but I send them nevertheless, on the chance of their not having yet reached your hands from other quarters.

As no overtures have been made to the Sardinian Government since that reply was given, nothing further has occurred with regard to M. de Wessenberg's communication.

If it is from a reluctance to enter into direct negotiations with King Charles Albert that no overtures have been made to this country from Austria, We see from the inclosed document that Austria has made up her mind to relinquish Lombardy, but she wishes to preserve the Venetian States. It would not be difficult I think to prove to her that she would in fact be able to gain more for her own interests by giving them up than by having to preserve her authority and dominion over them by force of arms and as rebellious provinces. Although it is now proved that the spirit of nationality amongst the people of the north of Italy is not so enthusiastic as was at first imagined, but which you will I hope do me the justice to admit I all along doubted, it is I think nevertheless true that the endeavour to effect an arrangement that should be lasting and be really beneficial to both of the Contracting Parties, except upon the basis of the complete evacuation of Italy by the Austrians, would be only a waste of time and labour. It is evident that Austria left in possession of the Venetian States, the same engines would be set to work to raise another cry against her as have been used now. The Kingdom of Northern Italy cannot, it is true, be constituted, without taking upon itself certain charges, and these may become

matters for discussion and negotiation; but the question of territory on the basis I have described seems to me all important, for on it rests the chance of internal tranquillity, and on this latter the probability of the institutions of the country becoming fixed and consolidated.

The news to-day from the camp is, that on the 30th of last month a movement of the whole army commenced, with the view, I imagine, of relieving Venice; and its terra firma provinces. The King's head-quarters have moved from Valleggio to Roverbella, and it is supposed that he will cross the Adige somewhere below Zevio. The Duke of Genoa with a force of 13,000 or 14,000 men has crossed the Upper Adige at Pontone, and is moving to attack Verona from the north. Fourteen Piedmontese battalions of dépôt, four or five of reserve, the Lombard and Tuscan troops, forming altogether a corps of about 30,000 men, will hold the line of Mincio and watch Mantua, thus enabling the King to move with a corps of between 50,000 and 60,000 men. The arrival of the troops upon the Mincio in the second line has no doubt given the King more freedom of action than he had, but his present move is nevertheless a somewhat bold one.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Baron Wessenberg to Count Casati.

M. le Comte,

Innsbruck, le 13 Juin, 1848.

SA Majesté Impériale et Royale, guidée par des sentimens d'humanité et de paix, désire vivement voir mis bientôt un terme à la guerre qui désole ses provinces Italiennes.

A cet effet, je suis autorisé à ouvrir avec le Gouvernement Provisoire établi à Milan, une négociation qui serait basée sur la séparation et l'indépendance de la Lombardie.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale n'y rattachera que des conditions équitables, lesquelles comprendraient principalement le transfer d'une partie proportionnelle de la dette de l'Empire d'Autriche à la charge de la Lombardie, plus un règlement qui assurerait certains avantages au commerce Autrichien, et quelques stipulations par rapport aux propriétés particulières de la Famille Impériale et aux pertes qu'ont éprouvées les employés militaires et civils à la suite des derniers événemens.

Vous voyez, M. le Comte, que j'aborde dès le commencement, la question avec toute la franchise possible.

Je vous informe en même temps que Sa Majesté Impériale vient de donner des ordres pour la conclusion d'un armistice, auquel le Gouvernement Provisoire aimera sans doute à concourir.

Il ne restera qu'à nommer de part et d'autre des Plénipotentiaires pour conduire la négociation en question au but désiré.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) BARON DE WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Innsbruck, June 13, 1848.

HIS Imperial and Royal Majesty, guided by feelings of humanity and of peace, anxiously desires to see an early termination of the war which is desolating his Italian provinces.

For this purpose I am authorized to open with the Provisional Government established at Milan, a negotiation which would have for its basis the separation and independence of Lombardy.

The Government of His Imperial and Royal Majesty will attach thereto no conditions except such as are equitable, which would principally comprize in the transference to the account of Lombardy of a proportional part of the debt of the Austrian Empire, and a regulation securing certain advantages to Austrian commerce, and some stipulations as to the private property of the Imperial Family, and as to the losses which the military and civil employés have sustained in consequence of late events.

You see, M. le Comte, that at the very outset I approach the question in the frankest manner possible.

I have at the same time to inform you that His Imperial Majesty has just issued orders for the conclusion of an armistice, in which the Provisional Government will no doubt be glad to concur.

It will therefore only remain to name on each side Plenipotentiaries to carry on the negotiation now in question to the conclusion which is wished for.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) BARON DE WESSENBERG.

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

Count Casati to Baron Wessenberg.

Milan, le 18 Juin, 1848.

M. LE Conseiller de Légation de Schnitzer m'a remis une lettre de votre Excellence en date du 13 courant, dans laquelle il me fut annoncé qu'il aurait à me communiquer une autre lettre officielle, ayant pour but d'entamer des négociations de paix. En effet hier au soir dans un entretien que j'ai eu avec lui en présence de plusieurs de mes collègues du Gouvernement Provisoire, il me remit l'autre lettre de votre Excellence de la même date, qui contenait les propositions de pacification, se résumant dans les points suivans:

1. Indépendance absolue de la Lombardie et la séparation de la monarchie.
2. L'obligation de la part de la Lombardie de se charger d'une partie proportionnelle de la dette Autrichienne.
3. Conventions commerciales en faveur de l'industrie Autrichienne.
4. Indemnité pour les biens privés des membres de la Famille Impériale, et pour les dommages soufferts par quelques uns par suite des événemens. En même temps un armistice pour traiter sur ces bases.

Ces propositions ayant été développées, il se présenta d'abord l'idée que votre Excellence regardait la question comme simplement Lombarde, tandis qu'elle a été toujours envisagée par nous comme une question Italienne. Cela posé, si dans l'Article 1, au lieu de parler de l'indépendance Lombarde, il fut question d'indépendance de toutes les provinces Italiennes soumises au sceptre de l'Autriche, les Articles suivans prêteraient matière à une négociation, et nous sommes persuadés qu'on ne serait pas loin de pouvoir tomber d'accord.

Le Gouvernement Provisoire, au nom duquel j'écris, est profondément pénétré du désir de mettre fin à une guerre désastreuse et qui pourrait encore se prolonger avec des sacrifices graves pour les deux parties, mais la cause dont il s'agit est tellement sacrée à ses yeux, qu'il ne saurait la désertir, pas même en partie.

Les déclarations des autres provinces se prononcent pour la fraternité, et notre indépendance ne saurait être garantie si elle n'existait qu'à moitié. Votre Excellence peut être assurée que l'Autriche trouverait alors dans l'Italie voisine une nation amie, et que les intérêts matériels des deux nations y gagneraient immensément, plus que dans le cas où les provinces Italiennes devraient, ou dans leur totalité, ou en partie, rester forcément unies à la Monarchie Autrichienne. La pénétration de votre Excellence approfondira d'abord tous les avantages qui résulteraient pour la Monarchie Autrichienne de l'existence d'un Etat fort dans la Haute Italie, d'un Etat qui serait une garantie pour la paix Européenne. Votre Excellence aura déjà appris que la Lombardie a déclaré vouloir former un seul Etat avec le Piémont. Cet événement apporte des changemens à la forme des relations politiques et internationales, et nous ne saurions plus dès à présent entrer en négociations quelconques que d'accord avec le Gouvernement du Roi Charles Albert. Le Gouvernement Provisoire ne saurait d'ailleurs s'intéresser à ce qu'un armistice fût admis dans l'état actuel des choses, et il ne croit pas non plus que le Roi Charles Albert voudrait y adhérer.

Quant aux otages, le Gouvernement se prêterait volontiers à traiter de leur échange, mais il lui faudrait une garantie que tous les Italiens pris en otage avec leurs familles seraient mis en liberté, et que dorénavant aucun autre individu ne pourra plus être retenu en otage dans une éventualité de guerre quelconque.

Le Gouvernement Provisoire de la Lombardie exprime à votre Excellence les sentimens de son estime et l'assure de sa bonne volonté pour amener une pacification. M. de Schnitzer pourra encore de vive voix faire connaître quels sont les sentimens de ce Gouvernement, dévoué à l'intérêt de sa patrie et à la cause de l'indépendance Italienne.

Que votre Excellence, &c.

(Translation.)

Milan, June 18, 1848.

THE Conseiller de Légation, M. de Schnitzer, has delivered to me a letter from your Excellency dated the 13th instant, in which it is announced to me that he would have to communicate to me another official letter, having for its object to set on foot negotiations for peace. In fact, yesterday evening, in the presence of several of my colleagues of the Provisional Government, he gave me your Excellency's other letter of the same date, which contained the proposals of pacification, comprised in the following points:—

1st. The absolute independence of Lombardy and its separation from the monarchy.

2nd. The obligation on the part of Lombardy to charge itself with a proportionate share of the Austrian debt.

3rd. Commercial conventions in favour of Austrian industry.

4th. Indemnity for the private property of members of the Imperial Family, and for the losses sustained by certain individuals in consequence of events. At the same time an armistice, in order to treat upon these bases.

These proposals having been set forth, the idea at once suggested itself that your Excellency was considering the question as simply a Lombard question, whereas by us it has always been looked upon as an Italian question. Having premised this, if in Article 1, instead of speaking of Lombard independence, the independence of all the Italian provinces subject to the rule of Austria had been mentioned, the following articles might afford matter for negotiation, and we are persuaded that we should not be far from coming to some agreement.

The Provisional Government, in whose name I write, is deeply impressed with the desire to put an end to a disastrous war, and one which may still be prolonged with heavy sacrifices to both parties; but the cause at stake is so sacred in its sight that it cannot desert it even in part.

The declarations of the other provinces are expressed in favour of fraternity, and our independence could never be guaranteed if it only had a half existence. Your Excellency may rest assured that Austria would then have in neighbouring Italy a friendly nation, and that the material interests of the two countries would gain immensely by it, more than if the Italian provinces were to remain altogether or in part forcibly united to the Austrian Monarchy. Your Excellency's penetration will discover at once all the advantages which would accrue to the Austrian Monarchy from the existence of a powerful State in Upper Italy, of a State which could be a guarantee for the peace of Europe. Your Excellency will have already learnt that Lombardy has declared her wish to form together with Piedmont one single State. This event produces a change in the form of our political and international relations, and henceforward we cannot enter into any negotiation whatsoever, unless in concert with the Government of King Charles Albert. The Provisional Government, moreover, cannot interfere in order that an armistice should be entered into in the present state of things, nor does it think that King Charles Albert would concur in one.

As regards hostages, the Provisional Government would willingly consent to treat for their exchange, but it would require that all Italians with their families, who have been seized as hostages, should be set at liberty, and that for the future no other individual shall be retained as hostage whatever course the war may take.

The Provisional Government of Lombardy begs to express to your Excellency its sentiments of esteem, and to assure your Excellency of its sincere desire to bring about a pacification. M. de Schnitzer will be able to acquaint you, by word of mouth, with the sentiments of this Government, of its devotion to the interests of their country and to the cause of Italian independence.

May your Excellency, &c.

No. 33.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 14.)

(Extract.)

Milan, July 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the official bulletin published this day announces the incorporation of the city and province of Venice with the united States of the Monarchy of Upper Italy. This important act was voted almost unanimously by an assembly of the Deputies in Venice, there being 127 votes for, and only 6 against it. A few days previous to this solemn and public ratification of it, the proposal for the incorporation had been carried by acclamation.

I learn from an authentic private source that General Zucchi, who lately commanded the fortress of Palmanuova and had returned to Reggio, his native place, has been called to Milan by the Provisional Government, in order to avail themselves of his well-known talents and experience.

The only information from the head-quarters is that the Italian army continues its operations for the attack of Verona. It is said that the King of Sardinia will shortly move a strong body of troops to attack the fortress of Legnago and to dislodge the Austrians from other strong positions in the Venetian States, now that the line of the Mincio and the lower part of the Oglio is well protected by the Piedmontese reserve (which has nearly all arrived) and by the Lombard regular troops and volunteers.

No. 34.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 14.)

My Lord,

Venice, July 3, 1848.

THE Assembly of Deputies elected to pronounce upon the political destinies of this place, *i. e.*, whether it is to declare for an union with Piedmont, or for a continuance of the Republic, held its first sitting this day, but transacted no business beyond nominating its president and other officers.

It is generally supposed that the decision will be in favour of union with Piedmont, but the Republican party, if not very numerous, is at least violent, and may intimidate the other side.

In the meantime the whole of the mainland of the Venetian provinces is in the hands of the Austrians, and people begin to ask what practical advantage they will derive from a declaration in favour of Piedmont, if King Charles Albert is unable to come to their assistance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 35.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—Received July 14.)

(Extract.)

Venice, July 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, that the Venetian Provisional Assembly declared yesterday afternoon for the immediate fusion of the city and province of Venice with Piedmont.

The question first proposed to the Assembly was, whether a decision should be come to with regard to the political condition of the country now or at the conclusion of the war.

This question was carried in favour of an immediate decision by 130 votes against 3, and elicited an eloquent speech from Signor Manin, the President of the Provisional Government, in which that gentleman stated that, although he was now, as at the commencement of the revolution, strongly in favour of a republic, yet, for the sake of union, seeing that the enemy were at their gates,

he should sacrifice his own opinion, while he called upon other deputies to do the same for the good of the country.

The second question, viz., that of an immediate fusion of the city and province of Venice with the Sardinian States, was then put and carried by 127 votes to 6.

I inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy and translation of the precise form in which this resolution was carried.

The Assembly is occupied to-day in discussing the question whether the members of the Provisional Government shall be changed or confirmed.

Signor Manin has declined to continue to hold provisional office.

No disturbances have taken place. Great numbers of people assembled on the Square of St. Mark last night, and "Vivas" were given for Carlo Alberto, and cries of "Down with the Republic!" uttered by people, many among whom it was not difficult to recognize as having been a short time ago its loudest supporters.

All classes, with very few exceptions, unite in the conviction that the Republic could not have existed much longer.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Resolution for the Union of Venice to Piedmont.

OBEDIENDO alla suprema necessità che la Italia intera sia liberata dallo straniero, ed all' intento principale di continuare la guerra dell' indipendenza con la maggiore efficacia possibile, come Veneziani, in nome e per l'interesse della Provincia di Venezia, e come Italiani, per l'interesse di tutta la nazione, votiamo l'immediata fusione della città e provincia di Venezia negli Stati Sardi con la Lombardia, e alle condizioni stesse della Lombardia, con la quale in ogni caso intendiamo di restare perfettamente incorporati, seguendone i destini politici, unitamente alle altre provincie Venete.

(Translation.)

OBEYING the supreme necessity of liberating the whole of Italy from the stranger, and with the object of carrying on the war of independence with the greatest possible efficacy, both as Venetians, in the name and for the interest of the Provinces of Venice, and as Italians, for the interest of all the nation, we vote for the immediate fusion of the city and province of Venice with the Sardinian States, together with and on the very same conditions as Lombardy, with which province we intend in every case to remain perfectly incorporated, following its political destinies, together with the other Venetian provinces.

No. 36.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 15.)

My Lord,

Venice, July 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the "Venetian Gazette" of yesterday, containing an official letter, dated Roverbella (the headquarters of the King of Piedmont), June the 30th, announcing the determination of His Majesty to send a body of 2000 Piedmontese troops to Venice.

In order to reach Venice, these troops will have to embark at Comacchio or Ancona, as the mainland is occupied by the Austrians.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 36.

M. Des Ambrois to Count Martini.

Signor Conte,

Roverbella, 30 Giugno, 1848.

IL Rè m'incarica di significare a vostra Signoria Illustrissima che ha determinato di spedire a Venezia un corpo di duemila uomini di truppe Piemontesi, onde assecondare, per quanto può, il desiderio del Governo Provvisorio di avere un sussidio di queste truppe da lunga mano agguerrite e sperimentate nel maneggio delle armi. Sua Maestà desidera che vostra Signoria rechi prontamente a notizia del Governo Provvisorio questa sua risoluzione, conforme ai sensi di amicizia che nutre pel popolo Veneto ed alla divozione sua per la causa Italiana. Sua Maestà conta sul valore e sul patriottismo dei Veneti non degeneri dall' antica virtù, e spera che la Provvidenza non abbandonerà questa gloriosa città.

La Camera dei Deputati ha votato quasi unanime la legge di fusione della Lombardia e delle Provincie di Vicenza, Padova, Rovigo e Treviso, secondo la redazione proposta in ultimo dal Ministero, della quale io le rimetto copia. Non dubito di egual voto da parte del Senato, e così confido che in breve la fusione sarà mandata ad effetto.

Io sono intanto lieto di poter porgere a vostra Signoria queste comunicazioni, la prego, &c.

Il Ministro residente presso Sua Maestà,
DES AMBROIS.

(Translation.)

Count,

Roverbella, June 3, 1848.

THE King has charged me to signify to your Excellency that he has decided on sending to Venice a body of 2000 Piedmontese troops, in order to comply as much as possible with the desire of the Provisional Government to have a subsidy of these troops for a long time trained up to war and experienced in the management of arms. His Majesty desires that you should speedily make known to the Provisional Government this his resolution, in conformity with the sense of friendship that he bears to the people of Venice, and to its devotion for the Italian cause. His Majesty counts on the valour and patriotism of the Venetians, that it will not degenerate from its ancient worth, and hopes that Providence will not abandon that glorious city.

The Chamber of Deputies has voted almost unanimously the law for the fusion of Lombardy and the provinces of Vicenza, Padova, Rovigo, and Treviso, according to the reductions proposed lately by the Ministry, of which I send you copy. I do not doubt that the Senate will give the same vote, and I therefore trust that in a short time the annexation will be carried into effect.

I am in the meanwhile happy to be able to make these communications to your Excellency, and beg, &c.

The Minister residing near His Majesty,
(Signed) DES AMBROIS.

No. 37.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 15.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 6, 1848.

THERE was yesterday a very stormy debate in the Chamber of Deputies which ended in a defeat of the Ministers. The question was whether the number of members of the "Consulta" at Milan, as established by agreement between the Government here and the Provisional Government at Milan, was to be doubled or not by members chosen from the provinces. This was proposed by the Government, and the result was that the Ministerial proposition was lost. This question having been made a Cabinet question, the defeat of last night has led to the announcement this morning in the Chamber, of the

resignation of the Government, and Count Revel proceeds to the King's headquarters to-night to inform him of all that has occurred. Count Revel has also declared that he resigns the commission entrusted to him some days ago, to compose with Vincenzo Ricci, the Minister of the Interior, a new Administration.

No. 38.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 15.)

(Extract.)

Florence, July 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship, in original and translation, the answer of Gioberti to the municipality of Florence on the occasion of the freedom of the city being offered to him.

I have selected this address from many other similar addresses and speeches he has made since he has visited Rome and Central Italy, because I think it a favourable specimen of his eloquence, and of the sound opinions he puts forth at a moment so critical as the present for Italy; and your Lordship will probably read with pleasure the address which I have now the honour to forward to you.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Address of the Abbé Gioberti to the Municipality of Florence.

Signori,

PER ringraziarvi dell' onor che mi fate, creandomi vostro cittadino, avrei bisogno della vostra eloquenza. Invano tenterei di supplire colle mie rozze parole; chè la cortesia e la magnanimità quando eccedono, non possono essere lodate degnamente che da se medesime. E voi testè ne deste un saggio quando per giustificare la vostra elezione mi assimigliaste ai più chiari spiriti che mai onorassero, non solo Firenze, ma il mondo e la specie umana. Accompagnando il mio piccolo nome col nome di quei grandissimi, voi cumulaste il beneficio fattomi con una grazia maggiore; qual si è il recare a titolo di merito ciò che non può essere se non effetto di benevolenza. E in vero io non posso altrimenti spiegare il grado di cui sono investito, che attribuendolo ad eccesso d'amore; e paragonandomi a quegli uomini antichissimi, che per altrui favore anzi che per le proprie opere erano esaltati al consorzio degl' Immortali.

Nè voi siete soli, o Signori, a privilegiarmi di onoranze sì immeritate; onde la stessa gara che corre nel conferirmele, non che farmi insuperbire, dee porre in salvo la mia modestia. Passando per altre Italiane metropoli ne ricevetti altresì in dono il privilegio insigne della loro cittadinanza; e lo ebbi fra le altre, da Roma. Cittadino sulle sponde del Tevere, come su quelle dell' Arno, io non posso essere sì cieco di me medesimo, che attribuisca questa doppia fortuna al mio tenue valore, anzi che all' idea patria da me espressa; a cui la città santa e la città gentilissima vollero far omaggio nella mia persona.

Questo singolare concorso di Firenze e di Roma nell' onorare un' idea, avvertandomi che di me non si tratta, solleva il mio spirito a considerazioni più alte e più degne della vostra presenza. E certo non pochi maraviglieranno che le due città più illustri consentano nello stesso culto; e cercheranno la cagione di un accordo insolito ai nostri tempi. E pure l'armonia di Roma e di Firenze, della Toscana e del Lazio, è cosa antichissima; e nel conserto mirabile dei due paesi consistono le misteriose origini e le ragioni recondite del nostro incivimento. Ma, secondo una legge universale di natura, ogni armonia presuppone una differenza e come dire un' antitesi, che per l'imperfezione ingenita delle cose umane può facilmente trapassare in inimicizia. Perciò non è da stupire, se Roma e Firenze furono talvolta contrarie; senza che però il disaccordo momentaneo distruggesse la loro intima fratellanza; onde come nei secoli antichi e paganici Roma fu sostanzialmente una città Etrusca, così nel medio evo Firenze fu Guelfa; che è quanto dire Romana e Latina. E quando il consenso venne turbato o interrotto, ebbe a soffrire la stessa Italia; la quale non può fiorire e

godere delle sue prerogative come regina delle nazioni, se non quando le due città principi e le idee da loro rappresentante si abbracciano insieme e si aiutano scambievolmente.

La contrarietà di Firenze e di Roma, che è quanto dire dei principii da loro espressi, giunse al colmo negli ultimi tempi, e fu la fonte principale delle calamità straordinarie che afflissero la nostra penisola; come l'amicizia loro è al dì d'oggi la causa del nostro risorgimento. Or donde nacque la mutazione? Essa nacque da quell'uomo, che è nella mente e nel cuore di tutti; cioè da Pio. Ma Pio ristorando Roma temporale, imitò quei Romani antichissimi, che tenevano dalla vicina Etruria i semi della civil sapienza; e rinnovò l'esempio di Numa che informò di Toscana gentilezza e mansuefece la città Latina. Così il nuovo Pontefice cominciando con un atto di clemenza il felicissimo suo regno, seguì l'esempio delle vostre provincie, dove da molti anni l'umanità non fu mai offesa sotto pretesto della giustizia; e mettendo mano animosamente alle riforme, parve che seco salisse sul beato seggio l'ingegno pacifico e rinnovatore di Leopoldo.

Io vengo da Roma, o Signori, e ho veduto cogli occhi propri le paterne sembianze, ho fruita co' miei orecchi la divina sapienza del Papa liberatore. Non mi proverò a ritrarvi le une e a darvi un concetto dell'altra; vi dirò solo che Pio come Principe è degno della Toscana e d'Italia; come Pontefice è degno di Roma. Non date retta a coloro che lo rappresentano come soggetto ad esterne influenze; perchè di mente non meno che di animo egli sovrasta alla turba che lo circonda. Egli è Italiano quanto noi; quanto noi ama l'Italia, la sua indipendenza, la sua gloria; quanto noi apprezzo ed ha cara la sapienza civile di Leopoldo, la spada invitta e vindice di Carlo Alberto. Ma egli congiunge al regio potere il sommo sacerdozio; e quindi ha il debito particolare e tutto suo proprio di unire e armonizzare nel suo reggimento i caratteri di due potenze disparatissime. Niuno tema che non ci riesca; e niuno troppo si dolga delle lentezze che sono inseparabili da questo arduo componimento. Ci rallegri anzi lo sperare che mentre da un lato il Governo Romano concorre a una guerra giusta, santa, pietosa, necessaria non meno al bene della religione che alla salvezza della patria, Pio non deponga fra le armi i pensieri di pace; e alle providenze severe e rigorose del principe si accompagni la tenerezza del padre. Chi sa che per opera sua non sia per succedere un nuovo miracolo? Chi sa che egli non giunga a compiere colla persuasione e coll' amore la vittoria incominciata col ferro? Quando ciò avvenisse, niuno ne gioirebbe più de voi, o Signori, e di tutta questa provincia umanissima, la quale mentre concorre con vigore alla sacra guerra, sospira ardentemente il giorno, in cui la benevolenza e non l'odio sarà il patto delle nazioni.

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,

I WANT all your eloquence to thank you for the honour of being created your citizen; since, when kindness and magnanimity are excessive, they can only be praised worthily by themselves. Of this you gave lately a testimony, when to justify your election you assimilated me to the most splendid mind that ever honoured not only Florence, but the whole world and mankind: by uniting my small name to those most great ones, you increased your favour by a greater one, that of granting as a reward to merit, that which was purely an act of your own benevolence. Truly I am unable to explain to myself the dignity with which I am invested, except I attribute it to an excess of your esteem; and by comparing me with those men of old who were elevated to immortality rather by kindness of others than the merit of their own work.

Gentlemen, you are not alone in granting me the privilege of such an unmerited honour; and the very strife made to confer it on me must at once save my modesty and make me proud. In passing through other Italian capitals, I received in like manner the gift of freedom, and among others that of the city of Rome. A citizen both on the banks of the Tiber and of the Arno, I cannot be so blind as to ascribe this double fortune to my little importance, but rather to the patriotic ideas expressed by me, and to which the holy, united to the most noble of cities, did homage in my person. Such singular concurrence of Rome and Florence in paying honour to an idea, admonishes me that there is

no question personally of me in it, and elevates my mind to higher and more worthy considerations of your presence; and surely many will wonder to see how the most illustrious cities agree in the same homage, and will seek to discover the cause of an agreement unusual in our times. Yet the harmony of Rome with Florence, of Tuscany and Latium, is of most ancient date; and it is in this admirable union of the two States that exists the mysterious origin and the hidden reason of our civilization. Yet according to an universal law of nature, every harmony supposes a difference or antithesis, which by a natural imperfection of human things, may easily degenerate into enmity.

Therefore, it is no wonder if one saw sometimes Rome and Florence at variance, without, however, seeing that such momentous disagreement destroyed their strict fraternity; whence, as in ancient times of paganism, Rome was in substance an Etrurian city, so was Florence a Guelph town in the middle ages; which imports, a Roman and Latin city. And when such an union was either disturbed or interrupted, Italy itself suffered, which is incapable of flourishing and enjoying her own prerogatives as queen of nations except when these two ruling cities and the ideas which they represent embrace each other and reciprocally assist themselves.

The disputes of Florence and Rome, that is, of their principles, arrived lately at their utmost height, and was thus the principal source of those extraordinary calamities which afflicted our peninsula, as their friendship is now the cause of our resurrection.

Whence arose then such a change? It came from that man who is in every heart and in every mind, that is, Pius. But Pius, in restoring temporal Rome imitated those old Romans, who derived the germs of civil knowledge from the neighbouring Etruria, and imitated the example of Numa, who humanized the Latin city and endowed it with Etruscan civilization. Thus, the Roman Pontiff, beginning his reign by an act of clemency, imitated the example of your provinces, where, since many years, humanity under the pretence of justice was never outraged, and by boldly beginning his reforms, it seemed that the pacific and reforming genius of Leopold ascended with him the blessed throne.

Gentlemen, I come from Rome, where with my own eyes I beheld that paternal face, and where I gathered with my own ears the divine wisdom of the Pope and liberator. I shall not endeavour to describe to you that Pius, as a prince, is worthy both of Tuscany and of Italy; and as a Pontiff he is worthy of Rome. Lend not your ear to those who represent him as subject to external influence; since both in heart and mind he is far superior to those that surround his person. He is as good an Italian as we are, he loves Italy, her independence, and her glory as much as we do; in like manner he values and holds dear the civil knowledge of Leopold, as well as the invincible and revengeful sword of Carlo Alberto. But to royal authority he unites also that of high priest, thence he is particularly bound to unite and harmonize these two distinct powers; fear not but that he will succeed, and let no one complain of those delays which are inseparable from so difficult an undertaking. On the contrary, let us rejoice in the hope that while the Roman Government concurs towards a just, pious, and holy war, which is not less necessary for the good of religion and the safety of the country, Pius, in the midst of arms does not abandon the thought of peace; and that with the severe and strict foresight of a prince he unites the kindness of a father. Who knows but that in his work we may see a new miracle? Who knows but that he may succeed in accomplishing by persuasion and love a victory which was begun by the sword? Should such a thing happen no one would rejoice more than you and all this most humane province, which, while it concurs vigorously in the holy war, desires with ardour for the day in which benevolence and not hatred will be the covenant of nations.

No. 39.

Count de Bray to Baron Cetto.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Cetto, July 15.)

M. le Baron,

Munich, le 5 Juillet, 1848.

D'APRES les dernières dépêches de M. d'Abel à Turin, concernant l'affaire importante du blocus de Trieste, l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté Britannique près la Cour de Sardaigne, Mr. Abercromby, a efficacement appuyé les démarches que

notre Ministre a été chargé de faire à cet égard en faveur du commerce Allemand dans la Mer Adriatique.

Le Roi, notre Auguste Maître, a reconnu dans cette franche et active coopération, les intentions amicales du Gouvernement Anglais, et vous charge, M. le Baron, de témoigner à Lord Palmerston la gratitude et la satisfaction toutes particulières que Sa Majesté en a éprouvées.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) LE COMTE DE BRAY.

(Translation.)

M. le Baron,

Munich, July 5, 1848.

BY the last despatches received from M. d'Abel, at Turin, respecting the important matter of the blockade of Trieste, Mr. Abercromby, the Envoy of Her Britannic Majesty at the Court of Sardinia, has supported with effect the steps which our Minister had been instructed to make on this subject in favour of German commerce in the Adriatic Sea.

The King, our August Master, has recognized in this frank and active co-operation the friendly intentions of the British Government, and he charges you, M. le Baron, to express to Lord Palmerston the special gratitude and satisfaction which His Majesty has derived therefrom.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) LE COMTE DE BRAY.

No. 40. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 17, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 8th instant, inclosing a copy of a note from Baron Wessenberg relating to the steps taken by Austria for the pacification of the revolted provinces in Italy, I have to say that a question so important in itself, and so mixed up with national feeling and with traditional policy, as the question whether Austria shall or shall not retain a portion of her Italian possessions, has seldom been decided simply by negotiation, and without an appeal to arms; and it seems now to have become inevitable that the fortune of war must, to a certain degree at least, determine the manner in which this question between Austria and the Italians is to be settled.

The part which naturally belongs to the British Government in this matter is to remain spectator of events, until invited by the contending parties to interpose by good offices with a view to an amicable arrangement.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 41.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 12, 1848.

COUNT DE REVEL returned yesterday to Turin from the head-quarters of His Sardinian Majesty, where he had gone to resign into His Majesty's hands the commission with which he and his colleague the Minister of the Interior, the Marquis Vincenzo Ricci, had been entrusted, when the whole of the present Cabinet had resigned on the declaration of the votes of the Lombards to compose a new Administration.

In consequence of Count de Revel and the Marquis Ricci having declined to undertake the formation of the new Government, His Sardinian Majesty has sent for the Chevalier Collegno, at present Minister of War at Milan, and has conferred upon him the task of composing a new Cabinet.

The Chevalier Collegno may be expected to arrive at Turin to-morrow or next day.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 42.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of June 30 of the series of this year,* reminding me of the assurance given by the Marquis Pareto, "that no measure, such as the bombardment of Trieste, had been ordered by the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, nor would such an act of hostility be attempted by the officers commanding the Italian naval squadrons before the port of Trieste;" and informing me that your Lordship had spoken in that sense when the Representatives of Germany had made inquiries from you on the subject.

Your Lordship will already have learnt by my despatches of June 24 and June 27, the steps I have taken with reference to this matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 43.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the second law relative to the annexation of Lombardy was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on the 10th instant. I will lose no time in transmitting to your Lordship a copy of this document as soon as it shall have been published.

The Marquis Pareto announced yesterday to the Chamber the annexation of Venice to the Sardinian States, which was voted by a majority of 127 votes to 6.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 44.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Trieste, announcing, that the Sardinian Admiral had raised the blockade of that port on the 6th instant, for merchant-ships of all nations, including those under the Austrian flag.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

Vice-Consul Raven to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Trieste, July 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose your Excellency the accompanying notifications received from the Governor of this city and the Greek Consulate. The French Consulate has also received a notification to the same purport, of which I have not yet obtained a copy.

Her Majesty's ship "Harlequin" is now in sight of this port, on her return from Ancona and Venice; and Captain Ramsay, of Her Majesty's ship "Terrible," purposes her departure this evening for Ancona and Venice with the intelligence of the raising the blockade of this port.

We are without news from Italy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY RAVEN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

Rear-Admiral Albini to the Governor of Trieste.

Eccellenza,

Golfo di Trieste, il 6 Luglio, 1848.

HO l'onore di portare a cognizione di vostra Eccellenza che, per ordini testè ricevuti dal mio Governo, la squadra che ho l'onore di comandare permetterà l'entrata nel porto di Trieste, nonchè l'uscita dal medesimo a qualsivoglia bastimento commerciale, non esclusi quelli di bandiera Austriaca, quando però non venga trovato a bordo, sia degli uni che degli altri, truppe, armi, o materiali di guerra, od oggetti di contrabbando marittimo militare, per cui andranno soggetti a visita.

Affinchè ai bastimenti commerciali, gli Austriaci compresi, non sia arrecato danno dallo flotta Italiana, lo prego vostra Eccellenza a voler far noto al commercio che non sarà permesso a verun legno di traversare la linea dei bastimenti da guerra Italiani destinati a mantenere il blocco del porto di Trieste, poichè a chi osasse tentarlo verrebbe fatto fuoco sopra di lui.

In tempo di notte i bastimenti mercantili dovranno sempre dar fondo alla distanza della portata de' cannoni dalle forze navali Italiane, dalla parte di terra per i bastimenti che escono, dalla parte di fuori per quelli che entrano per poter al primo apparire del giorno subire la sopraindicata visita.

Colgo questa circostanza per rendere pur noto all'Eccellenza vostra, che se alla flotta Italiana nei suoi approdi le sarà dalle autorità locali dato il menomo motivo di doglianza, non è essa più disposta, siccome lo fu sino al presente, a restare inoffensiva.

Io spero che l'Eccellenza vostra nella di lei conosciuta saviezza, vorrà emanare opportuni ordini in proposito, mentre la prego aggradire gli atti del mio rispetto con cui ho l'onore di essere, &c.

*Il Contrammiraglio comandante la Squadra di
Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna,
ALBINI, m.p.*

(Translation.)

Your Excellency,

Gulf of Trieste, July 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that by orders just received from my Government, the squadron which I have the honour to command, will allow to enter into the port of Trieste, and to leave it, all commercial vessels whatsoever, not excepting those under the Austrian flag, when no troops, arms, or materials for war, or other objects of marine military contraband, shall have been found on board of the same, and for this purpose they will be subjected to a search.

In order that no hurt from the Italian fleet shall reach the commercial vessels, not excluding the Austrians, I beg your Excellency will be pleased to make known to the merchants that no vessels will be allowed to traverse the line of the Italian ships of war, stationed to maintain the blockade of the port of Trieste, and whoever shall attempt to do so shall be fired upon.

In the night mercantile vessels must always anchor within cannon shot of the Italian naval force, inland for those coming out, and outside for those entering, in order to undergo, in the early morn, the above-mentioned search.

I seize this opportunity to inform also your Excellency that if the slightest motive of complaint shall be given to the Italian fleet by the local authorities on its approaching the shores, it is no longer disposed, as it has been hitherto, to remain passive.

I hope that your Excellency, in your well-known wisdom, will be pleased to issue proper orders on this subject, while I beg you to be assured of the respect with which I have, &c.

(Signed) ALBINI, m. p.
*Rear-Admiral commanding the Squadron of His
Majesty the King of Sardinia.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 44.

Rear-Admiral Albini to the Greek Consul at Trieste.

(Extract.)

6 Luglio, 1848.

APPROFITTO della presente circostanza per portare a cognizione di vostra Signoria Illustrissima che, in seguito a nuovi ordini pervenutimi dal mio Governo, la squadra Italiana permetterà d'ora innanzi l'entrata nel porto di Trieste, nonchè l'uscita dal medesimo a qualsivoglia bastimento commerciale non esclusi quelli di bandiera Austriaca, quando però non venga trovato a bordo, sia degli uni che degli altri, truppa, armi, o materiali da guerra, od oggetti di contrabbando marittimo militare, per cui saranno soggetti a visita.

Sarà conveniente che la Signoria vostra illustrissima raccomandi ai capitani dei bastimenti appartenenti alla di lei nazione, di non traversare mai la linea dei bastimenti da guerra Italiani destinati a mantenere il blocco del porto di Trieste e ad impedire qualsiasi movimento della squadra Austriaca, poichè sarebbe sopra loro fatto fuoco quando ciò fosse da loro tentato.

Nella notte dovranno i legni addetti al commercio sempre dar fondo alla distanza della portata di cannone dalle forze navali Italiane, dalla parte di terra per i bastimenti che escono, dalla parte di fuori per quelli che entrano, per potere al primo apparire del giorno subire la sopra indicata visita.

(Translation.)

July 6, 1848.

I AVAIL myself of the present opportunity to inform you that in consequence of new orders that have reached me from my Government, the Italian squadron will allow henceforth every commercial vessel whatsoever, not excepting those under the Austrian flag, to enter or to leave the port of Trieste, on condition of there being found on board of the same, no troops, arms, or materials for war, or objects of marine military contraband, for which they will have to be searched.

It would be advisable that you should recommend captains of vessels belonging to your nation, never to pass the line of Italian vessels of war stationed to maintain the blockade of the port of Trieste, and to impede any movement whatever of the Austrian squadron, because they would be fired upon if they were to attempt it.

At night merchantmen must always anchor within shot of the Italian naval forces, on the side of land for all vessels leaving, and on the side of the open sea for those arriving, in order to undergo, at the early dawn, the above stated search.

No. 45.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 18.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 12, 1848.

THE King has chosen the Chevalier de Collegno, an exile of 1821, and now Minister of War at Milan, to form the new Government. He may be expected to arrive here to-morrow or next day.

No. 46.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 14, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy and translation of the second part of the law relative to the annexation of Lombardy, which was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on the 10th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

 Inclosure in No. 46.

Second Part of the Law for the Annexation of Lombardy and Venice to Piedmont, adopted by the Chamber, July 10, 1848.

ARTICOLO I.

LA Lombardia e le Provincie di Padova, Vicenza, Treviso, e Rovigo, saranno governate colle norme infra stabilite sino all'apertura del Parlamento comune successivo alla Costituente.

ARTICOLO II.

Al popolo Lombardo sono conservate e guarentite nella forma ed estensione attuale di diritto e di fatto la libertà della stampa, il dritto di associazione, e la istituzione della guardia nazionale.

Gli stessi dritti s'intendono guarentiti per le Provincie Venete appena saranno liberate dallo straniero.

ARTICOLO III.

Il potere esecutivo sarà esercitato dal Rè col mezzo del Ministero responsabile verso la nazione rappresentata dal Parlamento.

ARTICOLO IV.

Gli atti pubblici verranno intestati in nome di Sua Maestà il Rè Carlo Alberto.

ARTICOLO V.

Sono mantenute in vigore le leggi ed i regolamenti attuali della Lombardia e quelli che erano vigenti prima della recente occupazione dello straniero.

Verrà tuttavia provveduto con semplici decreti reali alla soppressione delle linee doganali esistenti tra le Provincie Lombarde e le Venete e gli Stati attuali del Rè per l'attivazione di una tariffa uniforme, non che per la parità dei prezzi alla vendita dei generi di privativa, non ritardata intanto la libera circolazione dei prodotti del suolo e dell'industria dei due paesi.

ARTICOLO VI.

Il Governo del Rè non potrà conchiudere trattati politici e di commercio, nè far nuove leggi, abrogare o modificare le esistenti, senza concertarsi previa-

mente con una Consultà Straordinaria composta dei membri attuali del Governo Provvisorio di Lombardia; ed in quanto alle quattro Provincie Venete sopra indicate con una Consultà Straordinaria composta di due delegati per ciascuna provincia.

ARTICOLO VII.

La Legge Elettorale per l'Assemblea Costituente sarà governata per mezzo di Decreto Reale nelle basi infra stabilite e promulgata entro un mese dalla accettazione della fusione. Contemporaneamente alla promulgazione della legge sarà convocata la comune Assemblea Costituente, la quale dovrà effettivamente riunirsi nel più breve termine possibile e non mai più tardi del giorno primo di Ottobre prossimo venturo.

ARTICOLO VIII.

Ogni cittadino che abbia compiuto l'età d'anni 21 è elettore, salvo le seguenti eccezioni, cioè:

Nei paesi soggetti allo Statuto Sardo sono escluse le persone che si trovano colpite da esclusione a termine dell' Articolo CIV della Legge 17 Marzo p. p.

Nella Lombardia e Provincie Venete i cittadini in istato d'interdizione giudiziale, eccetto i prodighi. I cittadini in istato di prorogata minor età. Quelli che furono condannati o che sono inquisiti per delitti, non che per reati commessi con offesa del pubblico costume, o per cupidigia di lucro; nella quale seconda categoria però non si riterranno comprese le contravvenzioni boschive e le contravvenzioni di finanza e di caccia. Quelli nei beni dei quali è aperto il concorso dei creditori, qualora pel fatto del loro fallimento sia stata contro di loro pronunciata in via civile condanna all' arresto. I cittadini che hanno accettata da uno Stato estero all' Italia un pubblico impiego, civile o militare, qualora non provino di avervi rinunciato, eccettuati i Consoli degli Stati esteri e loro addetti.

Ogni elettore che abbia compiuta l'età d'anni 27 è eligibile.

Tanto nella Lombardia e nelle Provincie Venete, quanto nei paesi soggetti allo Statuto Sardo, il numero dei rappresentanti è determinato in ragione di uno per ogni 22,500 abitanti: il riparto e le nomine di essi si faranno per provincie.

Le frazioni di popolazione per ciascuna provincia eccedente la metà di 22,500 daranno dritto alla nomina di un rappresentante di più.

Il suffragio è diretto e per ischeda segreta.

La votazione dovrà farsi per comune.

Ciascun comune farà lo spoglio dei suoi voti, che trasmetterà al capoluogo di provincia dove si farà il computo generale.

Per l'elezione basterà la maggioranza relativa.

Il potere esecutivo provvederà pel modo di votazione dell' armata di terra e di mare, non che per la trasmissione dei voti alle singole provincie cui appartengono i votanti.

(Translation.)

ARTICLE I.

Lombardy and the Provinces of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Rovigo, will be governed according to the following regulations, until the opening of the common Parliament to be established by the Constituent.

ARTICLE II.

Freedom of the press, the right of association, and the institution of the civic guard, are maintained and guaranteed to the people of Lombardy in their actual form and extension, both *de jure* and *de facto*.

The same rights are understood to be guaranteed to the Venetian Provinces, as soon as they shall be free from foreign rule.

ARTICLE III.

The executive power will be exercised by the King, through a Ministry responsible to the nation represented by the Parliament.

ARTICLE IV.

Public acts will be made in the name of His Majesty King Charles Albert.

ARTICLE V.

The actual laws and regulations of Lombardy, and those that were in force before the recent occupation by Austria, are maintained.

The suppression of the lines of customs between the Lombard and Venetian Provinces and the present States of His Majesty will be provided for by Royal Decrees, in order to bring into operation a uniform tariff, and an equality of the prices of necessary articles, without hindering the free circulation of the produce of the soil and industry of the two countries.

ARTICLE VI.

The King's Government cannot conclude political and commercial treaties, or make new laws, or modify or abrogate those now existing, without having come to a previous understanding with an Extraordinary Consulta composed of the members of the present Provisional Government of Lombardy; or if the matter concerns the four above-mentioned Venetian provinces, with an Extraordinary Consulta composed of two deputies from each province.

ARTICLE VII.

The Electoral Law for the Constituent Assembly will be published by Royal Decree upon the following basis, and will be promulgated within a month after the acceptance of the fusion. The common Constituent Assembly will be convoked at the time of the promulgation of this law, and will meet as soon as possible, and at all events not later than the 1st October next.

ARTICLE VIII.

All citizens above the age of twenty-one are electors, with the following exceptions:—

In the provinces subject to the Sardinian constitution are excepted those persons who are excluded by Article CIV of the Law of the 17th March last.

In Lombardy and the Venetian Provinces, the citizens in a state of legal interdiction, with the exception of squanderers; citizens in a state of prolonged minority; those who have been condemned, or are being prosecuted for crimes and offences against public order, or committed through desire of gain—in which second class are not, however, comprised offences against the forest, customs, and game laws; those upon whose property a meeting of their creditors has been convoked, when they shall have been condemned by the civil law to imprisonment for bankruptcy; citizens who shall have accepted from a State not Italian, a public civil or military office, when they shall not prove that they have renounced it, with the exception of the Consuls of foreign States and those employed by them.

Every elector above the age of twenty-seven is eligible.

In Lombardy and the Venetian Provinces, as well as in the provinces subject to the Sardinian constitution, the number of representatives will be in the proportion of one to every 22,500 inhabitants; their repartition and nomination will take place by provinces.

A fraction of population above the half of 22,500 will give a province the right of electing an additional representative.

The suffrage is direct, and by secret scrutiny.
 The voting will take place in each commune.
 The votes of each commune will be summed up and sent to the chief town of the province, where the general account will be made.
 A relative majority will suffice to be elected.
 The executive power will take measures for the voting of the land and sea forces and for the transmission of the votes to the respective provinces of the electors.

No. 47.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 14, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note I received yesterday from the Bavarian Minister, the Chevalier d'Abel, and of the answer I have made to it relative to the blockade of Trieste.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 47.

The Chevalier d'Abel to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

M. le Ministre,

Turin, le 12 Juillet, 1848.

JE me suis fait un devoir d'informer mon Gouvernement du concours et de l'appui que votre Excellence a bien voulu me prêter avec autant d'obligeance que d'efficacité dans les démarches que j'avais été chargé de faire auprès du Gouvernement Sarde, pour écarter dans l'intérêt de la paix générale, le danger imminent d'une rupture entre la Confédération Germanique et la Sardaigne amené par la déclaration du blocus de la ville et du port de Trieste de la part du Contre-Amiral Albini.

Je viens de recevoir l'ordre de vous exprimer, M. le Ministre, la satisfaction toute particulière que votre coopération amicale à la composition du différend grave surgi du blocus de Trieste, a fait éprouver au Roi mon maître, et d'y ajouter l'assurance que le Roi sait apprécier et aime à reconnaître toute la valeur de cette coopération.

En m'acquittant du devoir bien agréable que l'ordre sus-indiqué m'impose, je saisis, &c.

(Signé)

LE CHEVALIER D'ABEL,
Envoyé de Bavière.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Turin, July 12, 1848.

I HAVE considered it my duty to make my Government acquainted with the concurrence and support which your Excellency has had the goodness with equal kindness and effect to give me in the steps which I was instructed to take with the Sardinian Government, to ward off, with a view to the interest of the general peace, the imminent danger of a rupture between the Germanic Confederation and Sardinia, resulting from the announcement of the blockade of the city and port of Trieste on the part of Vice-Admiral Albini.

I have just received instructions to express to you, M. le Ministre, the peculiar satisfaction which your friendly co-operation in the arrangement of the serious difference which has resulted from the blockade of Trieste has caused to the King my master, and to add thereto the assurance that the King knows how to appreciate, and takes a pleasure in acknowledging, the real value of this co-operation.

Whilst acquitting myself of the agreeable task which the instruction above referred to has imposed upon me, I avail myself, &c.

(Signed)

LE CHEVALIER D'ABEL,
Bavarian Envoy.

Inclosure 2 in No. 47.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Chevalier d'Abel.

M. le Ministre,

Turin, ce 13 Juillet, 1848.

JE viens de recevoir la lettre par laquelle votre Excellence a eu l'obligeance de me faire savoir les termes flatteurs dans lesquels Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière a daigné s'exprimer à mon égard ; et je m'empresse de prier votre Excellence de vouloir bien porter à la connaissance de Sa Majesté combien je suis sensible à l'honneur qu'elle me fait.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous assurer, M. le Ministre, qu'en unissant mes efforts aux vôtres pour éviter une rupture entre la Confédération Germanique et la Sardaigne, j'ai cédé non seulement à un sentiment de satisfaction toute particulière de me trouver ainsi en relations officielles avec votre Excellence sur un objet si juste, mais aussi à la conviction intime, qu'en agissant ainsi je ne faisais que suivre les intentions de mon Gouvernement, qui veut que l'influence de l'Angleterre soit toujours employée à maintenir la tranquillité et la paix de l'Europe.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Turin, July 13, 1848.

I HAVE just received the letter in which your Excellency has been good enough to communicate to me the flattering terms in which His Majesty the King of Bavaria has condescended to express himself as regards me ; and I lose no time in requesting your Excellency to make known to His Majesty how sensible I am of the honour which he has done me.

It is not necessary for me to assure you, M. le Ministre, that in uniting my endeavours to yours, with a view to prevent a rupture between the Germanic Confederation and Sardinia, I was actuated not only by feelings of special satisfaction at finding myself in official relation with your Excellency in so just a cause, but also by a firm conviction that whilst thus acting I was only carrying out the intentions of my Government, which desires that the influence of England should ever be exercised with a view to the maintenance of the tranquillity and peace of Europe.

I avail myself, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 48.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 20.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 12, 1848.

SINCE the meeting of the Tuscan Chambers on the 3rd instant, with the exception of the address from the Senate in answer to the speech from the Throne, nothing of any remarkable interest has occurred, the time of the Chambers being chiefly occupied by routine details of local interest only.

I have the honour to inclose herewith the proposal for the address, which, with a very slight alteration, has been adopted by the Senate, and which is extremely loyal and unexceptionable in every way.

In the Chamber of Deputies the discussions have chiefly turned on the war, and it seems to be decided that it shall be carried on with redoubled activity and vigour.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke has been absent from Florence since the opening of the Chambers, and has taken this opportunity of visiting his newly-acquired possessions of Massa and Carrara, and the district of Lunigiana, at all which places he has been received with the most exuberant expressions of loyalty and affection.

He has been at Fivizzano, the town which, your Lordship may recollect, caused so much disturbance when it was ceded to Modena by Tuscany last year, and which, for its affection to the Tuscan yoke, has been elevated by the Grand Duke to the rank of a royal city.

His Royal Highness, when last heard of, was at Pontremoli, an Imperial fief, formerly belonging to Lucca and now incorporated into Tuscany.

I understand from Don Neri Corsini that the outrage complained of by the Tuscan Government as to the occupation of part of the Lunigiana territory by the Sardinian troops is in process of explanation, although some Sardinian Carabinieri still continue unjustly to occupy some of the posts. The object of the Turin Government seems to be to procure a direct road from Parma to the Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 48.

Projected Address of the Tuscan Senate.

Altezza Reale!

ALLE parole con le quali avete aperto le Assemblee Legislative della Toscana, il Senato risponde con sentimenti molto simili a quelli che a voi le ispirarono. La solennità dell'atto riusciva anche più grande per la sua novità; e tutta l'Italia pareva essere insieme con noi, congratulare a' suoi mutati destini. Ricordavamo tutti le difficoltà che lungamente contrastarono all'Italiano risorgimento; ricordavamo il processo degli eventi che ci facero raccogliere con rapidità mirabile il frutto sperato o desiderato invano per tanti secoli: e nella vostra presenza, e nei moti delle nostre anime, e nelle voci che prorompevano a significarvi il consentimento e l'esultanza di tutti, godevamo la certezza di essere finalmente un popolo libero, e la sublime soddisfazione di aver dischiusa una nuova via alla civiltà generale.

Sì, augusto Principe! la grande e nuova era che oggimai incomincia all'Europa, è quella del riordinamento degli Stati sulle basi delle nazionalità. E l'Etruria, che dava le sue discipline a Roma vincitrice e legislatrice del mondo, e alla moderna Italia la sua lingua, istromento efficacissimo a tutte le armonie nazionali, non rimaneva inferiore a se stessa nel passato secolo, quando le cose umane si avviavano verso una stupenda trasformazione. Quello che fu principiato o concepito dal vostro inclito Avo, voi avete avuto la gloria di condurlo a convenevole compimento: e le libertà civili ed economiche, la tolleranza politica e religiosa, le industrie promosse, i commercii agevolati ed accresciuti, le terre bonificate, i tribunali riordinati, i pubblici studii amplificati, son tutte cose che rendono luminosa testimonianza alla sapiente bontà con la quale avete governato il vostro popolo, e che doveano aver conclusione in tal forma di reggimento libero, che in se raccogliesse i beni della civiltà passata, e fosse fondamento ad una nuova e migliore. Così per opera vostra le istituzioni sono state messe pienamente in concordia coi costumi e con le tradizioni di questo nostro paese: e nella spontaneità iniziatrice, che fu sempre propria de la Toscana, trova anche il Senato una norma alle sue azioni pubbliche, ed un criterio storico a stimar bene i suoi doveri verso la patria.

Se, ad eccezione dell'Austria, noi siamo in pace con tutti gli altri Stati non Italiani, da questo solo fatto ci è dato argomentare la qualità delle nostre relazioni con tutto il mondo politico; imperocchè la causa, per cui combattiamo, e quella di un dritto, che dee consacrare l'autonomia e l'indipendenza delle nazioni, e raguagliarne alla norma immutabile del giusto i reciproci interessi. Sarebbe desiderabile che la Germania, forte nella coscienza della sua nazionalità, sentisse nelle ragioni proprie l'inviolabilità delle nostre, e quindi si movesse a risoluzioni degne del suo nobile carattere. Noi nella santità della nostra causa abbiamo la fondata speranza della vittoria. A ritempere i popoli a virtù, a grandezza civile, ad eroismo ardue prove sono richieste; e chi vilmente vi si recusa è indegno di pronunziare i sacri nomi di patria e di libertà. L'Italia che impugnò le armi per conquistare la sua nazionale indipendenza, non cadrà nella vergognosa contraddizione di mostrarsi inetta ricuperarla: non chiederà soccorsi dallo straniero: vorrà fare da sè. Se il Governo di vostra Altezza è

disposto ad ogni sacrificio necessario a raggiungere questo grande e supremo scopo, il Senato fa plauso con Italica fierrezza o così generosi intendimenti; e il popolo Toscano, memore della giornata di Curtatone e di Montanara, non potrà mancare a sè stesso.

Auguriamo a vostra Altezza la bella felicità di potere efficacemente conferire al più opportuno ordinamento federativo della Penisola. La Dega Doganale e quella politica, sono scala a quella unione di Stati in cui il diritto della nazionalità Italica si adempia nel sistema della nostra civiltà comune. Avremo a fronte opinioni premature, esagerate, diverse: avremo interessi e ragioni di cose non così leggermente conciliabili, e che pur dovranno essere conciliati.— Se i deputati Siciliani non furono accolti fra noi con sensi contrarii all' autonomia di quell' isola, il richiamo e la mancanza delle milizie Napoletane dai campi della guerra nazionale già suscitarono riprovazione e rammarico in ogni animo Italiano. Ma quanto la Toscana è giustamente altera nel sentimento della sua individualità, tanto è lieta di non aver cause di ambizioni sue proprie e di essere francamente disposta alla miglior forma possibile della grande unione Italiana. Lucca, Massa e Carrara, e le altre terre, politicamente aggiunte a questo nostro Stato, già naturalmente vi appartenevano per favella, per indole, per prossimità di luoghi, per necessità ed opportunità d'interessi. E se a questa sapienza della natura, che le faceva Toscane, sapremo conformare le arti della sapienza civile fratellevolmente usate come si conviene ad uomini di una stessa famiglia, gli effetti buoni faranno sempre più dolci i vincoli di questo affratellamento necessario, e l'autorità suprema di un Congresso nazionale non potrebbe non confermare quello che fu fatto per ragione di trattati o dalla libera volontà dei popoli.

Al progressivo svolgimento delle nostre interne istituzioni il Senato darà opera con ardore di zelo cittadino e cercando sempre la misura de' suoi atti nelle ragioni del pubblico bene. Nelle arti del bello, nelle scienze pratiche ed in quelle meramente speculative, la Toscana espresse mirabilmente la forma delle sue facoltà specifiche: la semplicità e la eleganza congiunte con la solidità e con la grandezza, e dottrine raccolte dalle cose con l'acuta e vasta penetrazione nella verità infinita. E similissimo a questa forma di vita intellettuale è il suo costume politico. A noi dunque massimamente si appartiene risolvere il gran problema che in se conchiude la forza morale e le sorti civili di questo secolo: esplicare il principio popolano quanto più largamente si possa, e fare del principato il limite necessario all' uso della libertà politica, e per siffatto modo un perpetuo custode di essa.

Con questi intendimenti e norme il Senato comincerà i suoi lavori legislativi, ed alle leggi municipale, sulla polizia, sull' arruolamento militare, sulla responsabilità dei Ministri, che l'Altezza vostra volle che ci fossero più specialmente raccomandate, applicherà con particolar diligenza i suoi studii. Egli sa di non essere un infecondo conservatore di privilegi artificiali, ma di essere ordinato col Consiglio-Generale a rappresentare politicamente la Toscana e ad eseguirne gradualmente il progresso civile. Così il vostro Trono, fondato nelle ragioni eterne delle cose, non potrà mai vacillare nella sua base, e insieme parrà muoversi e andare innanzi col fiume della civiltà Italica che seguirà felicemente il suo corso. Imperocchè la libertà vera non potrebbe conservare se stessa senza rispettare quel necessario suo limite, oltre il quale, o prima o poi, sarebbero precipizii e ruine. E voi e questo Governo sarete simbolo vivo dell' ordine, sempre costante nelle leggi che lo costituiscono, e mutabile sempre con le cose che via si rinnovano. Lo Statuto che avete dato alla Toscana non è, per sentenza vostra, una lettera morta, ma un principio di vita: e la nostra vita politica dovrà avere effetto in una serie progressiva d'istituzioni, le quali attestino splendidamente al mondo che i dritti del vostro popolo così erano scritti nel vostro cuore, come poi furono dichiarati in una carta, e accrescano le glorie e la felicità di un secolo che vide il miracolo dell' Italiano risorgimento.

(Translation.)

Royal Highness,

TO the words with which you opened the Legislative Assemblies of Tuscany, the Senate replies by sentiments very similar to those which inspired you. The solemnity of the occasion was even increased by its novelty, and

all Italy seemed to be with us, to rejoice at its changed destinies. We called to mind all the difficulties with which we had to contend in the resurrection of Italy, and the progress of events by which we reaped with wonderful rapidity, the fruit of so many centuries desired and longed for in vain. In your presence amongst us, in the beating of our hearts, and in the cries which burst forth significant of the joy and approbation of all, we enjoyed the certainty of being at last a free people, and the sublime satisfaction of having opened a new road to general civilization.

Yes, August Prince, the grand and new era which already opens for Europe, is that of the reorganization of States upon the basis of nationality. And Etruria, which bestowed her instructions on Rome, the mistress and legislator of the whole world, and which gave her language to Italy, a very efficacious instrument to effect national harmony, remained not inferior to herself during the passed century, when we were progressing towards a stupendous transformation. That which was conceived and begun by your noble grandfather, you have had the glory of bringing to the requisite perfection: and the civil and commercial liberty, political and religious toleration, the promotion of industry, the facility and increase of commerce, the reclamation of land, the reorganization of the tribunals, the extension of public learning, are so many things that bear evidence of the wise benevolence with which you governed your people, and which should result in such a form of liberal government as might contain in itself the benefits of passed civilization and be the foundation of a new and better one. The last step towards this desired end were the reforms which received their impetus from the noble example of the immortal Pontiff, who could not see Italy faint away when he had beckoned her to rise. Thus we obtained the Civic Guard, which, presiding in arms at the maintenance of public order, thus prevents the dire necessity of making use of those arms to restore it. Already has it often given glorious proofs; thus, by means of you, the institutions have been brought fully into harmony with the customs of the age and with the traditions of our country; and in the inventive genius which was always the character of Tuscany, the Senate has found a rule for its public actions and an historical criterion by which to estimate correctly its duties towards its country.

If, excepting Austria, we are at peace with all other States not Italian, from this sole fact it is easy to judge of our relations with the whole political world; for the cause which we defend is that of a right which is to consecrate the "autonomia" and the independence of nations, and bring down reciprocal interests to the immutable rule of justice. Thence our recognition of Queen Isabella of Spain, and our friendship with France since the kingdom has been changed into a republic, a recognition and friendship conformable to the commercial ideas and political habits of Tuscany. Let us hope that Germany, strengthened by the conscience of her own nationality, will feel from her own sentiments the inviolability of ours, and come to a resolution worthy of her own noble character.

On the sanctity of our cause we have founded the hope of victory. To lead a nation to virtue, to civil greatness, to heroism, strong examples are necessary, and whoever vilely refuses to make them, is unworthy to pronounce the sacred names of country and liberty. Italy which has taken up arms for her national independence, shall not contradict herself so shamefully as to show herself incapable of recovering it. She shall not request aid from strangers; she shall do all by herself, principally confiding in the magnanimous King Charles Albert, to whose sword she has committed the conduct of the war. If the Government of your Royal Highness is disposed so make every sacrifice to obtain this supreme end, the Senate highly commends such generous intentions; and the Tuscans, mindful of the combat of Montanara and Curtatone, cannot fail to do the same.

We wish to your Royal Highness the happiness of being able to promote efficaciously the most seasonable federal constitution of the Peninsula.

The Customs Union and the desired Political League are steps towards that union of States in which the right of Italian nationality is fulfilled, according to the system of our society in general. We shall have to contend with premature, exaggerated, and contrary opinions; we shall find interests and ideas on things not easy to be reconciled, but which must be so. In receiving the Sicilian Deputies as brothers, you have honoured the political

sentiment under which that island intends to constitute itself without disturbing the harmony of our general regeneration. But the recall and the absence of the Neapolitan troops from the camp of the national war have already called forth disapprobation and regret in every Italian heart. As proud as Tuscany is in the sense of her own individuality, so is she happy in not having cause for any private ambitious views and in being sincerely disposed to adopt the best form for the Italian League. Lucca, Massa, and Carrara, and the other lands politically joined to our State, already naturally belonged to it by their idiom, character, proximity, by the necessity and the convenience of common interests; and if to the wisdom of nature which made them Tuscan countries, we know how to unite the arts of civil wisdom, as they ought to be shown towards men of the same family, the good effects will always sweeten the links of this necessary brotherhood, and the supreme authority of a National Congress cannot fail to confirm that which was done by treaties, and by the free will of the people.

To the development of our internal institutions the Senate will contribute with the zeal of citizens, measuring always its actions by the public good. In the fine arts, in the practical sciences, and in those merely speculative, Tuscany admirably expresses the form of her specific qualities. Simplicity and elegance joined with solidity and greatness, and doctrines gathered with acute and vast penetration into the infinite truth. Very similar to this form of intellectual life are our political habits. It is therefore mostly for us to resolve the great problem which comprises the moral force and the civil events of this era; to explain the popular principle as widely as possible, and to make this State the necessary limit to the exercise of political liberty, and thus a perpetual guardian thereof.

With these intentions, and under these rules, the Senate will begin its labours, and will apply itself with particular care to the laws which Your Royal Highness most especially recommended, such as the municipal law and those on police, on military enrolment and on the responsibility of the Ministers. It looks forward with eagerness to the time when the imposts already condemned by public opinion may be abolished; it will seek for the most efficacious means of alleviating those that press on the poor classes, and will use every means for augmenting the moral force of the Government, in order that the citizens shall willingly observe the laws. The Senate is convinced that it is not to be an unfruitful guardian of artificial privileges, but that it is formed, together with the "Consiglio-Generale," to represent politically, and gradually to effect the civil improvement of Tuscany. Thus, your throne, established on the eternal reasons of things, can never be shaken on its basis, and will appear to move and advance together with the great torrent of Italian civilization, which will easily pursue its course. For liberty cannot preserve itself without respecting its necessary limit, beyond which, sooner or later, would be found precipices and ruin. You and your Government shall be the living image of that order, for ever immutable with the laws that establish it, and also for ever mutable with the things which by degrees are to be renewed. The Statute which you have bestowed on us is not, according to your own words, a dead letter, but a principle of life, and our political life must effect a series of progressive institutions which shall splendidly attest to the whole world that the rights of your people were written on your heart as they were afterwards inscribed on paper, and shall augment the glory and happiness of an era which beholds the miracle of the resurrection of Italy.

No. 49.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 20.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 15, 1848.

THE Chevalier de Collegno arrived in Turin yesterday, and he immediately commenced executing the commission with which he is charged by his Sovereign of composing a new Cabinet.

His arrangements are not yet completed, and nothing is positively known with regard to the individuals about to be chosen as members of the Government.

From the various reports in circulation, it would seem probable that the Marquis Pareto will preserve his present office, or at least a seat in the Cabinet.

The continuance of the Marquis Ricci, Minister of the Interior, in office appears to be more doubtful, and it is said that neither Count de Revel nor the Chevalier des Ambrois will consent to remain.

Count Sclopis, Count Balbo, and Signor Buoncompagni will, it is believed, certainly quit office; but the Minister of War, General Franzini, who is absent at the baths on account of ill health, has been written to by the Chevalier Collegno, offering him a seat in the Government; his answer has not yet arrived.

Count Camille Cavour is again spoken of as Minister of Finance, Count Casati, of Milan, as President of the Council, and Count Durini, of Milan, and Signor Gioja, of Plaisance, as persons likely to fill official situations.

No. 50.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 22.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 16, 1848.

THE Ministerial arrangements are, I am given to understand, nearly completed, and the Chevalier de Collegno will probably return to the King's headquarters to-night or to-morrow, for the purpose of submitting the names of the new Cabinet to the approbation of His Sardinian Majesty.

The members of the retiring Cabinet who will retain office in the new Administration are the Marquis Pareto, the Marquis Ricci, and the Count de Revel. They will continue to hold their present offices; the Chevalier Collegno will be Minister of War in lieu of General Franzini, and the remaining offices in the Government will probably be filled by persons chosen from Milan, Venice, and the two Duchies.

No. 51.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies of yesterday, the mobilization of fifty battalions of civic guards, giving an effective of about 30,000 men, was definitively passed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 52.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 22.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 13, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the inclosed despatch from Mr. Petre, at Rome, of July 11.

It contains a translation of the speech of His Holiness the Pope on the 10th instant, in answer to the address of the Chamber of Deputies.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, July 11, 1848.

REFERRING to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the address of the Deputies was yesterday presented to His Holiness, when His Holiness returned an answer, of which the following is a translation :—

“ We accept the expressions of gratitude which the Council addresses to us, and we receive the answer to the speech pronounced in our name by the Cardinal by us expressly delegated to open the two Councils, declaring that we accept of it only in that part which does not deviate from what has been laid down in the fundamental Statute.

“ If the Pontiff prays, blesses, and pardons, it is likewise his duty to loosen and to bind. And if, as Sovereign, with the view of better protecting and strengthening the public weal, he calls the two Councils to co-operate with him, the Sovereign Priest has need of all that liberty which does not paralyze his action in all the interests of religion and the State, and this liberty remains to him untouched; remaining untouched, as they should do, the Statute and the Law on the Council of Ministers, which we have spontaneously granted.

“ If great desires multiply for the greatness of the Italian nation, it is necessary that the whole world may again know that the means to obtain it cannot on our part be war. Our name was blessed over the whole earth for the first words of peace which went out from our lips; it could not be so, certainly, if those of war were uttered. And it was for us a great surprise when we heard that the consideration of the Council was called to this question, in opposition to our public declarations, and at the moment when we have undertaken negotiations for peace. Union amongst Sovereigns, good harmony amongst the populations of the Peninsula, can alone obtain the longed-for felicity. This concord so acts that we all should equally embrace the Sovereigns of Italy, for from this parental embrace may arise that harmony which leads to the fulfilling of the public wishes.

“ Regard to the rights and to the laws of the Church, and the persuasion by which you will in future be animated, that the greatness, especially of this State, depends on the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, will so act, that in your deliberations you will ever respect the limits marked out by us in the Statute. In this principally let your gratitude, which we ask of you, be manifested for the ample institutions which have been granted.

“ Noble is your intention of occupying yourselves with our internal affairs; and we most heartily exhort you to the undertaking. Commerce and industry should be restored, and our chief desire, which we are sure is likewise yours, is that of not overloading, but of relieving our subjects. Public order calls for great provision, and to obtain it, it is indispensable that the Ministry begin to devote its thoughts and its cares thereto. The public administration of the finances require great and prompt remedies. After these vital elements the Government will propose to you those municipal improvements which are believed to be most useful and conformable to present wants.

“ To the Church, and through it to its apostles, its Divine Founder granted the right and the duty of teaching.

“ Be in concord amongst yourselves, with the High Council, with us, and with our Ministers. Call to mind often that Rome is great, not for its temporal dominion, but chiefly because it is the seat of the Catholic Religion. This truth we would have engraved, not indeed on marble, but on the hearts of all those who take part in the public administration, so that every one respecting this, our universal primacy, place be not given to certain confined theories, and sometimes likewise to the desires of party. Whoever is deeply sensible of religion cannot think otherwise. And if you, as we believe, are animated by these truths, you will be noble instruments in the hands of God to procure true and solid advantages to Rome and to the State, the first of which will be, that of destroying the seeds of distrust and the fearful leaven of parties.”

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 53.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 16, 1848.

WE have not had news from Italy, but I am certain that it is the intention of Marshal Radetzky to attack the Piedmontese army in its position, when the Marshal shall have received the reinforcements now on their way to join him.

We hear that there is considerable discontent among the Milanese about their actual state and their future prospects. There are murmurings in the Piedmontese army against the conduct of their generals, and Genoa is not quiet. It may be imagined, therefore, that the situation of Carlo Alberto is not as good as his partisans represent it to be, and if what is said be true, it may become less good every day. The Austrians may be wrong in making an attack, though they have many motives for putting an end as speedily as they can to the war in Italy. I believe, that should a victory of any magnitude be gained over the Piedmontese, the success would not induce the Austrians to propose to themselves the re-establishment of their dominion over Lombardy. I think they would abide by their policy such as it has been declared to be, and agree to the independence of that country. With respect to the Kingdom of Venice, I can only repeat what I have already stated to your Lordship of the determination to maintain possession of it, if possible.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 54.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, July 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the translation of a bulletin published here this morning. It relates to the occupation of the city of Ferrara by the Austrian troops, under the command of Prince Francis Lichtenstein, the city having been surrendered by the inhabitants when menaced with an attack from the citadel.

It appears that this movement was thought necessary by the Austrians to complete their line of defence against the Piedmontese.

The accounts I receive of the situation of affairs at Vienna are worse and worse. The Austrian Empire still possesses great elements of strength, but this cannot be of avail if Vienna shall continue to have the control of the Executive, and is itself governed by those who now rule there.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Bulletin.—Surrender of Ferrara.

(Translation.)

Innsbruck, July 17, 1848.

THE following has been received from Field-Marshal Baron Welden, dated Padua, 15th instant :

In consequence of orders given by General Radetzky on the 12th instat, that a corps of 6000 men under the orders of General Prince Francis Lichtenstein, should cross the Po and drive the Papal troops which were collected at Ferrara out of that place, this was done on the 14th instant, at 9 A.M., when the columns of Prince Francis Lichtenstein crossed the Po at Polesella, Francolino, and Pontelagoscuro, drove the Papal troops back to Ferrara, and towards noon marched on to the glacis of the citadel, from whence the town was to have been bombarded. Before, however, that was carried into effect, a deputation of the citizens bearing the white flag arrived, and the city of Ferrara surrendered at discretion.

This fresh success secures the Lower Po and the whole chain of communications with Venice, as now an end has been put to the threatened movement of Charles Albert on the right bank of the Po.

(Signed)

ELLATSCHEK.

No. 55.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Paris, July 21, 1848.

AN incident has occurred which cannot be without some influence upon the policy of the French Government with reference to the affairs of Italy.

The reply of the Pope to the Roman Legislature not only shows a wide misunderstanding between His Holiness and that body upon home politics, but furnishes an opportunity for a distinct declaration against any participation in the war at present carrying on in the North of Italy. As yet it is impossible to ascertain to what extent, and hard to say in what direction this circumstance may influence the conduct of France in regard to Italy, but taken in connection with other recent circumstances it very much changes the character of the contest between the opposing parties on the Adige and the Mincio. By the withdrawal of the Neapolitans and the destruction of the Tuscan forces, followed by this declaration of the Pope, the war is no longer one for national independence, but a conflict between parties directly interested in the territory for which they are fighting.

Should the Romans, in consequence of this declaration of the Pope, rise in rebellion against his temporal authority, some volunteers may still be added to the Italian army, but on the other hand the moral influence of the head of the Catholic Church would be transferred to the other side; a circumstance not unlikely to produce an immediate effect upon the course which would be adopted in a great portion of Germany.

In the meantime a prolonged discussion is still going on on the question of Italy in the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and I hardly expect that I can hear anything certain from M. Bastide until the decision of the Committee is known.

No. 56.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.)

Paris, July 22, 1848.

HAVING received the inclosed telegraphic despatch from M. Bastide, with a request to see me on the subject, I called this morning at "les Affaires Etrangères." M. Bastide said that he had no further details than were given in the telegraphic message.

It appeared that there had been much agitation attempted in the Legations on behalf of Charles Albert, and this might merely be a defensive step on the part of the Austrians. M. Bastide added that there were no doubt parties who would be desirous to see at once in the fact itself a case of war, but that the French Government had decided not so to consider it.

He was anxious to take this opportunity of assuring me that the President and all his Council were unanimous in a desire to preserve the peace in Italy as elsewhere, and that they felt that a cordial understanding between France and England leading to some common action on the subject was the best mode of averting the dangers of war.

I reminded M. Bastide of the spirit in which a suggestion of this nature had already been met by your Lordship on behalf of Her Majesty's Government; and I thought it important, as the suggestion had originally come from him, that he should state to me precisely what was the nature of the joint proposition we could make on the subject. M. Bastide thought it ought to be in the form of advice to Austria that England and France were anxious that an end should speedily be put to the war in Italy, which was threatening to the peace of the world, and could not but be injurious to the power of Austria if its continuance

was protracted. It was necessary therefore to come to an understanding as to the meaning of the term "the independence of Italy." With respect to Lombardy, which had won its own freedom and united itself to Piedmont, M. Bastide did not seem to think we need interfere further than to suggest that Austria should, as the price of its abandonment, have some compensation in the settlement of a part of the public debt; and also, as a matter of detail, indemnity for any of the property of the Austrian Princes seized there; but as to the Venetian States which are still, for the most part, in the occupation of the Austrian forces, M. Bastide would propose that Austria should allow them to be formed into a separate State, with a Constitutional Government under an Austrian Archduke; such a settlement to be placed under the guarantee, more or less explicit, of England and France. M. Bastide said that he hoped that some such arrangement as he had proposed, to originate conjointly with England and France, might be accepted by Austria, and thus close the contest in a manner conducive to the best interests of Italy.

I promised M. Bastide that I would at once faithfully report to Her Majesty's Government what he had stated to me, feeling with him that if anything was to be done no time should be lost, and without pronouncing any opinion as to the manner in which the details of the proposal might be viewed, I felt convinced that much gratification would be experienced at this practical proof of the value the French Government placed in the preservation of peace, and the conviction they entertained that the interests of the two countries were in this respect identical, and that the maintenance of cordiality and confidence between them must go far towards securing the co-operation of others in a rational settlement of the many difficult questions which now agitate the world.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Telegraphic Despatch from Toulon.

Le 21 Juillet, 1848, à 8½ h.

Reçue le 21 à 1 h. 35.

LE Préfet Maritime au Ministre de la Marine.

"Le Tonnerre" est arrivé hier soir de Civita Vecchia. Il apporte la nouvelle de l'entrée de 3000 Autrichiens à Ferrare. Il y a une grande agitation dans les Etats de l'Eglise en faveur de Charles Albert.

Pour copie, l'Administrateur,

(Signé)

CH. LEMAISTRE.

(Translation.)

July 21, 1848, half past 8.

Received 21st, at 1h. 35m.

THE Maritime Prefect to the Minister of Marine.

The "Tonnerre" arrived here last night from Civita Vecchia. She brings intelligence of the entry of 3000 Austrians into Ferrara. There is much agitation in the States of the Church in favour of Charles Albert.

A true copy.

(Signed)

CH. LEMAISTRE,

Manager.

No. 57.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 24.)

My Lord,

Venice, July 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy and translation of a note which I received yesterday evening from Signor Castelli, the President of the Provisional Government in Venice, informing me that the blockade of Trieste is reduced to a blockade of observation as regards the Austrian naval division in that port, and as regards the hostile attempts which may be undertaken against Venice.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 57.

*The Provisional Government of Venice to Consul-General Dawkins.**Venezia, 11 Luglio, 1848.*

IL Governo Provvisorio di Venezia ha l'onore d'informare vostra Signoria che il blocco di Trieste è ridotto attualmente ad un blocco di osservazione per la sola divisione navale Austriaca ricoverata in quel porto, e per i tentativi ostili che potessero essere intrapresi contro la Venezia. Di conseguenza la missione della flotta Italiana è limitata a distruggere la flotta Austriaca allorquando uscisse da Trieste, escluso ogni tentativo contro la medesima fino che rimanga in quel porto, e ad impedire che entrino a Trieste oggetti di contrabbando di guerra, che da quell'a rada si mandino truppe o munizioni di guerra contro la Venezia, o che in qualsivoglia modo si tenti di agire contro la medesima. Del resto è libero il passo a qualsivoglia bastimenti commerciale, compresi anche quelli di bandiera Austriaca.

Dal Governo Provvisorio di Venezia.

Il Presidente,

(Firmato)

J. CASTELLI.

Il Segretario, ZENNARI.

(Translation.)

Venice, July 11, 1848.

THE Provisional Government of Venice has the honour to inform you that the blockade of Trieste is at present reduced to a blockade of observation, as regards only the Austrian naval division which has taken refuge in that port, and as regards the hostile attempts which may be undertaken against Venice.

Consequently, the object of the Italian fleet is limited to destroy the Austrian fleet whenever it may come out of Trieste, to the exclusion of any attempt against it as long as it remains in that port; and to prevent the entrance into Trieste of objects being contraband of war, or the sending from thence of troops or munitions of war against Venice, or of any proceeding whatever against the same.

As regards the rest, the communication is open to all merchant-ships whatsoever, including even those under the Austrian flag.

By the Provisional Government of Venice.

The President,

(Signed)

J. CASTELLI.

The Secretary, ZENNARI.

No. 58.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 10, 1848.

A FEW days ago I had an opportunity of conversing with a person who fully possesses the confidence of His Sardinian Majesty, and who has been of late in constant communication with him upon the subject of the war now carrying on in Lombardy.

I took occasion, in the course of the conversation, to speak freely and openly on the subject of the present position of affairs, as connected with this war of Italian independence and the formation of the Kingdom of Upper Italy. I remarked that it was our wish to see a strong and united country established in Upper Italy, and that, in accordance with that principle, Her Majesty's Government has recently formed their answer to the proposals made by the Cabinet of Vienna with regard to the mediation of Great Britain; but I added that it appeared to me, as matters at present stood, that His Sardinian Majesty would do well calmly and scrupulously to consider his position in all its bearings and in all its relations, as they might affect the interests of his country and of his family, whenever he might be called upon to decide upon the question of negotiation for peace.

I added, however, in the most distinct and explicit terms that I could employ, that I did not presume to offer any opinion whatever upon the subject of the terms upon which peace might be advantageously accepted, for that was

a question which it was for His Sardinian Majesty and his Government to decide.

I renewed on this occasion the assurances I had repeatedly given to the Marquis Pareto, of the sincere desire of Her Majesty's Government to assist, as far as they were able, the interests and welfare of Sardinia, and I repeated also the same argument I had previously urged that to enable Her Majesty's Government to do so, it was necessary that they should be made acquainted with His Sardinian Majesty's real wishes and intentions.

I at the same time expressed my readiness to convey to your Lordship any communications which His Sardinian Majesty might desire to make to you.

This morning was communicated to me a letter written entirely by His Sardinian Majesty.

In that letter, dated Roverbella, 7th instant, His Sardinian Majesty declares that he would accept propositions which gave the Adige for the eastern frontier of this country, and which recognized the annexation to it of Lombardy and the Duchies of Parma and Modena.

His Sardinian Majesty then proceeds to observe, that should the Austrian Government be disposed to make direct to him any propositions for peace based upon such territorial arrangements as above, or should they be proposed to him by Her Majesty's Government, as mediators, or should they be proposed through me at the recommendation of Her Majesty's Government, he would not hesitate to accept of them, and His Sardinian Majesty desires that these opinions should be confidentially communicated to me.

His Sardinian Majesty terminated this letter, which I have read, by observing that sufficient reasons might be given to prove to the Chambers and to the country, the wisdom of accepting a peace, which, considering the relative powers of Sardinia and of Austria, ought justly to be considered as being both honourable and glorious for Sardinia.

I replied to the communication made to me by His Majesty's correspondent, by assuring him that I would not fail to lay before you the contents of His Sardinian Majesty's letter, and I renewed my declaration that I could offer no opinion whatever upon the advantage or disadvantage of the territorial arrangements therein proposed, as it was for His Sardinian Majesty and his Government to decide upon these points as might be deemed most for the interests of the country.

I likewise observed that, when transmitting to your Lordship His Sardinian Majesty's views and opinions upon the question of peace, it would be also my duty to remark to you that they were but the personal views and opinions of His Sardinian Majesty; that I was the more called upon to bring this observation before your Lordship, because, in the present unsettled state of the Government, and on the eve of the formation of a new Cabinet, I was unable to report to you how far these views might meet with the sanction and approbation of the new Ministers; and that, without this reservation on my part, I might be the means of misleading your Lordship, and of inducing Her Majesty's Government to enter into engagements on a supposed understanding with Sardinia as to the extent of her pretensions, which might afterwards be found not to be correct.

It was therefore with these reservations I added, that I undertook to make the above communication to your Lordship, and I have also thought it right, in order that no mistakes may occur, to communicate in confidence to His Sardinian Majesty's correspondent this despatch, to the contents of which, and to the correctness of my report of our conversations he has entirely agreed.

No. 59.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 15, 1848.

I BEG leave to correct an error I made in my despatch of the 12th instant. In making mention of Pontremoli, I said it was a fief of the empire. I meant to have said that the Marquisate of Castiglioni was an Imperial fief formerly belonging to Lucca, and now forming part of Tuscany.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 60.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 18, 1848.

I HAVE received information that an Austrian corps of between 6000 and 7000 men, commanded by Prince Lichtenstein, entered the Roman States on the 14th instant.

They crossed the Po at Palentone, Ponte Lagoscuro, and Polesella, and encamped for the night under the walls of Ferrara. The Prolegate being left without any troops was unable to resist them, and was forced to provide them with victuals for two months.

On the following day two lancers arrived with despatches for the commander from the opposite bank of the Po. The whole army soon after recrossed the Po in the greatest possible confusion.

The motive of this speedy retreat is not yet known, but it is supposed to have been the attack of Verona and Legnago by the King of Sardinia.

It is thought that the intention of the Austrians had been to march on Modena. During their passage various acts of violence were committed on the peasantry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 61.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 19, 1848.

THE Government continues to send reinforcements to Marshal Radetzky, and I have no doubt an attack will in due time be made by the Austrians upon the Piedmontese. Those who come from the army concur in speaking of the troops, both officers and soldiers, as being animated by enthusiasm in the cause, and it is probable that whatever skill and courage can effect will be applied for the attainment of success; but victory is not certain at any time, and it might be prudent to take advantage of the powerful state of the Austrian army to make some effort for peace, before a decisive operation shall be risked.

I have reason to know that others as well as the late Ministers are prepared to approve of a peace based upon the condition of the line of the Adige being adopted, and Baron Wessenberg being still Minister for Foreign Affairs, will, it is presumed, be ready to forward such a peace. Your Lordship has disapproved of the terms I speak of; and those terms of which you approve are unattainable, and will continue to be so till the Austrians shall be defeated. I have several times informed your Lordship that such is the fact; and I now take the liberty again to bring the matter under your notice, that I may know how to act.

There may yet be time for your Lordship to produce good, if it should be in accordance with the policy of Her Majesty's Government to cease to express disapprobation of the terms upon which alone the Imperial Government will treat, and will cease to make the apparent or presumed submission or consent of the Venetians and others to the proposed terms the condition upon which you can consent to their being brought forward in negotiation.

Baron Wessenberg was to arrive last night at Vienna. The time has, I believe, now elapsed during which he wished to avoid the question of negotiation. If empowered to act in agreement more or less exact with the opinion and views of the Austrians as above alluded to, I might possibly be of service in the cause of peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 62.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in original and translation, copy of a report from Lieutenant-General Welden, dated Padua, July 15th, which was received here yesterday, giving an account of the successful operations of Major-General Prince Francis Lichtenstein. That General passed the Po on the 14th at three places, dispersed the Papal troops which had assembled there, caused Ferrara to surrender at discretion, and relieved the Austrian garrison which was blockaded in the citadel.

The whole of the Venetian territory, with the exception of Venice, is now in the hands of the Austrians.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 62.

Extract from the "Vienna Gazette" of July 18.

(Translation.)

ACCORDING to a report from Lieutenant-General Baron Welden, dated Padua, the 15th instant, which has been received at the War department, Field-Marshal Radetzky, upon learning that Papal troops were again assembling on the Po in considerable numbers, gave orders to Major-General Prince Francis Lichtenstein, with the requisite force to disperse them. This General accordingly passed the Po at Polesella, Francolino, and Pontelagoscuro, on the morning of the 14th, drove back the Papal troops which were there, to Ferrara, and at 12 o'clock was on the glacis of that citadel.

During the preparations for bombarding the town, a deputation appeared, and offered its unconditional surrender. The citadel with its heroic garrison, commanded by Colonel Count Khuen, is thus relieved, and not only the Lower Po, but the investment on the south-west side of Venice assured.

No. 63.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 20, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, reporting the advance on the 14th instant of an Austrian force under the command of Major-General Prince Francis Lichtenstein against Ferrara, and the surrender of that place, I have now the honour to inclose, in original and translation, the Convention agreed upon between that officer and the Papal Pro-Legate, for the future regulation of the mutual relations between the Austrian troops in the citadel and the town of Ferrara.

Prince Lichtenstein repassed the Po on the 15th, and it appears that the object of this advance was more the relief and provisioning of the Austrian garrison in the citadel, than a military operation against the hostile troops assembled there, or a violation of the Papal territory.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 63.

Convention for Regulating the Intercourse between the Citadel and Town of Ferrara.

(Translation.)

TO regulate for the future the mutual relations between the town and the citadel, the following Convention was agreed on:—

I. The citadel is to be provisioned by the town for two months, and these

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stores regarded as a reserve. The Commandant will give in a list of the various articles required.

II. All the various wants of the garrison may be purchased in the town, and no escort is necessary for that purpose; the ingress and egress from the citadel is particularly guaranteed to every one.

III. The correspondence by post, by Santa Maria Maddalena, is to be established, and a non-commissioned officer to take and receive these letters, in the same manner as was in practice before the late occurrences.

IV. The Austrian military hospital remains in the town, together with all persons belonging to it; and these latter may go back and forward without hindrance.

V. In the citadel, those works which the engineer officers deem necessary are to be undertaken.

VI. In case the evacuation of the citadel should be decided on, in pursuance with the orders of His Imperial Majesty or of the Commander-in-chief, the retreat is to take place with all the honours of war, as also with all the artillery, military stores, and baggage. The town of Ferrara engages to furnish the necessary means of transport to the Imperial frontier. The requisite provisions to be furnished to the officers and men under my command during their stay at Ferrara. In consideration of the respect which His Majesty, our most gracious Emperor, has for the Holy Father, I will abstain from every act of hostility against the town and its inhabitants; and after the conclusion of the above Convention, and the delivery of the provisions which the Ist Article treats of, I will retire with my troops.

Given in the citadel of Ferrara, July 14, 1848.

P.S.—I request the respected Legation to conclude the above Convention in the course of this day, and at the same time to agree to the condition, that from the moment of my departure from here, till my arrival at Pontelagoscuro, no act of hostility shall be had recourse to against me, either by the Papal troops or their allies; in the contrary case, I shall be compelled to oppose such act by all the means at my disposal.

Ferrara as above.

Agreed to
COUNT LOVATELLI,
Prolegate.

Agreed to
P. FRANCIS LICHTENSTEIN.

The Ist Article is to be changed as follows:—

If the garrison should quit the citadel, the two months' provisions in store to be returned to the town of Ferrara, provided that the garrison has never been prevented purchasing what it is required. Agreed to.

No. 64.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 27.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mantua, although not officially announced, is partly blockaded, the line of the blockade extending from Curtatone to Pietole by S. Silvestro.

It has been hitherto believed that His Majesty Charles Albert intended to attack Verona, judging from the great preparations that were making at Peschiera for the purpose; but whether this was a feint on the part of His Majesty to deceive the Austrians, or whether he has changed his plan of operations, it is impossible to say. The opinion of some intelligent officers is, that the King's preparations around Verona are more defensive than offensive; that the object is when Mantua is completely blockaded, to march a strong body of troops on Legnano, take it by assault, and then attack the Austrians in the Venetian Provinces.

The passes on the Stelvio and the Tonale are well defended by the Lombard volunteers, and the heights of Rivoli by the volunteers and the Piedmontese

troops. They are often attacked by the Austrians, whose number in those parts are increasing; but the latter are invariably repulsed with considerable loss.

A body of 5000 Austrian troops crossed the Po lately at Pontelagoscuro and Polesella and marched into Ferrara, where the Papal Government did not offer any opposition. Their object appears to have been the victualling of the Austrian garrison in the citadel, as General Lichtenstein, on the 15th instant, signed a Treaty with the Cardinal Legate, by which, on condition of provisioning the citadel for two months, and guaranteeing its garrison military honours when they should evacuate it, he promised to re-cross the Po within two days, and to abstain from every hostile act, provided he be not molested on his retiring by Pontelagoscuro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 65.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 19, 1848.

BY an official bulletin published late last night, the partial blockade of Mantua has taken place, the line extending from below the Angeli, before the fort of the Pradella Gate, to Ceresa and Pietole within gun-shot of the fortress, thus confirming the statement I had the honour to make to your Lordship in my despatch of the 17th instant.

The blockade has thus been effected on the right of the Mincio; the remainder of the army is in position to complete that on the left, and to repel any attack that may be made either from Verona or Legnago. On the 14th instant, the Austrians made a sortie for the purpose of disturbing the operations of the Italians, but the former were driven back with great loss by the battalion of the Lombard students, which last, however, had several killed and wounded.

This bulletin then goes on to state that on the 15th instant information was received at the camp of His Majesty Charles Albert, that a body of 5000 Austrian troops, with half a park of artillery, under the command of General Prince Lichtenstein, had passed the Po at Pontelagoscuro, marching on Ferrara. The Austrians, arriving under the walls of that city, declared that their intention was to change the garrison of the citadel. They encamped in a plain near the barrier of S. Benedetto, imposing a contribution of rations for the whole corps d'armée for two days, and the Ferrarese at the same time engaging to provision the garrison for two months.

His Majesty Charles Albert dispatched a body of 16,000 men, with sixteen pieces of artillery, under the orders of General Bava to oppose this invasion. The General passed the Po on the 16th at Borgo Forte.

Official intelligence had arrived on the 16th instant, stating that the Austrians, on hearing that the Piedmontese troops were near them, retired hastily from Ferrara and re-crossed the Po. It is said that the object of the Austrians in marching on Ferrara was to remove from the citadel 30,000 stand of arms deposited there; which object they effected, re-crossing the river with the last car-load of arms.

It would appear that the head-quarters of His Majesty Charles Albert are to be removed from Roverbella to Marmirola, where the advanced post of the second division of the Piedmontese army now are.

The announcement of the Duke of Genoa's nomination as King of Sicily reached the camp on the 15th instant, the deputation charged to conveyed the news to him having already arrived at Genoa.

Yesterday, General Zucchi, late commandant of the fortress of Palmanuova, arrived in this city, he being ordered by His Majesty Charles Albert to proceed to the camp forthwith. Considerable advantages are expected to be derived from having an officer of his great military talents and experience at the head quarters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 66.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 27.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 21, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 19th instant a division of Piedmontese troops under General Bava, consisting of the Regina brigade, the Genoese regiment of cavalry, a company of the 2nd battalion of the Rifle corps, and two batteries of artillery, attacked and defeated, after a short engagement, a considerable body of Austrian troops at Governolo, eight miles from Mantua, in which the latter left behind them 300 killed and wounded, 400 prisoners, four cannon, and two stand of colours. The Piedmontese had only two officers killed and one severely wounded, with the loss of but few soldiers. The victory is most important, as the strong position of Governolo, now occupied by the Piedmontese, has enabled them to blockade Mantua completely, while the left flank of their army is thoroughly protected. Governolo was the only pass the Austrians had on the Lower Mincio. General Bava has acquired great credit for suddenly turning back from Borgo Forte to Governolo, on finding that the Austrian column he was pursuing had re-crossed the Po.

The day previous (the 18th), the Piedmontese took possession of Marmirolo so quickly that they captured the powder magazine, in which were found a great quantity of congreve rockets. The powder the Austrians had thrown into the neighbouring ditches.

The head-quarters of His Majesty Charles Albert are now at Marmirolo.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No 67.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, July 20, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome.

Inclosure in No. 67.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, July 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that Count Mamiani yesterday announced to the Council of Deputies that the Germans had, in number about 5000, crossed the Po, and were advancing towards Ferrara, for the purpose of putting themselves in communication with the commander of the fortress.

The Minister called on the Deputies to rally round the Government in defence of their independence, to lay aside discussions of little moment, when the country was invaded, and told them that he had to give them good news. "Our arm," he said, "has acquired a greater moral force. To our arm is now added the just indignation of an exalted person."

Private letters announce that the Austrians have entered Ferrara and taken possession of the same parts which they occupied previously to the revolution at Milan, and that 2000 are on their march to Comachio.

This news did not produce any sensation in Rome. It may be feared that at Bologna and in parts of the Romagna, some attempts will be made to revive excitement.

Count Ludoh, the Neapolitan Minister, is just returned from Naples, whither he was called by the King a short time back, and will proceed in a few days on a mission, I believe, to Paris and to London.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 68.

Mr. Mageniz to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 21, 1848.

THE return to Vienna of Baron Wessenberg has been further postponed. His Excellency has written to his colleagues, from Frankfort, that he is so indisposed, that he has, by the advice of his medical attendants, and in order to avoid a more serious illness, commenced a treatment in the country, which will delay his departure for a fortnight.

I am told, from I believe competent authority, that the Austrian military force in Italy will by the end of this month amount to 115,000 men, which, with the necessary deductions for the garrisons of the various fortresses, sick, &c., would enable Marshal Radetzky to take the field at the head of 65,000 men.

No. 69.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.)

Venice, July 19, 1848.

A BATTALION of Piedmontese troops, 760 strong, arrived here on the 15th instant. These troops embarked for Venice at Comacchio, and had previously formed a part of the garrison at Genoa. Two more battalions are said to be on their way hither, and are to embark for Venice at Ravenna.

Intelligence has been received here of the passage of the Po and advance to the town of Ferrara by a corps of Austrians, who however are said to have suddenly recrossed the river. It is presumed that the object of this corps was to relieve the garrison of the citadel of Ferrara, in which they would appear to have succeeded.

Venice continues to be closely invested by the Austrian forces on the land side. The effect of this is every day more apparent. The impossibility of exporting anything to the mainland paralyzes trade, and the want of money is severely felt. From what I have learnt it would appear that the Austrians, having lost the command of the sea, do not now meditate any attack upon Venice, but confine themselves to a strict investment of the Lagunes from the mainland, holding themselves in readiness to profit by any act of treachery or any want of caution on the part of the Venetians, while the feeling among the latter that Venice must ere long be reoccupied by Austria is daily gaining ground.

No answer has yet been received here to the offer of the Venetians to unite themselves to Piedmont. Two deputations, bearing this offer, left Venice, the one for the camp of King Charles Albert, the other for Turin. The first-named of these deputations is returned here, having been, by their own account, most courteously but cautiously received by the King, who, while he expressed himself verbally most favourable towards them, declared that the formal and official answer must come from his Government at Turin.

A convention for the exchange of hostages has been concluded between General Welden and the Venetian Provisional Government, but has not yet been carried into effect.

I am informed, upon authority which I think may be relied on, that reinforcements to the amount of 68,000 men have reached the Army of Italy since the commencement of the war, and that the entire force under Marshal Radetzky's orders is not less than 120,000 men. This comprises the whole of the Austrian force between the Isonzo, the Adige, and the Po. Further reinforcements are decided upon, and are constantly arriving in small bodies. Of the above force of 120,000 men, 39,000 are Croatian troops, to whom an address has been issued by Count Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, calling upon them to remain faithful to their Emperor and to fight for his cause in Italy, and assuring them that Croatia is strong enough to settle its differences with Hungary without their assistance.

Of the actual position and intentions of the Austrian and Piedmontese forces on the Adige, we have little accurate information. The Italian version of what passes, the only one admitted here, is exaggerated. From persons worthy of belief, who have very recently passed through the country, I have heard that the Venetian Provinces and the Friuli are perfectly tranquil under the Austrian reoccupation, the peasants and the country-people everywhere employed in their usual avocations. I have on former occasions adverted to the difference that subsists between the population of the Venetian Provinces and that of Lombardy, and from all I learn it would seem that the former, especially the rural portion of it, would be very unwilling to see the struggle renewed, and are contented to return to the rule of the Austrians. It must not be forgotten that in the Friuli and the Venetian Provinces the contest was carried on not so much by the inhabitants, who took comparatively but little part in it, as by bands of adventurers from all other parts of Italy; and even now, out of the 23,000 or 24,000 men who occupy Venice and the adjacent forts, very few, excepting the civic guard, which acts as police in the city itself, are Venetians; the rest are Romans, Tuscans, Lombards, Neapolitans, &c.

Signor Manin, the late President of the late Provisional Government, who resigned his office upon Venice deciding upon a fusion with Piedmont, has placed himself at the head of the Republican party here.

No. 70.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Venice, July 19, 1848.

A QUESTION having been put to me by Captain Ramsay, the senior officer commanding Her Majesty's ships in the Adriatic, as to how far vessels of war bearing the Venetian flag would be justified in carrying out the measures of blockade against Trieste notified by the Sardinian Admiral, I thought it best, in the absence of instructions on the subject, to speak to Signor Castelli, the President of the Provisional Government here, and to point out to him that complications might possibly arise if vessels under the Venetian flag, a flag that had not been recognized, were to exercise any belligerent right, even under the modified regulations issued by the Sardinian Admiral, towards English or other neutral merchant-vessels; and I suggested that it would be well that any ship of the blockading squadron that should interfere with a neutral merchant-ship should be under Sardinian colours. I begged Signor Castelli to understand that I made this representation to him quite as much for his own sake as for that of Her Majesty's subjects, and solely with a view to prevent the possibility of complications arising between the blockading squadron and neutral Powers.

Signor Castelli said that he would attend to the observations I made to him.

I thought it desirable that I should confer with Captain Ramsay on this matter, and I accordingly proceeded to Trieste on the 14th instant in Her Majesty's ship "Spitfire," for that purpose.

The Sardinian squadron, united with the Venetian ships of war, was anchored off the Point of Salvore, about eighteen miles to the southward of Trieste, and appears disposed to remain in that position and to offer no unnecessary molestation to neutral merchant-vessels.

The Austrian men-of-war remain in the harbour of Trieste, some of them going out occasionally about a mile, usually accompanied by a steamer, for the purpose of exercising their crews, in which they have made some slight progress, but it does not seem that they have any intention of undertaking any hostile operation against the Sardinian squadron.

Trieste is now very efficiently protected by batteries, which completely command the harbour and bay; and even had the Sardinian Admiral not given his assurance to the contrary, he could not hope to make a successful attack on the place.

The feeling in the town is very Austrian, and the Italian party cannot make any head.

A slight movement took place a short time ago at Rovigno, on the coast of Istria, where an attempt was made to raise a cry for King Charles Albert and to

hoist the Italian flag. This movement, however, to which the presence of the Sardinian squadron off the coast contributed, appears to have been very trifling, and to have been put down without difficulty.

It would seem that the Sardinian and Venetian squadrons calculated upon their appearance off the Istrian coast producing a much greater effect than has been the case.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 71. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1848.

I HAVE to instruct you to send Lieutenant Campbell, or any other person competent to obtain information, to the army of King Charles Albert, to ascertain as far as he can, and to report upon, its present positions, operations, efficiency, numbers, and prospects,

You will obtain from the Government of Turin the necessary passport and permission for the person whom you may employ. That person will return to Turin after the execution of his commission.

A messenger will be sent to you in a few days to enable you to send back his report to England.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 72. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1848.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd instant, inclosing a copy of a telegraphic despatch dated from Toulon on the 21st instant, announcing that 3000 Austrian troops had entered Ferrara, and that there was great agitation in the Legations on behalf of Charles Albert.

Your Excellency's despatch also contains an account of your conversation with M. Bastide respecting this intelligence, and the scheme of an arrangement for the settlement of the affairs of Lombardy and Venice, which M. Bastide suggests as one which might be proposed by the British and French Governments to the Government of Austria.

With regard to the rumoured entry of the Austrians into Ferrara, your Excellency will take an opportunity of saying to M. Bastide, that, as far as Her Majesty's Government can form an opinion, they are led to think that the occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians is rather a defensive than an offensive measure, and is intended chiefly for the purpose of preventing the Piedmontese army from turning the left of the Austrian line, and taking them in reverse by crossing the Po at some place to the westward, and then recrossing it at Ferrara.

With reference to M. Bastide's scheme for the settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy, you may say that Her Majesty's Government would be very glad to find themselves able to co-operate with the Government of France for the purpose of endeavouring by friendly negotiation to bring to a conclusion the hostilities now going on between the Austrians and Italians in the north of Italy.

With respect to the arrangement suggested with that view by M. Bastide, Her Majesty's Government believe that such a plan might perhaps be agreed to by Austria, because the Austrian Government was not unwilling some time ago to consent to an arrangement by which the claims of Austria upon Lombardy should be given up, in consideration of an agreement by which Lombardy should take upon herself a suitable portion of the Austrian debt; and in regard to Venice, the Austrian Government was disposed to consent to an arrangement by which the Venetian State should receive separate administrative and constitutional

institutions, and should be placed, with an Austrian Archduke at its head, under the sovereignty of the Emperor. But it might possibly happen that an arrangement of this kind in regard to Venice might be declined by the Italians; and Her Majesty's Government would wish to know what are M. Bastide's views as to the course which he thinks the two Powers should pursue in such a case.

With regard, however, to any guarantee, it is not likely that Her Majesty's Government would feel themselves at liberty to enter into any engagement of that kind beyond the sanction which might be implied by Great Britain being, together with France, a signing party to any treaty by which the arrangement which might be effected, with the consent of the parties concerned, would be recorded.

I need not of course more particularly remind your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government, though they might consent to negotiate, would not be parties to any forcible interference in these matters; and that their object in co-operating with France in negotiation, if they should find it practicable to do so, would be thereby to dissuade the French Government from armed interference in these Italian affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 73.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 29.)

(Extract.)

Florence, July 21, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome.

At Leghorn and at Florence, the busts and portraits of the Pope have been burned in a riotous manner; this occurred however, previous to the Pope's energetic proceedings on the subject of the Austrian invasion of Ferrara.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, July 19, 1848.

IT appears that the Austrians have retired from Ferrara, after having changed the garrison in the citadel.

Count Mamiani, Minister of the Interior, has however addressed a circular letter, with the consent of His Holiness, to the governors of the provinces and towns, calling on them to endeavour to raise up the population, but warning them at the same time, that if there should be any supineness, it would be more prudent and humane not to make a vain and useless show of defence; that an energetic protest of His Holiness will immediately appear against this act of the foreign invader, and that the Government has asked for immediate succour from the King of Piedmont and from General Pepe.

Yesterday, in the Council of Deputies, Count Mamiani explained that the Germans, after passing the Po, and leaving 1500 men between Francolini and Lagoscuro, advanced with about 4000 men, and invaded but did not occupy the city of Ferrara; that Prince Lichtenstein presented himself to the Pro-Legate of the city and demanded provisions and forage for two months; that, on refusal, the Prince retired, and wrote to the Pro-Legate in a threatening style, that he would use force if necessary; and that the Pro-Legate, on the condition that the troops should be withdrawn from the city, yielded, and they retired.

Count Mamiani, at the close of his speech, said that he hoped that in the course of a few days the Ministerial crisis (of which much has been rumoured for some time) would cease; that the Ministry had requested this grace of His Holiness. He here probably alludes to the Secular Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the sale, or the pledging of church property, and other such matters.

After some debate, a Commission was appointed to draw up an address to His Holiness, which after short time was unanimously voted, and of which the following is a translation:

"Most Holy Father, the Council of Deputies unanimously brings to your Holiness the declaration of its acknowledgments for the readiness with which you have ordered a solemn protest against the invasion by the Austrian troops of the territory of the Church. Catholics and Italians, the Deputies rage with indignation at such violence; Representatives of the people, they offer to you the heart and the arm of the people, which is the nerve of nations. They have in memory the crimes in all times perpetrated by the Imperialists against this Holy See, and the old and recent lacerations of Italy, which can no longer be a slave, since you, O Holy Father, have blessed it; and with the reverent affection of sons, they pray you and conjure you so to act that your Government interpose no time in brandishing arms, defensive and offensive, and in uniting itself in durable alliance with Princes who are worthy to guide Italian independence. Bound by indissoluble ties to your Holiness, in whose name Italy regains its primacy and the world renovates itself, we are ready to defend to the last extremity your, our, the inalienable rights of the Church, of the people, of the nation. Invoke anew, O Holy Father, the benediction of God on Italy and on us; and pronounce the all-powerful word which raises the oppressed and beats down the oppressors. The Council of Deputies, confident, wait prostrate to kiss the sacred foot."

A circular note to the Diplomatic Body has been addressed by the Secretary of State, Cardinal Soglia Cerroni, on the late affair at Ferrara, containing a protest in the name of His Holiness, against these acts of the Court of Austria, to be communicated to all Governments; His Holiness reserving to himself to take all those measures he shall consider most efficacious for the protection of the independence of the Papal States.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 73.

Circular Note to the Diplomatic Body at Rome.

DOPO che la Santità di nostro signore nell' immenso affetto col quale ha più volte dichiarato di abbracciare tutti i popoli Cristiani in mezzo al generale commovimento Europeo, fra le grida e gli atti di guerra di tutta l'Italia infiammata da spiriti di nationalità, non curando riguardi ed interessi temporali, aveva protestato di non volere in quei momenti ed in quelle circostanze far guerra; dopo che a fine degno del suo supremo sacerdozio aveva spedito un Legato a Sua Maestà Sarda ed alla Corte Austriaca; la Santità Sua apriva il cuore a speranza di vicina pace.

Ma oggi, con grande sorpresa e profondo cordoglio, ha appreso come le truppe Austriache, dopo avere ai passati giorni posto impedimento alla navigazione ed ai transiti sul Po, attentato alla vita ed alle libertà di alcuni batteggieri Pontificj, e sequestrati battelli Pontificj, abbiano passato il Po nella notte dei 13 ai 14 corrente, ed abbiano senza veruno preventivo ufficio violata la indipendenza del territorio della Chiesa.

Alla quale manifesta lesione dei diritti di cui Sua Santità è geloso custode, hanno tenuto dietro atti di aperta ostilità e nemicizia. Perchè agli abitanti di Lagoscuro è stata dal Maggiore Austriaco del 4° Reggimento Dragoni in nome del Principe Generale di Lichtenstein fatta minaccia di incendio in quattro punti del paese, se avessero fatto prova di resistenza; perchè in ordinanza guerriera da tre punti le truppe Austriache hanno invaso lo Stato della S. Sede in numero di sei in sette mila, occupati Pontelagoscuro e Francolino; ed in fine si sono avanzati nelle ore pomeridiane del giorno 14 fino alla spianata esteriore della Pontificia fortezza di Ferrara. Quivi giunte, gli atti di violenza hanno assunto gravità maggiore, essendo diretti contro il rappresentante superiore del nostro Governo in quella provincia, al quale il Principe di Lichtenstein ha militarmente imposto di mandare vettovaglie, e di prepararsi a dare ogni altra cosa di cui si faccia richiesta, facendo intendere che se quel preside credesse opporsi, come sarebbe nel suo diritto, non si asterrebbe da ulteriori ostilità. Ed a qual segno sia giunta la violenza può conoscerlo ognuno dai termini del seguente paragrafo della lettera del Principe di Lichtenstein, trascritto testualmente:

"A Monsieur le Comte de Lovatelli, Prolégat de la ville de Ferrare.

"D'après le refus que vous m'avez fait de vous prêter à me livrer l'appro-

visionnement des deux mois pour la citadelle, je me vois dans la nécessité de vous déclarer que j'attends incessamment la réponse décisive sur ce point, ayant disposé qu'en cas de refus j'aurais recours aux mesures coercitives pour obtenir mon but par tous les moyens qui sont en mon pouvoir.

“Ferrare, 14 Juillet, à minuit.”

Pe' quali atti di flagrante violazione de' legittimi diritti della S. Sede, Sua Santità ha già ordinato che nei modi e forme legali si faccia solenne protesta alla Corte Austriaca da comunicarsi a tutti i Governi; riserbandosi a prendere tutte quelle deliberazioni che secondo le circostanze stimerà opportune ed efficaci per tutela della conservazione della indipendenza degli Stati Pontificj.

Dopo questa dichiarazione che faccio a vostra Eccellenza per ordine espresso della Santità di nostro signore, sono persuasa che ella ne renderà consapevole al sua Corte.

(Translation.)

HIS Holiness our master, in the immense affection with which he has often declared he embraced the whole Christian world, in the midst of the general commotion of Europe, amidst the war-cries of all Italy, inflamed with a spirit of nationality, after having, unmindful of temporal interests, proclaimed that he would not under those circumstances make war; after he had, for a purpose worthy of his supreme character, sent a Legate to His Sardinian Majesty and to the Court of Austria, His Holiness opened his heart to the hope of an approaching peace.

But to-day, to his extreme surprise and regret, he has learnt that the Austrian troops, after having for several days impeded the navigation of the Po, after having threatened the life and liberty of some boatmen and seized upon some boats belonging to the Papal States, have crossed the Po during the night of the 13th and 14th instant, and have, without any previous notice, violated the independence of the States of the Church.

This manifest violation of the rights of which His Holiness is the jealous guardian, was followed by acts of open hostility. For an Austrian Major of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons threatened the inhabitants of Lagoscuro, in the name of General Lichtenstein, to set fire to four quarters of their town if they made any attempt at resistance. The Austrian troops, to the number of 6000 or 7000 have invaded in hostile array the Papal States, on three points, and occupied Pontelagoscuro and Francolino, and finally advanced during the afternoon of the 14th instant to the outward glacis of the Papal fortress of Ferrara. Having arrived there, their acts of violence assumed a graver aspect, being directed against the first Representative of our Government in that province, whom Prince de Lichtenstein ordered to furnish victuals and to provide anything else which might be demanded, giving that President to understand that in case of resistance he would recur to further hostilities. It is easy to judge of the extent of his violence from the following paragraph of the letter of Prince de Lichtenstein, which is textually copied:—

“To Count de Lovatelli, Pro-Legate of the City of Ferrara.

“In consequence of your refusal to deliver to me two months' provision for the Citadel, I am under the necessity of declaring to you that I am in immediate expectation of a decisive answer on that point, having arranged, in case of refusal, to have recourse to measures of coercion, in order to obtain my object by all the means at my disposal.”

“Ferrara, July 14, midnight.”

On account of this flagrant violation of the legitimate rights of the Holy See, His Holiness has already ordered a solemn protest to be addressed in the legal forms to the Court of Austria, and to be communicated to all the Powers. He intends to adopt such measures as he thinks suitable and efficacious for maintaining the independence of the Papal States.

After this declaration, which I make to your Excellency by the express order of His Holiness our master, I am persuaded that you will communicate it to your Government.

No. 74.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 30.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 22, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome, giving an account of the agitation that prevailed in that city in consequence of the advance of the Austrians into the Papal territory; of the resignation of the Ministers; and stating that a War committee, under the presidency of the Pro-Legate, had been established at Bologna.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

 Inclosure in No. 74.
Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, July 20, 1848.

THE indifference with which the news of the advance and entrance of the Austrians into the Papal territory was received in Rome the agitators did not long allow to remain undisturbed. Taking advantage of the address, reported in my despatch of yesterday, of the Council of Deputies to His Holiness, every effort was made to get up a demonstration in support of the war-cry, and Ciceruacchio was urged on to set about assembling the lower class of workmen and the most disaffected among the civic guards, but few of whom would be now induced to undertake another expedition against the Austrians. A considerable crowd was however collected, and proceeded yesterday to the Palace of the Cancellaria, where the Deputies hold their sittings, to present an address declaring the country in danger, and offering their assistance in its defence; and then endeavoured to overawe the Assembly, when it was known that the debate on the subject of the address to His Holiness had been postponed, and that His Holiness was not likely to comply with its request. The President, in consequence of the clamour and of the entry of some of the crowd into the Chamber, declared the sitting dissolved, and harangued the crowd from a balcony. Tranquillity being after some time restored, the President recalling his order, the sitting was resumed, and the Council discussed various articles of a project for the mobilization of the civic guard;—a plan to maintain the quiet of the provinces.

In the meantime the crowd, amongst which were members of civic guards in uniform, headed by Ciceruacchio, cried out for the delivery of the Castle of St. Angelo and of the gates of the town into the custody of the civic guard, and were on their way to make the attempt. The sitting of the Council was declared permanent, and some Deputies were sent to gain information as to the real state of things, who soon returning with the Minister of Police, announced that there was no fear of further disturbance. The crowd indeed met with little encouragement; widely different was the agitation during the first days of last May. In the course of the sitting the Minister of Commerce, the Duke of Rignano, declared the resignation of the Ministry for the second time, and for reasons already known; but that the Ministers would remain at their posts until others were appointed.

In the evening there was no trace of any disturbance, and the Pope drove out as usual.

In a country where there is not a remnant of authority, nor of military discipline, it is impossible to foresee what may happen from day to day.

A war committee, under the presidency of the Pro-Legate and conformably to an authorization of the Minister of the Interior, Count Mamiani, has been established at Bologna. The example will probably be followed by other provinces. A Provisional Government was at first proposed by some of the leading agitators, and it is not unlikely that it was to prevent this measure that the Pro-Legate and the senator adopted the one of a war committee.

I find that I have made a mistake in saying that the President of the Council of Deputies addressed the crowd from a balcony—he spoke to those who had entered the Chamber.

No. 75.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, July 23, 1848.

IN reply to your Lordship's instructions of the 12th instant I beg leave to inclose copy of my note to Baron Wessenberg, to show that I did nothing more than inform him that you declined undertaking the mediation upon the terms proposed for a basis, and to express my hope that he might be able to suggest something favourable to the attainment of peace.

Inclosure in No. 75.

*Viscount Ponsonby to Baron Wessenberg.**Innsbruck, June 28, 1848.*

THE Undersigned has the honour to transmit to his Excellency the Baron Wessenberg, &c., an extract from a despatch from Lord Palmerston dated the 20th June:

"If upon the principle contained in Baron Hummelauer's memorandum of the 24th May with reference to Lombardy, the Imperial Government should include such portions of the Venetian territory as may be agreed upon between the respective parties, Her Majesty's Government would lose no time in setting on foot a negotiation founded upon such a basis."

The memorandum of Baron Hummelauer is known to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg.

Another communication from Lord Palmerston to the Undersigned authorizes him to proceed to Italy (if desired to do so by the Imperial Government) for the purpose of aiding in the name of Her Majesty's Government in the negotiation which shall be undertaken by the Imperial Government for a peace founded upon the basis above stated.

Possibly the progress of events in Italy and change of circumstances there may have given ground for some alteration in the proposed basis; and the Undersigned is so fully convinced of the desire entertained by the Imperial Government to arrive at some result by the completion of peace, that he cannot but hope the sagacity of the Imperial Government will suggest something that may meet the wishes of every party and tend to establish the interests of all.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

No. 76.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in original and translation, two bulletins received here from the army in Italy.

I take this occasion to call your attention to the alteration which the refusal of the King of Sardinia to treat for peace, when the proposal was made to him, together with the success of the Austrian arms, may make in the basis on which the Imperial Government may insist for negotiation. I had good reason to think that the Adige would have been accepted as the line of separation; but there may be, under new circumstances, a further demand, and the Mincio may be insisted on.

It is held by many military men, that the line of the Adige is not sufficient to secure the territories for which the interest of Austria will oblige her to fight as long and as well as they can. Two other things may also be taken into consideration, one being the apparently diminished probability that France will take a strong part in support of the claims put forth by the King of Sardinia; the other is the probability that the Germans will support Austria, if attacked by the French.

I have, &c.

(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

Inclosure 1 in No. 76.

Bulletin from the Army of Italy.

(Translation.)

THE Commander-in-chief of the Army of Italy, Marshal Radetzky, has the honour to submit to His Imperial Majesty the result of his operations and successes, from his head-quarters, Palazzo Alzarea, at Castelnova, the 24th July, 2 P.M.

The reported demonstrations of the 21st instant, of the complete surrounding of Mantua, and of the concentration of the greatest part of the enemy's forces there and on the plains of Roverbella are fully confirmed.

Having at last, on the afternoon of the 22nd, learnt through a report of General Simbschen, who was with his brigade in Sanguinetto, that the enemy had not only 9000 men at Governolo, but besides these, 4000 in Castellaro, and 4000 in Castel Belfonte, while at the same time on the north-west and south side of Mantua were 17,000 men more, so that there were at least from 30,000 to 35,000 men surrounding that fortress, I determined at once what resolution to take. I gave at once, on the afternoon of the 22nd, the order that the first, second, and reserve corps should, at 1 A.M. attack the position of the enemy at Sona and Somma Campagna, take those heights by storm, and in case of success, that the second corps, which formed the right wing, should press forward by St. Georgio in Salice to Castelnova, and the first corps (the left wing) by Guastalla to Oliosè, and with the advance-guard to the Mincio, while the reserve between both should be ready to assist either one or the other; and finally, a brigade of infantry and cavalry, between the roads of Sona and Busso-lengo should make a feint towards the Adige from St. Giustino to deceive the enemy as to the real point of attack.

At the same time I commanded the brigade of General Simbschen, 5000 men strong, which in consequence of the superiority of the enemy remained useless on the road from Nogara to Legnano, to leave only a detachment of this force in front of the fortress at Cerea, to inform the commandant of the place, which was in a perfect state of defence, of the scheme, and to march with the rest of his force by Villa Fontana and Isolalta, passing by Villa Franca to the heights of Custozza, so as on the second day to strengthen the army by at least 5000 men. All these orders were fully executed by every division with bravery and resolution, as was to be expected of such gallant troops.

The march from Verona commenced in the midst of a dreadful thunder-storm and a deluge of rain, in the darkest night; but the sky cleared, and with it the fortune of this brave and gallant army. It reached the enemy's position at 8 A.M., and at 10½, after an hour and a-half's contest, took the heights of Sona and Somma Campagna by storm. One general, several officers, and a few hundred men were captured, with two cannon, some powder-waggons, and a quantity of arms; and on the evening of this auspicious day, I was at my head-quarters of St. Georgio in Salice, with the first corps on the Mincio, the second at Castelnova, and the advanced-post at Peschiera.

Already several days earlier, on the 21st, I had sent to the third corps at Roveredo, in South Tyrol, the order (as the number of the enemy there was according to all accounts considerably diminished) to attack him, and reach the plain of Rivoli. Field-Marshal Count Thurn attacked the position of the Corona on the 22nd, on Monte Baldo, and advanced to the height opposite Rivoli; but as the columns in the valley, although they pushed on from the Adige to the height of Rivoli, were nevertheless unable, in consequence of the enemy having received a reinforcement of three battalions and six guns, to keep them, notwithstanding the powerful aid of the eighteen-pound battery on this side of the Adige, it turned out the same as in the year 1796, and as will always be the case at such a place as Rivoli, that the combined manœuvre did not succeed, and Count Thurn was obliged to retreat beyond Caprino. In the evening, however, I sent him orders not to lose sight of the enemy the next day, the 23rd, when I intended myself to make an attack, but to follow all his retreating movements.

The third corps followed strictly these orders, and according to a message I have just received, will enter Pastrenzo this evening, and in the course of to-morrow before noon the siege of Peschiera will begin on the left bank of the Adige.

I command now all the enemy's passes along the Mincio, from Peschiera, Salionza, and Monzambano, and threaten also those of Valleggio; I have complete possession of the south side of the mountains on this side of the river, and in consequence am in a very strong flanking position towards Villa Franca and Roverbella, in order to attack the King, should he march on Verona, in his rear, while at the same time all the heights above Castelnova, Castrengo, and Rivoli, are in my possession, my communication with Tyrol entirely re-opened, and this brave country, where our Emperor resides, is thus freed from any danger.

Further events will decide what I shall be able to effect in the coming days; in the meantime I have broken the extended line of the King from Rivoli to the Po, made myself master of the high lands, and thereby got a tactical position which renders me at least stronger by 10,000 men than is my real force, as the enemy must ascend from the plain to attack the heights. Our loss is, thank God, not very considerable, comparatively.

(Signed) RADETZKY.

Innsbruck, July 26, 1848.

(Signed) ELIATCHEK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 76.

Bulletin from the Army of Italy.

ON the 22nd, the position of Madonna della Corona, or more correctly the Spiazzi, was attacked and carried with great bravery by the 1st division of the Feld-jäger battalion, the 1st division of the 3rd Vienna Volunteers, supported by a battalion of the Wellingtons, by means of a flank movement over the highest range of the Monte Baldo.

The enemy withdrew precipitately to Rivoli, where he found himself in a strong entrenched position, in considerable force and with a numerous park of artillery.

The contest ended with the approach of night, when the enemy left his position entirely, and it was occupied on the 23rd by the 3rd corps d'armée.

(Signed) Field-Marshal COUNT L. THURN,
Commanding the 3rd Corps d'Armée.

No. 77.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 31, 1848.

M. BASTIDE told me yesterday, in discussing the intelligence which had just arrived of a signal success on the part of the Piedmontese in the neighbourhood of Villa Franca, that he had every reason to suppose, from the reports he had received both from Milan and Turin, that the news was substantially true; and though the details were in some respect contradictory, he had little doubt that the advantage obtained was of a character to exercise a decided influence upon the fate of the campaign. He expressed great relief at the prospect this afforded, of no case for foreign armed intervention ever occurring, but he added that he thought the moment for joint negotiation was the more likely speedily to arrive. M. Bastide then informed me that General Cavaignac and his Council had decided that they would not make any objection or raise any question, should even the whole of the Venetian States be added to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. They were anxious to show how much they desired an amicable settlement of these questions, and would not therefore raise any difficulties about points of this nature, on which they might be supposed to have a separate interest.

I told M. Bastide that, after the conversations we had had on this subject, it was not necessary for me to assure him of the satisfaction with which I had heard this announcement; and I had no doubt from the spirit which had dictated it, that it would be equally agreeable to Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 78.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a printed copy in Italian, together with a translation into English, of the law as passed by the Chamber of Deputies for the annexation of the town and province of Venice to the States of His Sardinian Majesty.

This law was passed in a House of 135 Members present, by 134 for and 1 against the measure.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 78.

Law for the Union of Venice to Sardinia.

ARTICOLO I.

L'IMMEDIATA unione della città e provincia di Venezia votata dall'Assemblea dei suoi rappresentanti è accettata.

La città e provincia di Venezia formano cogli Stati Sardi e cogli altri già uniti un solo regno, alle condizioni contenute nelle leggi d'unione colla Lombardia.

ARTICOLO II.

Per le Provincie Venete vi sarà una Consulta Straordinaria con quella di Lombardia. Essa sarà composta degli attuali membri del Governo Provvisorio di Venezia, e dei due membri per ciascuno dei comitati delle quattro provincie di Padova, Vicenza, Treviso, e Rovigo, contemplati nelle dette leggi d'unione.

Quando le tre provincie di Verona, Udine, e Belluno, si riuniscano anch'esse agli Stati potranno inviare alla Consulta stessa due deputati per ciascheduna.

Il Presidente propone che si stampi la relazione.

Valerio chiede che si proceda subito alla discussione. La Camera acconsente; il Presidente dichiara aperta la discussione.

Nessuno domandando la parola per la discussione generale, si passa alla lettura dei singoli articoli della legge.

Essi vengono adottati senza discussione, e si procede poscia alla votazione per scrutinio segreto sul loro compresso. Essa dà il seguente risultato che fu accolto dalla Camera con applausi universali:

Numero dei	135
Maggiorita assoluta	68
Voti bianchi	134
Neri	1

(Translation.)

ARTICLE I.

THE immediate union of the town and province of Venice voted by the Assembly of their Representatives, is accepted.

The town and province of Venice form, with the Sardinian States and those already united, one sole kingdom, on the conditions contained in the laws of the union with Lombardy.

ARTICLE II.

There will be, for the Venetian Provinces, an Extraordinary Consulta, like that of Lombardy. This Consulta will be composed of the present members of the Provisional Government of Venice, and of two members for each of the Committees of the four provinces of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Rovigo, already included in the above-mentioned laws.

When the three provinces of Verona, Udine, and Belluno, shall have voted their union to the same States, they shall also have a right to send each two Deputies to this Consulta.

The President proposes that the report should be printed.

Valerio demands that the discussion should be immediately proceeded with. The Chamber consents; the President declares the debate open.

No one asking to speak on the general discussion, the several articles of the law are gone through.

They are adopted without discussion, and thereupon the votes are taken upon the whole by secret scrutiny. The following was the result, which was received by the Chamber with general applause :

Numbers	135
Absolute majority	68
White votes	134
Black	1

No. 79.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 25, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, the following intelligence from the camp, which though not official, is from an authentic source. It arrived yesterday afternoon.

On the morning of the 23rd instant, an Austrian column of about 8000 strong, came suddenly, unperceived, during a great thunder-storm, under Villa Franca, Somma Campagna, and Sona. The Italians were only made aware of this movement at two hours before day-break, when the attack began. The line from Villa Franca to Sona was kept by the Savona Regiment and 1200 Tuscans, the latter picketted about in small parties. The Italians, inferior in number, surprised, and unprepared, were driven back on all points. The Austrians got possession of Villa Franca, which, after sacking, they attempted to set fire to, and then fell back on Verona. Many Piedmontese were killed, among them a general officer, and about a hundred Tuscans. All the Italian troops stationed at Castelnova, Monzambano, and the environs, retired into Peschiera. Great alarm prevailed on this part of the line, as the Austrians advanced almost to the walls of that fortress, the drawbridges of which were raised, and close to the village Lazise.

When the cannonading was heard at Marmirolo, where the head-quarters are, His Majesty Charles Albert, with the Regiment Guardie and twelve pieces of cannon, moved forward to the scene of action.

At a late hour last night, the news from the camp arrived (not officially announced), stating that the heights of Rivoli had been attacked by the Austrians on the 22nd instant. After a severe engagement, the Austrians gained possession of these heights; but they were again driven back from them by the Italians, who in their turn were compelled to retreat in consequence of the overwhelming numbers opposed to them. The Austrians had 7000 men; the Italians only 3000. The loss, which is said to be very severe on both sides, is not yet known. It would appear that the line taken up by His Majesty Charles Albert, extending from Rivoli to below Mantua (a distance of more than 30 geographical miles), has been attacked simultaneously by three columns of Austrians: one at Rivoli the heights of which they have taken; a second at Sona, to prevent the retreat of the Italians from Rivoli into Peschiera; and a third at Villa Franca, to over-

power the Italians at that place, which was effected, and to check any movement of the latter from Roverbella.

On the 22nd instant, the position of Bonferraro was occupied by the Piedmontese; thus completing the blockade of Mantua.

Large bodies of Austrian troops are collected at the passes on the Stelvio and the Caffaro, which they seem determined to force at any cost. These passes are only defended by one regular Lombard regiment and Lombard volunteers.

On the evening of the 23rd instant, the national guard was reviewed by General Zucchi on the Piazza d'Armi. Little enthusiasm was manifested by the immense multitude there assembled. The national guard turned out to between 11,000 and 12,000 men, rather more than half the active force in Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 80.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the particulars contained in the official bulletin of yesterday afternoon. The Austrians who attacked the Piedmontese line on the 23rd at Somma Campagna, Villa Franca, and Sona, are cut off from Verona. This was effected by three columns of the Piedmontese troops, two commanded by Charles Albert and one by the Duke of Genoa. The latter is encamped at Somma Campagna. The great body of the Austrians, said to be 25,000 strong, had taken up their positions extending from Custozza to Somma Campagna, where the battle took place. The number of killed and wounded is not yet known. On the night of the 23rd instant, the Austrians attempted to throw a bridge across the Mincio at Monzambano; but the Lombard battalion stationed there opposed them successfully until the Piedmontese artillery came up.

This morning, the President of the Committee of Public Safety read to the anxious multitude in the Piazza San Fedele, from the balcony of the Marino Palace, the following information:

"An eye-witness, just come from Desenzano, states that 6000 Austrian prisoners had arrived there, and that others were expected.

"The post-master of the same place writes that the number of the Austrian prisoners amounted to about 12,000, with many pieces of cannon and several stand of colours."

Official information, however, of these facts has not yet been communicated to the Provisional Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 81.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 27, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the translation of the following bulletin, issued this morning by the Provisional Government:

"We receive official details of the battle which has been fighting during these last three days.

"The enemy attacked the whole line, supported by the three fortresses of Mantua, Legnago and Verona: On Sunday, the 23rd instant, the advanced corps of the army, overwhelmed by numbers at Rivoli and at Somma Campagna, were obliged to abandon those positions after an honourable resistance.

"On Monday, 24th instant, His Majesty Charles Albert hastened from Marmirolo to Villa Franca, when our troops regained the positions of Somma Campagna. The battle was long and bloody, the loss of the enemy greater

PART 3.

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than ours, and the day closed in the expectation of the complete victory on the following.

"But on Tuesday, 25th instant, while our artillery thundered from the heights of Somma Campagna, a fresh body of the enemy, led on by Radetzky from Verona, took our troops in the rear. After a deadly resistance on the part of the Austrians, our troops, finding these positions too exposed and extended, retired to Villa Franca. From thence, without being followed by the enemy, and carrying with them 2,500 Austrian prisoners, they fell back on Goito during the night, and rejoined the corps of reserve on the line of the Mincio.

"Peschiera is well defended by the left wing of the army under General Sonnaz.

"The particulars of the battle are not yet known at the head-quarters."

By a private letter which I received this moment from Desenzano, 26th instant, no mention is made of the arrival of Austrian prisoners in that place; therefore it may be concluded that the information given to the people by the President of the Committee of Public Safety as to 6000 prisoners brought in there, as stated in my despatch of yesterday, is incorrect.

This letter farther adds that an engagement has been going on for the last thirty hours from Peschiera, in the direction of Castelnuova and of the Adige at Pontone.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 82.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following intelligence.

The Italian army is now concentrated at Goito, comprising the division of General Sonnaz, who left the fortress of Peschiera well provisioned.

The last communication from the camp states that the Italian army had attacked the Austrians at Volta.

General Zucchi has been ordered to take the command of the disposable force now assembled at Brescia.

The Provisional Government has instituted a Committee of Public Defence, at the instance of Dr. Charles Cattaneo, Colonel Griffini, and other eminent citizens.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 83.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this moment received from a member of the Provisional Government the important intelligence that the Marquis Guerrieri is ordered to proceed to Paris for the purpose of soliciting the Republic that a French army may be sent into Lombardy to assist the Italians against the Austrians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 1, 1848.

I INFORMED your Lordship yesterday of the impressions derived by the French Government from the intelligence they had received from the seat of war in Italy up to the 24th ultimo. M. Bastide believed, from the language held by his official agents, that the success obtained by the Piedmontese was of a nature to influence the result of the contest.

Yesterday evening, after I had dispatched the messenger, when M. Bastide came to accompany me to General Cavaignac, he communicated to me another telegraphic message just received of a very different character. One may still perhaps find that this is as exaggerated in its tone of despondency as the other was in over confidence. The French Consul at Turin, however, states that the Piedmontese had been driven with great loss across the Mincio; that there was little chance of recovering their confidence; that there was a panic throughout the country in consequence of this sudden reverse of the expectations till then entertained.

He understood that M. Ricci, the new Sardinian Minister to the French Republic, was to start at once for Paris, to ask for French assistance, and that a French army would be required in Lombardy even before this intelligence was received at Paris.

General Cavaignac, after he had discussed the subject on which he had wished to see me, put this message into my hands, and then stated that he had received it with very great regret, not only from the sympathy he felt for Italian independence but from the possible embarrassment it might cause to themselves; that he was anxious to take this opportunity of communicating to me frankly his feelings upon this subject.

It would be quite a mistake to suppose that there was any analogy between the present state of public opinion in France and that which prevailed at the time of the first revolution: there was no desire for war or conquest in any large portion of the French people. As to Italy, he did not see why they should send an army there upon the mere demand of Charles Albert, and as for the Italian people, all their information up to this time showed them there was no desire for French intervention in any part, or amongst any number of persons which deserved the name of a party, but that these reverses, if threatening to restore the former domination of Austria, might produce a different feeling amongst that people; and if, in consequence of actual or imminent oppression, there came a popular appeal for assistance from the Italian people, the case here would be much altered.

The General was pleased to appeal to my general knowledge of public opinion in France as insuring a report to Her Majesty's Government that under these circumstances no Government established here would long be able to resist the demand for armed intervention in Italy. Should such a case arise, the General said he should be desirous to enter into the most frank explanations with European Powers, and particularly with England, and to give any honourable guarantee which might be wished as to the objects of such intervention. He could easily understand that England could not view with satisfaction the independent settlement of the Italian question by France, any more than he thought France would like that England should, without any consultation with her, have all the credit and influence which would probably be derived from a separate arrangement of it. I took the occasion presented by this remark of the General to say that I thought it was far from improbable that Austria might, even after these successes, be ready to listen to some proposition of joint mediation on the part of England and France. I am inclined to this belief, not only from the expectations of such a result expressed in Lord Ponsonby's despatches, but from the natural notion that Austria would not be in her present condition very anxious to meet a French army in Italy, and that the participation of England in the mediation would save her from the appearance of yielding to that consideration alone. General Cavaignac seemed to participate in my anticipation that something might yet be effected by negotiation, and I left him with the conviction that at any rate no hostile step would be taken without previous communication with Her Majesty's Government.

No. 85.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 1, 1848, 4 P.M.

SINCE I wrote to your Lordship my other despatch of this day's date, the Marquis Brignole has called upon me, and confirmed to its fullest extent the unfavourable news from the seat of war which the French Government had communicated to me yesterday.

It appears that the Sardinian army has been obliged to abandon the whole line of the Mincio, although he believes they still retain Peschiera.

By his account, from 60,000 to 70,000 Austrians were engaged upon those points where the conflict took place. Be this as it may, he represents the whole of the approaches to Milan itself to be open to the Austrians, as, the line of the Mincio once abandoned, there is no strong position between that and Alexandria.

Marquis Brignole says that M. Ricci has actually arrived within these two hours, and though he has not seen him, yet by letters which he has brought he understands that he is come to urge the immediate intervention of France in favour of the Italian cause.

The terms used in the despatch were, according to the Marquis Brignole, to a certain extent general, to demand the support of their allies and the assistance of the nearest, "l'appoggio dei suoi alleati è l'aiuto del più vicino."

The Marquis Brignole urged much upon me as the only means to avert an intervention, which, according to his notion, must lead to a general war, that England and France should agree to offer a joint mediation, and as an immediate preliminary, a suspension of arms in the north of Italy, each army occupying their existing positions until it could be seen whether the mediating Powers could not arrange satisfactory terms of pacification.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 86.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2, 1848.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 29, 1848.

The Sardinian Cabinet was formed yesterday.

Count Casati *President of the Council.*

The Chevalier Giacinto Collegno *War and Marine.*

The Abbé Vincenzo Gioberti . . *Without a Portfolio.*

Count Moffa de Lisio *Without a Portfolio.*

The Advocate Giacomo Plezza . *Interior.*

The Marquis Lorenzo Pareto . . *Foreign Affairs.*

The Marquis Vincenzo Ricci . . *Finances.*

The Engineer Paleocapa *Public Works.*

The Advocate Urbano Ratazzi . . *Public Instruction.*

The Advocate Gioja *Grace and Justice.*

Count Durini *Agriculture and Commerce.*

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 87.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 29, 1848.

IT is with much regret that I have to announce to your Lordship the retreat of the Sardinian troops under His Sardinian Majesty to the banks of the Oglio.

His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters on the 18th instant were at Bozzolo.

The Sardinian troops appear to have shown much courage and determination in the recent affair at Somma Campagna; but the Commissariat stores having been cut off, and a portion of the troops having in consequence remained without food for forty-eight hours, some demoralization has occurred, which, however, according to the last accounts, was being rapidly corrected.

Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa were with their divisions in the neighbourhood of Marcara.

Field-Marshal Radetzky is said to be in very considerable force, about 70,000 men.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 88.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 29, 1848.

THE Marquis Ricci has been sent to Paris on a special mission, and I have this evening seen the Marquis Pareto, who read to me the letter of credence which the Marquis carries with him to Paris.

The Marquis Ricci is charged to explain to the Government of the French Republic the actual position of affairs in this country, and the danger to which it is exposed by the success of the Austrian arms; he is directed also to inquire what would be the course pursued by the Government of the French Republic in the event of an application for assistance to repel the Austrians being made to them on the part of Sardinia; but his instructions, as the Marquis Pareto distinctly informed me, forbid him from addressing any direct application of this nature to the French Government.

The Marquis Pareto likewise told me that he had requested M. de Reiset, the French Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, to write to his Government, acquainting them that the mission with which the Marquis Guerrieri of Milan was charged at Paris, did not meet with the approbation of the Government of His Sardinian Majesty nor of the majority of the Provisional Government of Milan.

The Marquis Pareto having thus explained to me the steps which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty had deemed it expedient to take under the present critical state of affairs, I replied to him by stating that I could not pretend to give him an official opinion with regard to the present emergency, because it was impossible for me to have received your Lordship's instructions upon the subject.

I should not, however, I said, conceal from him what was the view I had myself taken of the position of affairs; and I then proceeded to state that I considered that French intervention ought only to be employed as a last resource, when all other means of arresting the present evil had been sought for, had been used, and had failed.

I told him that under existing circumstances it was the duty of the Sardinian Government, by opening negotiations of their own accord with the Austrian Government, to endeavour to stop the further progress of Marshal Radetzky, and to terminate the war by their own efforts to bring about a peace; and I added, it was also their bounden duty to take care that for the purpose of protecting provinces which, it must after all be admitted, had shown but very trifling enthusiasm or public spirit in the cause, the interests and integrity of the hereditary States of His Sardinian Majesty were neither compromised nor endangered.

I supported these views by all the arguments I could adduce in their favour, and the Marquis Pareto did not dispute that they were founded on reason, nor that various corroborating circumstances existed to give them additional weight and importance.

I concluded by stating to the Marquis Pareto, that it was for the Sardinian Government to discover and choose what terms of negotiation could be offered; but I assured him that I could at once answer for the readiness with which your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government would lend their assistance, if sought for by Sardinia, towards effecting an arrangement with the Cabinet of Vienna.

The Marquis Pareto did not give me any clear or positive opinion as to the course which the Cabinet of Turin was likely to follow; but he told me that he would report to his colleagues in Council the nature of my conversation with him, and I am to have an interview with him to-morrow for the purpose of being made acquainted with the result of the deliberations of the Cabinet.

I informed the Marquis Pareto of my intention to report to you his communication of the object of the mission to Paris of the Marquis Albert Ricci, and of the steps taken in regard to the mission of the Marquis Guerrieri of Milan to Paris; and I also told him that I should faithfully report to you the observations and opinions which I had thought it my duty to make to him on the present crisis.

There is certainly much to feel alarmed at as regards the military question, but it does not appear to me that the case is so desperate as to prevent Sardinia, if she likes, from herself making an honourable peace.

No. 89.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 27, 1848.

THE Minister of War requested permission to interrupt the debate of the Constituent Assembly to-day to communicate the intelligence of a victory which Marshal Radetzky had obtained on the 23rd instant over the Piedmontese army, the account of which had just been received by telegraph.

According to this report, which has not yet been published, Marshal Radetzky had attacked the Piedmontese entrenched lines on the morning of the 23rd, and had carried them, taking Rivoli, Castelnuova, Somma Campagna, and Vallegio. The Piedmontese General Montana, his aide-de-camp, many officers and soldiers were made prisoners. Six pieces of cannon and several standards were also taken by the Austrian troops.

Letters of the same date have been received *via* Trieste from Verona, by commercial houses here. One of these, which I have read, adds some details to the brief facts announced by telegraph. According to it, the Piedmontese army was surprised, not having perceived the preparations for attack which were made on the night of the 22nd, in consequence of a violent thunderstorm which raged all that night, and they were occupied in drying their clothes when the Austrians advanced on the morning of the 23rd.

The Piedmontese army was retiring in two columns on Peschiera and Goito, pursued by the Austrians.

It is also stated in these private letters that Count Thurn was advancing from the Tyrol, on the western side of the Lago di Garda by Salo towards Brescia, to harass the retreating Piedmontese army, or to ensure the Austrian retreat by that route if necessary, as the case might arise.

No mention is made of the King of Sardinia, and it is therefore probable the reports which were yesterday prevalent that he had advanced to Mantua in order to blockade it are true; and that Marshal Radetzky availed himself of his absence to attack and carry the strong position which the Piedmontese army has occupied for so long a time.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 90.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose Mr. Petre's despatch dated Rome, 22nd July.

Mr. Petre transmits the Pope's answer to the address of the Council of Deputies. His Holiness proclaims his determination to resist aggression and to

defend the States of the Church. He observes that it is the second time he has protested against the occupation of Ferrara; that full justice was done to his former protest, and he hopes that will now be the case, though circumstances are so widely different.

In a conversation with the deputation His Holiness stated further that his Ministry should provide every means of defence and should resume negotiations for the conclusion of an Italian League.

The Upper Council has also presented an address to the Pope on the subject of the Ferrara affair. It is more moderate than that of the Council of Deputies, but also recommends an Italian League.

The Ministry still remains. Count Mamiani declared on the 21st, that they would have already retired but for the tumult of the other day. They continue in office merely for the maintenance of order, but without any responsibility.

Professor Orioli began a violent attack on the Ministry on the subject of their whole war policy. He blamed them strongly for their declaration that they would never listen to terms of peace. They had (he said) done nothing, but had left the country as they had found it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 90.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, July 22, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the following translation of the answer of His Holiness to the address of the Council of Deputies:

"It has ever been at heart of this Holy See to defend the rights of its temporal dominions, and the august Pontiffs whom we have unworthily succeeded gave repeated proofs upon this point of their firmness. It is for this that we have made it a duty to follow their example, and this is the second time that we have made known our sentiments on the acts of Ferrara. On the first protest full justice was done to us, everything being replaced in *statu quo*; and we flatter ourselves that it will be done likewise in the present case, although the circumstances be widely different. Fresh accounts, however, which arrive make us certain that the Austrian troops have already abandoned Ferrara.

"In every event it is grateful to us to assure you that we are prepared to make all those dispositions which are necessary in order to guarantee the right of defence, which right we have never had any intention of renouncing. On the contrary we protest that we will maintain it, and will that it be inviolable. We receive anew, on this occasion, with gratitude, the sentiments which you make known to us, as well as the offers you lay before us, and which tend the better to guarantee declared rights. We in the meantime repeat to God our humble prayers that He preserve Italy from every misfortune, and uniting all hearts upon its true interests, that He there cause to flourish, as on a privileged soil, religion and peace, the sole fountains of real happiness."

His Holiness then entered into conversation with the deputation upon various subjects relating to the public interests, and the President of the Council of Deputies, on retiring, noted down immediately the two following remarks, twice repeated by His Holiness:

That it was his desire that his Ministry should provide all and whatever necessary means of defence.

That they should resume and continue the negotiations for the conclusion of an Italian League, and they should adopt prompt and efficacious measures to bring it to a conclusion.

I understand that His Holiness, after the reading of his answer, added—

"Two things, you may say, namely, that the Pope admits of the full right of the defence of his own States, and that the League entered on by him with the Princes of Italy shall be followed up, provided that no obstacles or inadmissible conditions intervene."

An Italian League and an Italian Diet, both looked on, according to Italian journalists and pamphlet-writers, by England with extreme jealousy as the

foundation whence are to arise the future maritime and commercial greatness of Italy, are favourite plans with Count Mamiani. The principal aims of an Italian Diet are, conformably to the written opinions of Count Mamiani, "to assist in the recognition and reconstruction of oppressed and dismembered nationalities, to draw closer the ties of friendship with free nations, and to maintain with absolute Governments the relations solely which universal peace and the interests of commerce require. Never to treat with Austria as long as she remains in Italy; to endeavour to unite the Slavonian nations; the independence of Hungary; and to prevent Germany from interfering in the Italian contest against the Austrian."

The Upper Chamber ("Alto Consiglio") has in this Ferrara affair likewise presented an address to His Holiness, in terms more moderate than those of the Council of Deputies, and in which war is not mentioned; but an Italian League is warmly recommended, and that it be no longer "an empty but a resplendent fact."

His Holiness replied in general terms and invoked the benediction of God on Italy.

The Ministry still remains. Count Mamiani yesterday declared to the Council of Deputies that the Ministers would have already retired, but that the tumult of the other day forced them to remain at their post, and that they so continued merely for the maintenance of order, but without any responsibility.

Professor Orioli vigorously attacked, amidst much clamour, the Ministry, in answer to a speech of Count Mamiani, who said that the expedition to the Venetian Provinces had been undertaken with an army without discipline, under officers ignorant of tactics, and appointed in haste and without war-materials; that it returned a disorganized remnant in miserable plight, to accuse, officers men, and men the officers, and to throw the whole blame of this now completely broken-up corps upon General Durando, whose defence he undertook as well as his recent appointment as one of the commission for a War Committee, though accused, but not condemned.

Professor Orioli asked the Ministry what it had done? It had declared that it would listen to no terms of truce, to no peace with Austria. It had thereby exposed the country to the incursions of the enemy. No Ministry had a right to make such a declaration. The Ministry was obstinately bent on war; it was born amidst the war, it had lived for the war and it had died for the war. "You have done nothing. You have refused inquiry. Two months ago you promised an armament of 6000 men; where are they? Beyond war, what have you done? You have made a show of some laws, the greater part either inopportune or inexact, or copied from the foreigner. You have thrown them as a dry crust of bread to a hungry dog, which has accepted them with avidity. In substance, you have left us as you found us.

"Then with regard to the Statute, you began by violating it from when first the Chambers were convoked, and you have proceeded in your operations, even in opposition to it."

There were some attempts at reply to this speech, the substance only of which I have given, which was delivered amidst considerable agitation and interruption.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 91.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 25, 1848.

THE Chevalier Collegno does not appear to have been successful in executing the commission with which he had been charged by His Sardinian Majesty to compose a new Cabinet, for none has yet been framed; and M. de Collegno has returned to the King's head-quarters for the purpose it is believed of resigning into His Majesty's hands the powers which had been conferred upon him.

Public opinion seems, on the failure of M. de Collegno's endeavour to form a Government, to have put forward the Abbé Gioberti as the person best qualified to compose an Administration that should command the confidence of the country; but the Abbé has, by withdrawing himself from all contact with the public, shown but little disposition to undertake so serious a commission.

No. 92.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)

(Extract.)

Turin, July 26, 1848.

THE Chevalier Collegno and Count Casati of Milan have returned to Turin from the army, and are again occupied with the formation of a new Cabinet.

No. 93.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the translation of a bulletin from Field-Marshal Radetzky, published here this afternoon. The Marshal says that the Austrians under his command have obtained a brilliant victory over the Piedmontese army, amounting to 40,000 men, among which were the Piedmontese Guards.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 93.

Bulletin from the Army of Italy.

(Translation.)

FIELD-MARSHAL RADETZKY, Commander-in-chief of the army, lays before His Majesty the following report, dated the 26th instant, at his head-quarters of Alzarea, of the signal victory gained by him at Custozza.

On the afternoon of the 24th I caused a double bridge to be thrown across the Mincio at Salionze, under the fire of the enemy. This order was executed by Field-Marshal L. Von Wocher and General Pfanzelter, of the staff. The brave regiments of Wocher captured three guns and twenty-six powder-waggon at Ponti.

I crossed the Mincio with two brigades of the reserve and with one brigade of the first division, while the Brigade Wohlgemuth, belonging to the latter, approached Monzambano by Brentino, and after a short contest carried the bridge, and occupied Monzambano. I caused Valleggio also to be occupied by the Brigade Strassoldo, of the division of Prince Schwarzenberg, and ordered the Brigade Wohlgemuth to advance the next day to Borghetto, opposite to Valleggio, where I caused the bridge to be restored.

I had thus taken three passages across the Mincio on one day, and was secured against an attack on either side of the Mincio, and ready to take the offensive.

Towards evening on this day I received the news that the enemy had broken through the brigade of General Simbschen, who was just arrived from Nogara at Somma Campagna and Custozza, that they had advanced to Monte Godio with an overwhelming force, and carried the heights of Custozza. In the night I was informed that the enemy, with 40,000 of their best troops, including the guards, intended to attack the flank of my position from Custozza to Valleggio on the following day, the 25th.

I therefore took my dispositions during the night, so that the third corps d'armée, which was at Castelnuova, should observe the fortress of Peschiera on the left bank of the Mincio; that the second corps should at break of day march from thence, with its four brigades, to the position between Custozza and Somma Campagna, and that the four brigades which were already on the right bank of the Mincio should march back again by Salionze, Monzambano, and Borghetta, to the centre and to the right flank of the army, in order to strengthen it upon the left bank of the Mincio, leaving but one battalion in each of the places of Salionze and Monzambano, while the important flanking post of Valleggio was secured by two brigades, and the third was drawn up in the rear.

In this position I awaited the attack of the King, which actually commenced at 10 A.M., by a burning heat of at least twenty-eight degrees, in consequence

of which several men lost their senses and died during the march, and it lasted uninterruptedly till 7 P.M., full nine hours.

I am still unable to give any further details of this battle, which I call the Battle of Custozza, as this place was in the centre of operations, and was at length taken from the enemy, who was there completely driven from the height: nor can I yet do justice to the valiant deeds performed by the individuals engaged. But I can at least say that I never saw an army fight with such resolution and bravery, and that not only all the attempts of the King's army to storm the heights taken by me were vain, but that those heights occupied by himself were stormed by my brave troops with such courage and bravery, that the enemy, in spite of their complete exhaustion by the heat and the exertions of the day, was obliged, after the loss of the last height of Custozza and Somma Campagna, to commence a retreat, and effected the same during the night to Goito.

A decisive victory is thus the result of this hot day, and I am now pursuing the King, while I renew my communications with Mantua, and strengthen myself as far as the present position of my army will allow, after the considerable losses we have suffered.

I have lost many officers through the obstinacy of the combat, as they behaved everywhere as patterns of valour. I reckon the loss as amounting to about forty to fifty officers, and 500 to 600 men killed and wounded.

Many guns, arms, and trophies have been taken, and many prisoners made, which have however not yet been fully reported.

I shall, as far as possible, transmit further details of this Battle of Custozza, and report to the Minister of War the names of all the deserving generals and officers of the army, as well as the names of those who have fallen, as well as of the troops, also the distinguished co-operation of the officers of each corps, &c.

I marched this day with the army in two columns, viz., the first corps by Monzambano, the reserve by Salionze to Pozzolengo, and the second corps by Valleggio and Volta to Guidizzolo.

I shall soon have the honour to announce the further result of this march.

(Signed) RADETZKY.

Innsbruck, July 28, 1848.

(Signed) ELIATCHEK,
Military Governor *ad interim*.

No. 94.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

(Extract.)

Milan, July 29, 1848.

SINCE the retreat of His Majesty Charles Albert to Villa Franca, the Austrians have crossed the Mincio at Salionze, possessing themselves of the heights of Volta. It is expected that Goito has been burned, and taken in the rear, where it is weak, as the King has retired to Asola; thus putting the River Oglio between him and the enemy, with the intention of then falling back on Cremona.

No. 95.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 29, 1848.

A DECREE has just been issued by the Provisional Government, appointing General Zucchi Commander-in-chief of all the national guards in Lombardy. The preamble to it states that this appointment is made in consequence of the urgency required in providing for the public defence. Annexed is the translation of an address to the national guard.

The mobilized national guard were to have gone to the camp this day, but their departure is deferred.

At the request of the Committee of Public Defence, the Provisional Government has decreed that a forced loan of 14,000,000 livres, or nearly £470,000 sterling, to bear interest at 5 per cent., shall be immediately raised.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Address to the National Guard of Milan.

(Translation.)

The Extraordinary Central Committee for the Armament, Organization, and Mobilization of the National Guard.

To the National Guard of the city and suburbs of Milan.

THE last news from the camp make known how our army, after several days' fighting, and having caused great loss to the enemy, has been compelled to concentrate itself principally at Goito, leaving uncovered a part of the line of the Mincio, by which the Brescian and Cremonese territories might be invaded from one moment to another.

It is necessary, therefore, to lend a brotherly help to those two provinces, to enable the regular Italian army to act freely against the enemy.

In consequence of this, the Central Committee, whilst it provides for the immediate mobilization of the national guard of the other cities and provinces, makes an appeal by means of the head battalions of the national guard of this city and suburbs, for the immediate mobilization of a considerable number of men—namely, of 100 individuals at least from each battalion, with orders to the said head battalions to complete the number, in case of need, by a compulsory call.

In the respective guard-houses the head battalions will give the necessary instructions to the guards depending on them.

Citizens of the national guard! the Committee confidently makes this direct appeal to you—an appeal anxiously wished for by yourselves. The Committee doubts not but you will, by hastening voluntarily in good numbers, give to all Italy and the rest of the world, a solemn proof of your patriotism, of your enthusiasm for the holy cause of Italian nationality.

Milan, July 28, 1848.

(Signed)

MORONI, *President.*

FORTIS.

CLERICI.

MAESTRI.

LONGHI.

BONETTI, *Secretary.*

No. 96.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy and translation of a decision which was come to by the Chamber of Deputies in their sitting of yesterday, relative to the measures necessary to provide for the safety of the State.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 96.

Law passed in the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies, July 29, 1848, providing for the safety of the State.

NELLA suprema necessità di provvedere istantaneamente alla difesa dello Stato coi mezzi i più solleciti e più efficaci, la Camera ha adottato:

Articolo I. Il Governo del Re è investito, durante l'attual guerra dell' indipendenza, di tutti i poteri legislativi ed esecutivi, e potrà quindi, per semplici

Decreti Reali, e sotto la responsabilità ministeriale, 'salve le istituzioni costituzionali, fare tutti gli atti che saranno necessari per la difesa della patria e delle nostre istituzioni.

(Translation.)

IN the supreme necessity of providing instantly for the defence of the State by the most diligent and efficacious means, the Chamber has decided :

That the King's Government is invested, during the present war of independence, with all the legislative and executive powers, and will henceforward, by means of simple Royal Decrees, and under ministerial responsibility, conforming themselves to constitutional institutions, take all the measures which they shall think proper for the defence of the country and of our institutions.

No. 97.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord,

Turin, July 30, 1848.

THE Marquis of Pareto, whom I have just left, informs me that the Ministers, having heard his report of my conversation with him of last night, decided in council that if an honourable armistice could be obtained preparatory to negotiations for a definitive peace, they would withhold any application for French intervention.

In reply to this communication I immediately expressed my readiness to repair at once to the head-quarters of His Sardinian Majesty and to place myself at His Majesty's disposal for the purpose of rendering him every assistance in my power to obtain this desired end.

I shall therefore, acting upon your Lordship's instructions as conveyed to me in your despatch of June 28,* leave Turin this evening for the head-quarters of the Piedmontese army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 98.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in original and translation, an extract of the despatch† of Marshal Radetzky, dated near Castelnova, the 24th instant, detailing the operations of the Austrian army under his command, on the preceding day, against the Piedmontese positions at Sona and Somma Campagna, the entire success of which I announced in my despatch of the 27th instant. This despatch was received by courier yesterday morning, but was not published till after the departure of the post.

The Minister of War announced this day to the Constituent Assembly, that further intelligence had just been received from the Marshal, dated Custozza, the 25th instant, stating that he had attacked on that day a large corps of the Piedmontese army on the road between Villa Franca and Mantua near Roverbella, had completely routed them, and that they were retreating across the Mincio to Goito. I was not present myself, but I believe the above to be a tolerably correct report of the Minister's statement.

This success will probably oblige the King of Sardinia to abandon the investment of Mantua, and either to retreat or risk a general engagement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

* Part II. p. 623.

† See Inclosure in No. 76.

No. 99.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 2, 1848.

I HAD this morning a visit from M. Ricci. I understood both from the Sardinian Ambassador and from M. Ricci himself, that he has come here with full powers to ask for armed intervention on the part of France.

When M. Ricci came to me this morning, he had received another courier with the intelligence that Marshal Radetzky had attached such conditions to the armistice proposed by the King of Sardinia as His Majesty had found it impossible to accept, and therefore that hostilities were to be continued.

In conversation with M. Ricci, I found him unwilling, except in a case of extreme necessity, to execute the object of his mission. It appears that the Marquis Guerrieri, who is arrived from Milan, does not bring any authority to ask for assistance from the Provisional Government of Milan, and General Cavaignac assured me last night, that in the present stage of the business he should not pay any attention to any one who was not brought to him by the Sardinian Ambassador.

M. Ricci urged very much that England should use her moral influence with Austria, in conjunction with France, to come to some pacific settlement of the Italian question, the first step of which must of course be an armistice, which would leave the contending parties in their then existing positions. I told M. Ricci that I had as yet no means of knowing how far Her Majesty's Government might be inclined to undertake such a task, but if at all, it should be done before there had been any specific demand for assistance on the part of the Government of Turin to the French Republic. M. Ricci said that he could obtain a short delay by arranging the conditions with the French Government of an intervention in case the eventuality should arise. He should propose to them that in that case the troops should not cross the frontiers without a distinct application from the King.

I asked M. Ricci his opinion as to what were the sort of terms which under these altered circumstances the Italians would be ready to accept. He said he believed they would not be satisfied with anything short of the *de facto* independence of their country, but that they would not object to the Venetian States forming a separate dominion under an Austrian Prince.

No. 100.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the bulletin published this day of the further operations of Field-Marshal Radetzky on the 26th and 27th of this month.

I have, &c
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 100.

Bulletin from the Army of Italy.

HIS Majesty the Emperor has received from Marshal Radetzky, from his head-quarters of Valleggio, dated July 27, the following report on the operations of the army:

"The second corps, under the command of Field-Marshal Baron d'Aspre, has had, on the evening of the 26th and the morning of the 27th, two hard-fought, but brilliant and successful engagements at Volta, while I concentrated the first corps and the reserve in the rear in order to come to the assistance of the second corps.

"These were, however, the last encounters, which, however bloody they have been, were risked by the rear-guard of the enemy for the sole purpose of making themselves masters of the heights of Volta, and covering thereby the retreat of the main body of the army.

"Field-Marshal Baron d'Aspre and the Generals commanding the second corps, as well as the officers and men, as also the cavalry of Prince Taxis, have covered themselves with glory; and I have myself acquired the conviction, this noon, that the enemy are now in full retreat towards Cremona.

(Signed) RADETZKY."

Innsbruck, July 29, 1848.

(Signed)

ELIATCHEK,
Military Governor.

No. 101.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 30, 1848.

THE following intelligence may be relied on.

On the 27th, at night, the King of Sardinia proposed to Marshal Radetzky to conclude an armistice. The Marshal dictated the following terms:

1st. The retreat of the whole Piedmontese army to the other side of the Adda.

2nd. The surrender of Peschiera and Pizzighettone:

3rd. The recall of all the Piedmontese troops from the Venetian territories.

4th. To wait for the arrival of instructions to the Marshal from the Imperial Government.

I have heard from the best source, that the situation of Charles Albert is very bad. It is reported that some movement has taken place in the Duchy of Modena against the Piedmontese.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 102.

Memorandum of a Conversation between Viscount Palmerston and Count Revel.

Foreign Office, August 5, 1848.

I HAD a few days ago a conversation with Count Revel on the affairs of Northern Italy, in which I told him that I had not then received any recent reports from the seat of war, but according to the last reports which had reached me it did not appear that any essential advantage had been gained by either side; that Sardinia might possibly succeed in taking Mantua, but that she might find it a long and difficult task; that up to that time she had been successful, because the Austrians had continually acted on the defensive, but that the Austrian forces were always formidable, and reinforcements were then arriving and were expected to arrive.

I also told Count Revel that Her Majesty's Minister at Turin had informed me that he had at one time had reason to believe that the Sardinian Government would have been disposed to negotiate on the basis of the line of the Adige, but that he had found that subsequent events had led them not to be willing to be satisfied with less than the line of the Piave, and I added that Sardinia was then certainly in a good position, and I expressed a wish that should the war continue she might prove victorious; but in order to show the real position of Sardinia I pointed out to Count Revel that Germany was beginning to move; that the election of the Archduke John would enable Austria to use an influence at Frankfort, although I did not think that Germany would take a part in the Italian war, because her interference would bring about the interference of France, and thus a general European war would be produced; that Hungary appeared to unite herself cordially to Austria, having already voted 40,000 soldiers, which would greatly augment the Austrian forces; that France undoubtedly appeared well disposed towards Sardinia; that in the French Assembly attempts would

doubtlessly be made by the Liberal party to urge the French Government openly to declare in favour of Sardinia, but that the Government would most probably refuse to do so; and that I thought that Sardinia, if disposed to negotiate for peace, should avail herself of the present state of things to make her terms with Austria, and that should Sardinia be disposed to enter into negotiation, Count Revel could address a note to me to the effect that the King was prepared to continue the war if necessary, but that to avoid the further shedding of blood and the laying waste of the country where the war was being carried on, His Majesty would be disposed to treat on such a basis as His Majesty might point out. I said that the basis which I thought might be proposed was the line of the Piave, Sardinia charging herself with a just proportion of the debt of the empire, and that negotiations for this purpose might be brought about by the mediation of England and of France. This proposal I said might perhaps not be accepted by Austria, but it could be made the basis of a future negotiation, and in my opinion ought, and perhaps, considering the position in which Austria then found herself, would be accepted.

I then told Count Revel that in the first instance Austria was willing to treat for the line of the Adige, but that her wishes had since become much greater, in fact that I did not know exactly what she wanted, but that I could not foresee that any inconvenience could arise from making proposals to her; that I was of opinion that the line of the Adige, if proposed, would be accepted by her, and that I also thought it possible that the line of the Piave might be obtained, at any rate that the basis on which to rest the negotiation lay between these two lines, for what Austria wishes to have is a line of frontier, which she might perhaps find on the Piave.

I added that England certainly wished to see Northern Italy united in one State, but that it was necessary to consider how far this was practicable.

No. 103.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an official bulletin, issued yesterday by the Provisional Government, states that the Italian army had retired to the right bank of the Oglio, and that the head-quarters are at Bozzolo.

I have also the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information, the translation of two proclamations from His Majesty Charles Albert, which were published last night:—

“Soldiers!

“The admirable proofs of courage in battle, the fortitude in supporting hardships, which you have given in these last days, have deeply affected me. The enemy has paid very dear for the regaining of his positions; in our retreat we carried with us 2000 prisoners; he cannot boast of a single trophy.

“At the sight of privations, of the sufferings from the want of provisions, at the thought of leaving Lombardy open to barbaric incursions, my judgment prompted me to seek a suspension of hostilities; but the conditions proposed to me were such that would have made every one of you blush for shame. The honour of the army is unstained before all Italy, before all Europe; no one can ever tarnish it; and your King will ever be its jealous supporter.

“In a few days we shall again face that enemy, whom we have so often seen fly before us; in a few days we shall make him repent his rashness. Let those few who have straggled from their ranks, return to them quickly. I reckon confidently on you, beloved children of our country, who shed your blood for the sacred cause of Italian independence.”

“People of Upper Italy!

“After different battles, in which our army, notwithstanding its numerical inferiority, obtained, by admirable courage, not a few successes, overwhelmed by superior forces, exhausted from weariness on account of the continual engagements under an overpowering heat, and the want of food, lost, regained, but in the end could not preserve the positions on the Mincio, and then hemmed in

within the environs of Goito, found itself reduced to one of those terrible crises in which a desperate effort is followed by dreadful slaughter:

“Under these grave circumstances, which oppressed our bosom as King and chief of that valiant and well-beloved army, after the deliberation of a council of war we sought to put an end to so great an effusion of blood, by proposing a suspension of arms to the enemy; but the conditions he proposed were such that we could not even discuss them; thinking it better to expose both ourself and you to every extremity rather than compromise the honour and the interest of the country.

“Italians! arm yourselves, and provide against the danger with the energy which danger increases in the brave inheritors of so many glorious deeds. You will prefer the last sacrifice to the humiliation and loss of your independence. The army, supported by patriotic sentiments in the midst of sufferings and misfortunes, is ready yet to shed the last drop of its blood; and we hope that Providence will not abandon us in the defence of a holy cause, to which is devoted my life and that of my sons.

“From our head-quarters at Bozzolo, 28th July, 1848.

(Signed) CHARLES ALBERT.”

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 104.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Milan, July 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, by the last intelligence, His Majesty Charles Albert was at Cà de Quinsani, near Cremona, and the Duke of Savoy, with his division, at Cella Dati.

The Committee of Public Defence is taking the following most energetic measures to check the advance of the Austrians.

A commission is instituted to fortify the line of the Adda, the city of Milan and the country around it.

A decree is issued, by which no native of Lombardy can leave these States, except on cases of the most urgent nature, recognised by the Committee itself.

The property of every native who shall leave the Lombardy territory without a regular passport shall be confiscated, and his name held up to public infamy.

No one can go out of Milan, even though furnished with a regular passport, without first paying his quota of the forced loan, or giving security for the same.

All public employés are required, under penalty of instant dismissal, not to quit their posts.

Any one spreading among the people unfounded alarm respecting the war shall be arrested and tried by a court-martial.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 105.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Venice, July 27, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, that further detachments of Piedmontese troops have arrived here, and that the whole force of Piedmontese troops now in Venice amounts to rather more than 2000 men.

An Austrian steam-boat arrived here yesterday from Duino, a small port near Trieste, with a flag of truce, conveying the Italian hostages whose exchange

for the Austrian hostages detained here was provided for by the Convention which also I mentioned in my despatch of the 19th instant.

After landing the Italians, the Austrian hostages were embarked, and the steam-boat proceeded on her voyage to Trieste.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 106.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 6.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 5, 1848.

UPON every occasion on which I have seen General Cavaignac within the last few days, he has expressed the greatest anxiety for a prompt understanding upon the Italian question. Every day it is evident that he dreads some event which, by exciting the popular feeling here, may overpower his pacific resolves. I am bound to add that I have also received intimations in society from most of the principal members in the Assembly of all the different parties amongst the friends of peace and order, impressing upon me the urgency of the case; the desire they have that the crisis should be averted by an immediate co-operation on our part; and saying that if something was not done within the next few days, a further reverse on the part of the Italians, or any great town taken, with the aggravating circumstances which would probably attend such an event in the present feelings of both parties, would create such a cry of indignation throughout France as would for the time overbear all prudential considerations, and would render it impossible for the Government to resist the demand for armed intervention.

Strongly impressed myself with the imperious necessity for immediate action, if anything is to be done, and armed with the communication in your Lordship's private note of yesterday's date of the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon the main point, I went to General Cavaignac and M. Bastide this morning to discuss with them generally the terms of joint negotiation as sketched by your Lordship. The General assured me that he would be ready to subscribe to any declaration which could show that they had not the slightest wish for any territorial accession.

General Cavaignac described the last accounts from the army of Charles Albert as stating it to be completely disorganized; that so far from being able to defend Lombardy, it would depend upon the prudence of the Austrians whether they did not enter Piedmont. I said that what I was anxious we should establish was, who were to be the parties to the present negotiations, and what the terms of the arrangement with which it was to conclude. I understood that France and England would be the mediating parties, and we should address ourselves to the contending parties, which were Austria and Sardinia. We should propose to Charles Albert to cede all his pretensions to all the Venetian States behind the Adige, which had offered themselves to him, but which he had been unable to recover from their present possessors. To Austria we should propose to retire within these frontiers, and to cede all right to Lombardy to the Sovereign to whom the Lombards had given themselves, looking to him for a fair arrangement of the debt.

It might be stipulated, that having established the two parties in the geographical position we meant to recommend, we should both of us withdraw from any further interference in the internal affairs of that part of Italy.

After some further discussion, General Cavaignac expressed himself satisfied that M. Bastide should make a draft of proposals of mediation upon the principle I had maintained.

I shall of course see General Cavaignac and M. Bastide again to-morrow, after your Lordship's promised despatch shall have arrived. The difficulties in the way of this negotiation more arise from the embarrassing position of the French Government than the disposition of the individuals, with which I have every reason to be satisfied. I think the difficulties may by promptitude be overcome, if events should not even now forestall its objects and mar its conclusion.

No. 107.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1848.

HER Majesty's Government feel extremely anxious to endeavour by friendly negotiation to put an end to the war in the north of Italy, and they would greatly rejoice if they could be able by the employment of the good offices of Great Britain, to induce the contending parties to make peace upon terms which might be satisfactory and honourable to both.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt from your Excellency's despatches that similar sentiments animate the Government of France, and that the French Government is equally desirous to contribute by its mediation to the re-establishment of peace in Northern Italy.

Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the good offices of either Great Britain or of France, acting singly in this matter, would carry with them great weight, and would have a fair prospect of success; but it is clear that the joint efforts of the two Governments acting together, must be far more effectual; and Her Majesty's Government, therefore, would propose to the Government of France, that the mediation of Great Britain and of France should be offered to the Governments of Austria and of Sardinia, with a view to the re-establishment of peace in Northern Italy.

If the French Government should concur in making this offer, Her Majesty's Government would suggest that the proposal to be made to the contending parties, should be as follows:

1st. That an immediate suspension of hostilities should take place between the Austrian and Italian troops; the forces on each side retaining during the armistice such positions as might be mutually agreed upon through the good offices of the agents of the two mediating Powers; and the duration of the armistice being sufficiently long to afford full scope for negotiations for a permanent arrangement.

2ndly. That a permanent arrangement should be proposed to the two parties in conformity with the plan stated in the memorandum of M. de Hummelauer of the 24th of May, by which Austria should relinquish her claims upon Lombardy and leave her free to unite herself with Piedmont, on condition that Lombardy should take upon herself such a portion of the aggregate debt of the Austrian Empire as might appear, according to fair proportions, justly to belong to her, upon her separation from the rest of that empire; while Austria, retaining the sovereignty of her Venetian Province, should engage to give to that province national institutions and a national administration, in the manner described in the above-mentioned memorandum.

Private and personal property in Lombardy and in the Venetian State should be respected, and any such property which may have been sequestered or confiscated, should be restored; and a full amnesty should be granted on both sides in regard to all political acts during the late events.

3rdly. That the line of boundary between Lombardy and the Venetian State should be nearly that which is understood to have been the division between those provinces while forming part of the Austrian Empire. That is to say, it should be a line which, drawn from Lazise on the south-eastern shore of the Lake of Garda, a little to the north of Peschiera, and passing between Verona and Villa Franca, would run down to and intersect the Po on its north bank at Bergantino, between Mellara and Massa, and would run down the midstream of that river as far as the mouth of the Tanaro, leaving Peschiera and Mantua to Lombardy, and Verona and Legnago to the Venetian Province.

4thly. That such a settlement should of course involve arrangements with regard to Parma and Modena, such as are pointed out in M. de Hummelauer's memorandum.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government that such a settlement as this would be sufficiently in accordance with the real interests and with the relative position of the parties concerned.

Although the Austrian army has during the operations which took place in the latter days of July, obtained a decided military superiority over the Italian forces, yet the Austrian Government cannot so far deceive itself as to imagine

that even if it were able to conclude peace on the condition of re-establishing its authority over Lombardy, that province could ever henceforward be a useful member of the Austrian Empire, as an element in its strength and resources.

The national antagonism of differing races has been too deeply rooted by the events of the last few months to admit of such a possibility; and if, therefore, Lombardy were, on its separation from Austria, to charge itself with a suitable portion of the Austrian debt, Austria would in truth suffer no impairment of her real strength by allowing Lombardy to carry into effect the decision which its population has made to be incorporated with the Kingdom of Piedmont. On the other hand, although the people of Italy have expressed a strong desire that the Venetian State should no longer remain under the dominion of Austria, it is manifest that the people of Italy have not the power of carrying that desire into effect; and the national feelings from which that desire springs, both among the Venetians and among the people of the rest of Italy, might perhaps in a considerable degree be satisfied by such arrangements as those which were suggested in M. de Hummelauer's memorandum.

If Peschiera and Mantua were left to Lombardy, and Verona and Legnago were retained by Venice, there would on each side be a fortified line of frontier, sufficiently strong to afford mutual security, and thereby to contribute to the future maintenance of peace between Austria and the Kingdom of Piedmont.

If these notions should meet with the concurrence of the Government of France, Her Majesty's Government would immediately send to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Austrian Court and to Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, instructions to join with the diplomatic organs of France in proposing such an arrangement to the Governments of Austria and of Sardinia. And as in the present state of affairs it is desirable that no time should be lost in taking the first steps in this matter, I send under flying seal to your Excellency instructions addressed to Lord Ponsonby and to Mr. Abercromby, framed on the supposition that the French Government may concur in the arrangement proposed in this despatch; and if your Excellency should obtain the assent of the French Government, you will immediately forward those instructions to their respective destinations, adding thereto a despatch from yourself to inform Lord Ponsonby and Mr. Abercromby of the result of your communication with the French Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 108. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 7, 1848.

THE memorandum from M. Hummelauer, to which I refer in my despatch of this date, was that inclosed in his letter dated the 24th of May last.

No. 109. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.*

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd of June†, inclosing copies of memoranda which had been delivered to me by M. de Hummelauer, containing the views of the Austrian Government as to the basis of a negotiation for the settlement of the differences between Austria and her revolted provinces in Italy, together with a copy of my reply to M. de Hummelauer, I herewith transmit to you a copy‡ of an instruction which I have addressed to the Marquis of Normanby, proposing that the joint mediation of England and France should

* Despatch to Lord Ponsonby to the same effect.

† See Part II. p. 617.

‡ See No. 107

be offered to the Governments of Austria and Sardinia, with a view to the re-establishment of peace in Northern Italy; and I have to desire that you will immediately proceed, in co-operation with the French Minister, to make to the Sardinian Government the proposals agreed upon between the British and French Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 110.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 7.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Majesty Charles Albert evacuated Cremona in the evening of the 30th instant, and the Austrians entered it on the morning of the 31st.

The Italian army has taken up a position along the Adda, in two lines; on the left, from Crema to the fortress of Pizzighettone; on the right, from Lodi to Codogno.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 111.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 7.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, July 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in original and translation, Marshal Radetzky's despatch* dated Palazzo Alzarea, the 26th instant, announcing the important victory gained by the Austrian army under his command over a corps of 40,000 Piedmontese under the orders of the King of Sardinia, near Custozza, on the 25th instant, to which I briefly alluded in my despatch of the 29th instant.

I am told the losses of the Austrians are estimated much higher than is stated in the Marshal's despatch. Nearly 100 officers were killed and wounded. Upwards of twenty pieces of cannon are reported to have fallen into the hands of the Austrians.

Independently of the moral effect which this victory is likely to produce on the Piedmontese army, the position which the Marshal has taken, cutting off their retreat to Milan by Brescia, can hardly fail to produce important military results.

The spirit and conduct of the Austrian army is said to be most excellent.

2 o'clock.

Since writing the above I have learnt that an officer has arrived from the head-quarters of Marshal Radetzky, and has brought the news of a farther and more decisive victory of the Austrian army over the Piedmontese, on the 26th and 27th, in the neighbourhood of Volta. The King of Sardinia had sent a general officer to propose to Marshal Radetzky an armistice, and had offered to retire with his army behind the Oglio. The Marshal had consented to grant an armistice, but had attached, as a preliminary condition, that Venice, Osopo, and Peschiera, should be delivered up to the Austrians, and that the Piedmontese army should retire behind the Adda, instead of the Oglio. This latter stipulation would seem to prove that the Marshal had no intention of advancing on Milan. The Marshal gave the King till 6 o'clock on the 28th to decide.

* See Inclosure in No. 93.

No. 112.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 7.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, July 31, 1848.

WE have heard this day that the King of Sardinia refused to accept the terms exacted by the Marshal Radetzky for an armistice, and we hear that the Marshal has advanced in the direction of Cremona. It is expected that there will be another battle.

Your Lordship no doubt has been informed of the above from Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 113.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 7.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, August 1, 1848.

THE Austrians certainly will not be likely to abandon their already declared view of keeping the Venetian territories, and it is to be hoped they will not go further, tempted by the weakness which appears to be in Charles Albert, and the absence of particular danger connected with France. I think I can answer for it, that some of the highest persons are persuaded of the sound policy of abandoning Lombardy to its fate; but, certainly, the expectation exists that the Lombards should take upon themselves, in some way or other, a portion of the burthen which Austria asserts has been produced in promoting Milanese prosperity.

I have reported to your Lordship that a movement has taken place in Modena in favour of the Duke. I am informed that Modena (as well as some other cities) has suffered severely in its finances by the late events, and that it is its wish to avoid the union proposed to constitute the new kingdom in Italy. We also hear, but I do not know how good or bad the source of the report may be, that in the dominions of Charles Albert there is very considerable dissatisfaction.

Your Lordship has been made acquainted with the difficulties in which the Hungarian Government has been involved. There are two causes for this: the weakness of the Government and the feebleness of the Magyars who govern the kingdom. These difficulties will I hope be prevented being at this moment as serious as they threatened to become, and if it be so, the good will be mainly due to the Banus Jellachich. The Hungarians have, as I am told, had the good sense at last to see their weakness and to submit to necessity. A deputation from the Hungarian Government is expected here to-morrow to wait upon the Emperor.

No. 114.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 7.)

My Lord,

Florence, July 27, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the address of the Deputies, or "Consiglio Generale," as it is called, to the Grand Duke, together with His Royal Highness' answer.

The chief topics of the address are as follows:

First, it alludes to the war of independence, insists on its being prosecuted with vigour, expresses gratitude to Carlo Alberto, to the Pope, and to the Grand Duke, for defending the rights of Italy. It promises to the Grand Duke all possible supplies of men and money, and the support of all good citizens.

The address then recommends the negotiation of an Italian League, as a means of accelerating victory. It congratulates the Grand Duke on having received the deputies sent by Sicily, and recommends a prompt recognition of the newly-elected King of that island.

The address expresses satisfaction at the formation of a powerful kingdom in Upper Italy, and at the enlargement of Tuscany by the addition of Lucca, Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, and Garfagnana.

The Deputies rejoice at the friendly relations existing with every Power excepting Austria, particularly at the newly-established relations with Spain and with the French Republic.

They then point out some internal measures as being desirable. Among others, the publication of revenue accounts and financial estimates for the year, the abolition of the State lottery, new laws on military enrolment, the enactment of the Civil Code, the law on the responsibility of Ministers. The address concludes by hoping that His Royal Highness will labour to develop the Constitution, so as to render it national and in harmony with the future institutions of Italy.

The Chambers have since been chiefly occupied in discussing the manner in which the war of independence has been carried on by Tuscany, and in blaming the Government for the lukewarmness they have shown in this holy cause, and for the inadequate preparations that have been made for increasing the army and filling the military chest.

It is evident that the war is not popular in Tuscany. The first enthusiasm has long ago subsided. It is with the greatest difficulty that any men can now be found to send to the army.

A law for recruiting has lately been introduced. It is expected that it will meet with a determined resistance from the peasantry. Some have already fled, and absolutely left the soil without cultivators. It has been of late more than ever clearly demonstrated that the genius of Tuscany lies in cultivating the arts of peace, rather than in the pursuits of war. The appeals of the warlike press, and the harangues of the Deputies, will fail in producing any other result.

Within the last few days about 1000 volunteers have returned to Florence from the army, loudly expressing their disgust at the fatigues and dangers they have undergone. I do not mean to insinuate that any want of bravery has been shown by the Tuscans; on the contrary, they have displayed great courage and coolness on several occasions; but any one well acquainted with the character of this amiable nation, would never expect that a love of war would form an essential feature in it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 114.

Address of the Council of Deputies to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Altezza,

LO Statuto fondamentale aprì una nuova epoca politica alla Toscana; la guerra contro lo straniero, l'aprì alla nazione. Voi cominciate il regno di un popolo libero nell'Italia indipendente, ma guerreggiante. Dobbiamo istituire e combattere. In questo principio di regno non deesi ricordare del passato che la costanza de' vostri incliti predecessori e la vostra, nell'iniziare e proseguire le riforme civili e la libertà del lavoro con ferma giustizia e nativa benignità.

Questa memoria di riconoscenza è la prima e sacra guarentigia del nostro presente e del nostro avvenire: assicurandone che il vostro potere sarà concorde con gli altri poteri dello Stato per operare il maggior bene dei popoli; nel fondare il principato civile con tali ordini pubblici che la crescente civiltà possa allargarli, e la federazione renderli perfetti facendoli nazionali.

La guerra dell'indipendenza com'è il pericolo di tutta Italia, così è il primo dovere di ogni suo Stato. E ripetiamo con voi che prima di tutto è necessario il fine glorioso di questa guerra nazionale, guerreggiata da noi, non contro veruna nazione, ma contro il solo Potentato Austriaco; per difesa del diritto della nazionalità che è il primo sancito dalla natura. L'Italia è riconoscente al magnanimo Carlo Alberto, campione di questo diritto: al glorioso Pio Nono, che lo protestò all'istesso Imperatore, e che saprà non abbandonarlo come Pontefice e come Rè; a voi che foste il primo a inviare armi per sostenerlo. E grave sventura che l'Italia abbia a lamentare la diffalta del Borbone di Napoli.

Toscana s'alzò la prima al grido dell'eroica Milano, e imbrandì le armi come se non le avesse disusate mai: corse al campo e pugnò; non contando i

nemici, ma fidando nei destini d'Italia. Anco le sue perdite furono gloriose, e cagione di vittoria. Il giorno ventinovesimo del Maggio ci sarà dai posteri invidiato. Ma l'impeto non basta, quando la guerra ordinata vuol unite al valore l'arte e la disciplina. A voi, poichè condurre la guerra è prerogativa reale, spetta spingerla come la necessità richiede, indicandone i mezzi più efficaci. Noi saremo solleciti di concorrere col nostro voto per apprestare ogni soccorso di uomini e di denari. Alla vostra voce e alla nostra si unirà quella di tutti i buoni: la gioventù valorosa e la generosità cittadina non mancheranno alla chiama della comune patria. Nessuno temerà che difettino braccia alle industrie: o quando mai si potesse giungere a quell'estremo, tutti preferiranno la indipendenza con la povertà, alla ricchezza con la schiavitù. E noi confidiamo che mentre nuovi soldati si apparecchiano, il vostro Governo riordini quelli che sono al campo, li provveda sempre ne' vari gradi di buoni capi, e la militare amministrazione tenga incorrotta, provvida ed operosa.

Ma per accelerare la vittoria e coglierne il maggior frutto costituendo la nazionalità, fa d'uopo che il negoziato della Lega sia concluso sollecitamente in un trattato ove esistano poste le basi di più stretta unione fra le varie famiglie Italiane.

Per questo fine ci congratuliamo che abbiate accolto i Deputati Siciliani, e noi, rappresentanti del popolo Toscano, non dubitiamo riconoscerete sollecitamente lo Stato di Sicilia, il quale legittimamente si è costituito per reggersi a principato civile, con Rè d'Italiano sangue e animo.

Per questo fine godiamo che la Lombardia, la Venezia, il Parmense e il Modenese, congiunti alla Sardegna, alla Savoia, al Piemonte ed alla Liguria, abbiano formato un regno forte per essere il baluardo comune contro qualunque straniero.

Per questo fine non è minore il nostro contento vedendo mercè l'aggiunzione di Lucca, e la unione spontanea di Massa, di Carrara, della Lunigiana e della Garfagnana, ben costituito una volta lo Stato Toscano.

Ricomposti così i territorj degli Stati Italiani, come vogliono la natura, le consuetudini e le presenti e future sorti d'Italia; il patto federativo, lasciando ad ogni Stato la sua personalità, procurerà la politica uniformità di tutti, e provvederà coi rappresentanti di tutti ai comuni diritti e interessi, affinchè la nazionalità Italiana sia forte, rispettata e felice. Così ci auguriamo che dalla Lega per conquistare la indipendenza, nasca la federazione per conservarla, e con questa l'unità nazionale.

Questa felicità d'Italia conferirà a quella d'Europa; perchè il buon successo della guerra e la costituzione della nazionalità Italiana assicura il vero equilibrio politico, fondandolo non sopra gli stati artificiali, ma sulle naturali nazionalità; e togliendo il campo e la preda alle conquiste. Perciò noi ci rallegriamo che mentre è respinto con l'armi l'Imperator d'Austria (il quale solo fa una guerra contraria al giusto ed agli interessi Europei), siano conservate ottime le relazioni nostre con tutti gli esteri Potentati; le abbiate strette con la Spagna, abbiate anco recentemente riconosciuto la Repubblica Francese. L'Italia ha diritto all'amicizia di tutte le nazioni, poichè nessuna offende e tutte difende difendendosi.

Mentre la Toscana coopera al riordinamento Italiano ed Europeo, è tempo alfine che riordini il suo nuovo regno secondo i nuovi principj politici e l'ampliato territorio. La libertà deve consolidarsi per mezzo delle istituzioni popolari sinceramente applicate, le quali si allarghino all'opportunità quanto la esistenza del principio Monarchico lo consente; perchè la libertà congiunta al principato non deve dare la forma sola ma la vita politica al presente, e preparar l'avvenire alla perfezione di queste istituzioni. Nuovo, intiero, sapiente deve sorgere l'edifizio politico: nuovo, progressivo, forte il sistema governativo. Ma la fortezza non uscirà dagli strumenti materiali soltanto: la forza vera è nella moralità e nell'intelligenza pubblica. Quindi preferirà il Governo tutto ciò che produce e conserva la virtù, nobilita l'animo, e illumina la mente.

Religione e insegnamento; ricompense e pene; giustizia e beneficenza; ogni civile istituto insomma dev'esser costantemente adoperato a crear l'anima dello Stato; senza della quale ogni costituzione, fosse pur la più larga, sarebbe soltanto una diversa forma di corpo corrotto. La Polizia sarà una vigilanza, e non un'inquisizione, braccio della giustizia e non giudice; l'ordine giudiziario sarà meglio costituito, quando i tempi lo consentiranno, perchè mantenga più efficacemente con gli averi e i diritti, i doveri; la Milizia sarà comune esercizio

dei cittadini, non un ozio pericoloso di pochi salariati; gli ufficj saranno un maistrato produttivo, non un mestiero consumatore. Nascerà così l'ordine pubblico dal rispetto spontaneo alla morale e alla legge: la guardia civica gagliardamente ordinata ed armata, lo assicurerà: e come gloriosamente salvò il paese al cader del passato, così fermamente lo difenderà nell'avvenire. In questa guisa lo spirito vivificatore d'un reggimento virtuoso, generoso, e sapiente, potrà animare ogni parte del Governo e del popolo; perchè se i tempi nostri sono insofferenti del dispotismo, devono farsi degni della libertà.

E voi meritamente siete fondatore e capo dello Stato nuovo, perchè voi per sincerità d'animo e per antico voto non apparteneste mai al passato, e affrettaste, per quanto era in voi, questi tempi prodigiosi. Quindi noi vi accompagneremo e vi aiuteremo nella strada nuova, nel nuovo reggimento, nella vita nuova. Così daremo mano alle leggi sulla educazione e sulla istruzione, al Codice Penale, al regolamento delle carceri, ai provvedimenti pei ricoveri dell'infanzia, per la scuola degli artigiani, per il patrocinio dei condannati restituiti alla libertà.

Ci preme la necessità di riordinare le imposte, conoscere minutamente la spesa pubblica, e far dell'Amministrazione Governativa la prima scuola d'utili spese, di saggio risparmio. La quale riforma ci confidiamo di poter bene augurare con l'abolizione della tassa del gioco del lotto, condannata insieme dalla morale e dalla sana opinione pubblica: affrettando co i voti il giorno in cui sia fattibile l'abolizione o la diminuzione di altri dazj che aggravano il popolo.

Aspettiamo sollecito il rendimento di conto della Finanza e il Bilancio preventivo del 1849, per cominciare anche in questa parte un sistema migliore, e far conoscere ogni anno al pubblico la erogazione del suo denaro e lo stato del suo Erario. Allora conosciuto e regolato il debito, ristrette al necessario le spese, determinati inalterabilmente gli onorarj degli impiegati, regolate con giustizia ed equità le pensioni, cresciute sapientemente le entrate, perfezionata la scrittura; l'amministrazione della pubblica pecunia non sarà un mistero, nel quale si potrebbe temere una voragine.

Meritamente ci avete raccomandato l'ordinamento dei comuni, al quale dovrà contemperarsi il compartimentale; e applicandovi largamente il principio elettivo, stabiliremo così il vero governo del paese.

Con la legge sull'arruolamento militare urge di deliberare tutte le altre leggi sulla milizia; poichè le buone armi necessarie alla vittoria della guerra impediscono ancora che la pace si corrompa.

Non è più da indugiare il Codice Civile, quelli della Procedura Civile e Penale; ed è da operarsi nei modi e tempi opportuni la legge per lo scioglimento dei beni commendali e dei livelli anco ecclesiastici, e d'ogni antico e nuovo vincolo della proprietà fondiaria. Nè è da indugiare nemmeno la legge sulla responsabilità dei Ministri, e quella pei reati in ufficio degli impiegati tutti: poichè nè il costume potrebbe ristorarsi nè l'Amministrazione esser rispettata, se i reati più scandalosi restassero occulti o impuni o mal puniti.

Queste cose sono le più prementi, poichè invano si cercherebbe enumerare ad una ad una, tutte le leggi da farsi; quando, sebben vi siano materiali antichi, tutto l'edifizio legale dello Stato è da fabbricare con disegno compiuto e adatto ai tempi.

Altezza, l'impresa è vasta e difficile, ma il dovere e la necessità la comandano. La vostra fiducia e quella del popolo ci daranno animo e forze: ci sosterrà il fervente desiderio e il fermissimo volere di sollevare chi soffre, di ristorare l'antica gloria e prosperità Toscana, di corrispondere ai grandi destini Italiani e all'esempio vostro. Noi pure nelle istituzioni fondamentali, su cui insieme con voi invocammo la testimonianza e la protezione di Dio, scorgiamo e benediciamo uno spirito di vita e di progresso. E con voi saremo intrepidi a custodirlo e adoperarlo per rendere quelle istituzioni sempre proporzionate alla civiltà, che cresce e corre con tant'impeto, che le ha già superate. Nei pochi giorni da che fu scritto lo Statuto a quando fu posto in atto, è interceduto un secolo, il secolo dell'indipendenza nazionale. Quanto essa richiede, entri al più presto nel diritto pubblico d'ogni Stato Italiano, che restando libero nel suo circolo, ma divenuto parte della nazione, è rapito dall'armonia di un sistema universale. Affrettiamoci a far concordare il nostro statuto particolare col gran statuto che la nazionalità prepara precipitosa in palese e in occulto con fatti continui, unificanti, tutti portentosi, e tutti irresistibili. Papa Pio IX, pose fra

il passato e il presente, il risorgimento d'Italia: Rè Carlo Alberto, la indipendenza: ponete voi una costituzione nazionale. Il Parlamento Toscano si crederà meno indegno di rappresentare questa terra madre e maestra dell'Italiche civiltà, se potrà aver parte con voi in quest' opera; maggior di quella, che dette istituti a Roma antica; maggior dell'altra, che fugò la barbarie: poichè la Toscana sarà ora la prima a compiere l'ordinamento dello Stato, pari alla grandezza dell'avvenire d'Italia risorta.

Sua Altezza Reale il Granduca rispose all' indirizzo colle seguenti parole: Signori Deputati,

Nulla è più caro al mio cuore che di veder raccolti intorno a me i Deputati della Toscana, ed ascoltare dall'onorevole loro Presidente i voti del Consiglio Generale. Le vostre parole, o Signori, mi suonano gratissime, e mi rincuorano nella speranza di vedermi da voi coadiuvato nei due grandissimi intenti che ci sono imposti dal risorgimento d'Italia: la guerra dell'indipendenza ed il nuovo ordinamento dello Stato. A questo duplice scopo dei nostri sforzi io mirava colle parole che pronunziai in mezzo a voi nel giorno solenne che inaugurava le nostre Assemblee Legislative; e godo oggi di sapermi concorde con voi, ed aiutato dal vostro consenso pieno e sicuro tanto nell'impresa della guerra che in quella della pace. Così sarà soddisfatto per noi al debito che teniamo colla Toscana e coll'Italia, e la nazione sarà costituita indipendente, e lo Stato arricchito di libere istituzioni.

I tempi sono difficili, o Signori; ma la Toscana confido che saprà vincere la prova, e rispondere degnamente alle presenti necessità dell'Italia. Il pensiero di divider con voi l'esercizio del potere, che è gravissimo peso in faccia a Dio e in faccia agli uomini, raddoppia il mio coraggio, perchè vedo sempre più assicurata quella concordia, senza la quale le nazioni disperdono inutilmente i tesori del sapere e della forza. Signori Deputati, questi giorni saranno memorabili, e la storia terrà conto di quanto verrà operato da chiunque tratti la cosa pubblica. Prendiamo l'ispirazione di questo solenne momento, ed uniamoci tutti per soddisfare ai doveri gravissimi che c'impone la patria. Io sarò sempre con voi, perchè voglio dividere le sorti del mio popolo, ed aver comune con esso quell'avvenire che si riserba la Provvidenza.

(Translation.)

Royal Highness,

THE fundamental Statute opened a new political era for Tuscany; the war against the stranger opened a new one for the nation. You begin to reign over a free people in Italy, independent but belligerent. We have to institute and to fight. In this beginning of your reign we must remember of the past only the constancy of your noble predecessors and your own, in conceiving and pursuing civil reforms and the freedom of labour, with strict justice and native benevolence.

This memory of gratitude is the first and sacred guarantee of our present and of our future in assuring to us that your power will harmonize with the other powers of the State, in order to effect the greatest good of the nation, by founding the Principality with such institutions that increasing civilization may develop them, and federalism render them perfect, by making them national.

The war of independence, as it is dangerous for all Italy, so it is the first duty of every Italian State. And we repeat with you, it is necessary, before everything, to bring to a glorious end this national war, which we have undertaken not against any nation, but solely against the Austrian power, in defence of the right of nationality, which is the first sanctioned by nature. Italy is grateful to magnanimous Charles Albert, the champion of this right; to the glorious Pius IX, who proclaimed it to the Emperor himself, and will not abandon it as a Pontiff and a Monarch; to you, who were the first to send arms to sustain it. It is a great misfortune for Italy, that she has to lament the defection of the Bourbon of Naples.

Tuscany rose up the first at the call of heroic Milan, and brandished arms as if she had always been used to them, rushed to the camp, and fought, not counting our enemies, but confiding in the destinies of Italy. Even her losses were glorious, and a cause of victory. The engagement of the 29th of May will be transmitted to posterity; but enthusiasm is not sufficient when a regular

war requires art and discipline united to valour. As the conduct of war is a royal prerogative, it is for you to prosecute it as necessity demands, and to indicate the most efficacious means. We, on our side, shall be anxious to concur by our votes in affording every assistance in men and money. Your voice and ours will be joined by that of all the good; our valorous youth and our citizens' generosity shall answer to the call of their common country. None will fear that industry may suffer from want of hands; but were it even to come to that extremity, all would prefer independence with poverty, to riches with slavery. And we hope that whilst new soldiers are arming, your Government will reorganize those that are at the camp, furnish them in the various grades with good officers, and maintain the military administration incorrupted, provident, and active.

But in order to accelerate victory and to reap the greatest fruit therefrom, by the establishment of our nationality, it is necessary that the negotiations for the Italian League should be promptly concluded by a treaty in which should be laid the foundation of the most intimate union amongst the various Italian families.

For this reason we rejoice that you have received the Sicilian Deputies, and we, representatives of the Tuscan people, doubt not but that you will recognize the State of Sicily, which has lawfully constituted itself into a principality, with a King of Italian blood and sentiments.

For this reason we rejoice that Lombardy, Venice, Parma, and Modena have joined Sardinia, Savoy, Piedmont and Liguria, to form a strong kingdom, to be the barrier against every stranger.

For this reason we rejoice not less at seeing, by the addition of Lucca and the spontaneous union of Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana and Garfagnana, the Tuscan State for once well constituted.

The territories of the Italian States being thus recomposed, in accordance with the natural state of things, and with the customs and the present and future destinies of Italy, the Federal League, leaving to every State its own individuality will promote the political uniformity of all, and will provide, by means of the representatives of all, for the common rights and interests, in order that the Italian nation shall be strong, respected, and happy. Thus we hope that from the League to acquire independence, will spring a confederation to preserve it, and from this, national unity.

This happiness of Italy will contribute to that of Europe, because the good success of the war and the establishment of Italian nationality assures the true political equilibrium, founding it not on artificial states, but on nationalities, thus removing a field and spoil for a conqueror. Therefore we rejoice that whilst, by force of arms, we have repulsed the Emperor of Austria (who alone wages a war contrary to justice and European interests), we have maintained the best relations with all other foreign Powers; you have contracted intimate ones with Spain, and you have even lately recognized the French Republic. Italy has a right to the friendship of all nations, for she offends none, and defends them all in defending herself.

Whilst Tuscany co-operates in the reorganization of Italy and of Europe, it is at last time that she should reorganize her new State, according to her new political principles and to her extended territory. Liberty is to consolidate itself by means of popular institutions, sincerely applied, which can develop themselves according to necessity, as much as the existence of the Monarchical principle permits; for Liberty united to Monarchy is not to give the form only, but the political life, and to prepare the future for the perfection of these institutions. New and entire the political edifice is to rise; the system of government is to be progressive and strong. But strength will not proceed from material engines alone; true force is in public morality and intelligence. Therefore the Government will prefer all that produces and preserves virtue, elevates the heart, and enlightens the mind.

Religion and education, rewards and punishments, justice and benevolence, every civil institution should be assiduously used to form the soul of the State, without which every constitution, even the most liberal, would be only a variety of corruption.

The police shall be a watch and not an inquisition; an arm of justice, but not a judge. The judicial body will be better constituted when times will permit, in order that it may protect more efficaciously the fortunes, the rights and

duties of all. The army will be the common exercise of the citizens, and not a dangerous sinecure of a few paid individuals; public offices will be a productive school and not an unproductive profession. Thus public order will spring from the spontaneous respect paid to morals and to the law. The civic guard, valiantly organized and armed, will maintain that order; and as during the past it has already gloriously saved the country, so will it in the future steadfastly defend it. Thus the vivifying spirit of a virtuous, generous, and wise Administration will animate every portion of the Government and of the people; for if the times can not suffer despotism, they must render themselves worthy of liberty.

You are deservedly the founder and head of the new State, for, by your sincerity of heart and your former wishes, you belonged not to the old times; and you urged on, with all your might, these prodigious events. We shall therefore accompany and assist you in this new road, in this new system, in this new life. We shall give our attention to the laws on education, to the Penal Code, to the regulation for prisons, to the measures for the protection of infants, for the schools of mechanics, and for the care of liberated convicts.

It is urgent to reorganise the taxes, to examine minutely the public expenditure, and to make the Administration the first school of useful expenditure and of wise economy; which reforms we hope to inaugurate by the abolition of the lottery, condemned both by morality and by public opinion, wishing anxiously for the day when it will be possible to abolish or diminish other burdens which press on the people.

We anxiously look for the accounts and the estimates for 1849, in order to commence also in that matter a better system, and to publish each year how the public money has been employed, and the state of the Treasury. Then the national debt being known and regulated, the expenditure being retrenched, the pay of officials being permanently established, pensions settled with justice and equity, the revenue wisely increased, and accounts perfected, then the administration of the public money will no longer be a vortex of mystery.

Justly have you recommended to us the regulation of the communes, to which must be united that of departments. By a wide application of the elective principle we shall establish the true government of the country.

Together with the law on military enrolment, we must consult on all the other laws relative to the army; for the armament necessary for victory in war prevents also degeneration in time of peace.

We must no longer delay the Civil Code, and those relative to Civil and Penal Procedure. We must proceed with the laws for the enfranchisement of lands and rents belonging to corporations and the church, and for removing all feudal charges on landed property. Neither must we delay the laws on the responsibility of Ministers and on offences committed by all officials, because morality cannot be restored nor the Administration be respected, if scandalous offences should remain concealed, unpunished, or inadequately punished.

These are the most pressing things to be done, for it were vain to try to enumerate, one by one, all the laws which must be passed, when, though there are old materials, still the whole legal edifice of the State is to be raised on a design complete and adapted to the times.

Royal Highness, the undertaking is vast and difficult, but duty and necessity require it. Your confidence and that of the people will give us courage and strength; we shall be supported by the fervent desire and will to relieve the suffering, to restore the former glory and prosperity of Tuscany, and to correspond with the great destinies of Italy and with your own example. We also perceive and bless a spirit of life and progress in the fundamental institutions, on which, together with you, we have invoked the testimony and protection of God. And with you we shall courageously guard this principle and make use of it to keep those institutions always in harmony with civilization, which increases and flows so rapidly that already it has outstripped them. In the few days which passed between the drawing up of the Statute and its being put in practice a whole age has intervened,—that of national independence. Let the demands thereof immediately enter into the public right of every State of Italy, which, remaining free in its own circle, but having become a part of a great nation, is exalted by the harmony of a universal system. Let us hasten to render our private statute conformable to the great statute which nationality is quickly preparing, openly and secretly, by uninterrupted and unifying acts,

all portentous and irresistible. Pope Pius IX, between the past and the present, fixed the resurrection of Italy; King Charles Albert, its independence; and do you place a national constitution. The Tuscan Parliament will think itself less unworthy of representing this country, mother and mistress of Italian culture, if it can take a part with you in this work; a far greater one than that which gave instructions to ancient Rome, or than the dispelling of barbarism. For Tuscany will now be the first to organise the State in harmony with the future greatness of regenerated Italy.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke replied to the address in the following words:—

Signori Deputati,

Nothing is more dear to my heart than to see around me the Deputies of Tuscany, and to hear from their honourable President the wishes of the General Council.

Your words, gentlemen, sound to me most grateful, and confirm me in the hope of being assisted by you in the two grand obligations imposed on me by the regeneration of Italy, the war of independence and the reconstitution of the State.

This is the double object I had in view in those words which I pronounced in the midst of you on the solemn day of the inauguration of our Legislative Assemblies. I am happy to know that I am in harmony with you, and that I shall be assisted by your full and certain support in the enterprise of war and peace. Thus we shall satisfy the debt we owe to Tuscany and to Italy. Thus will the nation become independent and the State enriched by liberal institutions.

Gentlemen, the times are difficult, but Tuscany will, I am confident, surmount the crisis, and respond worthily to the present wants of Italy. The thoughts of dividing with you the exercise of power, a most weary burthen in face of God and of men, doubles my courage, because I see that concord ensured, without which nations waste to no purpose the treasures of knowledge and of force.

Gentlemen, these days will be memorable, and history will render an account of all who have conducted public affairs.

Let us be inspired by this solemn moment, and let us all be united to satisfy the onerous duties imposed on us by our country.

I shall always be with you, because I wish to share the lot of my people and to partake in common with them of that future reserved to us by Providence.

No. 115.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 8.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, August 4, 1848.

DURING my interview with M. de Schmerling, his Excellency, in speaking of the successes lately obtained by the Austrian army in Italy, expressed himself as anxious that the Austrians should at once make peace. A continuation of the war would not be looked upon with any favour by the Central Government.

No. 116.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 8.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 7, 1848.

I RECEIVED a visit this morning at 11 o'clock from the Marquis Brignole, who stated that he had received definitive instructions to ask for the immediate entrance of a French army into Italy, and that he had already made the communication to M. Bastide. His Excellency read to me the despatch which had arrived this morning for his guidance. It entered into considerable detail, fixed the number of troops to be required at 50,000, but suggested that 10,000 should also be sent round in a fleet to garrison Venice.

No. 117.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 8.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 7, 1848.

AFTER my interview with the Marquis of Brignole this morning, I called on General Cavaignac.

The General said that nothing could justify him at this moment, when Milan was probably on the point of falling into the possession of the Austrians, in not at once working the telegraph to order a prompt compliance with the demand from Turin, but being able to say openly that there was such a certain prospect of a perfect understanding on the subject between France and England, as gave every chance of a pacific settlement.

The General said that he would do all he could to prevent the single action of France in this matter, which he thought would be a great misfortune, and also a great fault, if she could avoid it.

No. 118.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 8.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 2, 1848.

THE Committee of Public Defence issued many decrees in the course of yesterday, of which I do myself the honour to submit the purport of such as I deem worthy of your Lordship's notice.

1st. A levy in mass of all capable of bearing arms from the age of 18 to 40.

2nd. A system of defence of the city of Milan, which is divided into sections, with a regular service of engineers, artillery, firemen, and ambulances.

3rd. A requisition of all horses for mere luxury.

4th. A requisition of 20,000 sacks of corn to provision the city of Milan.

5th. A requisition of all arms and ammunition in warehouses, shops, and private houses.

The utmost activity prevails in throwing up strong barricades under the superintendence of engineers, in the most exposed parts of the city, and in putting the castle in such state of defence as will offer considerable resistance.

For many miles outside the town the Milanese are breaking up the roads, mining bridges, throwing up barricades, and removing from such places as are intended to be inundated, all moveable agricultural property.

It seems that the inhabitants of Milan, although anticipating the worst, are determined to make a strong and desperate resistance.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 119.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(Extract.)

Franckfort, August 5, 1848.

I HAD an opportunity this morning of speaking to Baron Wessenberg on the subject of the war in Italy, and to ask him on what basis the Austrian Government would now be willing to treat for peace with the King Charles Albert.

Baron Wessenberg said that the Emperor would treat on the basis of the complete independence of Lombardy, and that all that Austria would require would be a just partition of the public debt, and such a frontier as would secure her from future attack on the side of Italy. Upon my pressing him to define this frontier more clearly he rather eluded the question, but at length said that the Adige would be the least that would be accepted. I asked him whether

after all that had taken place, and after the decided repugnance that had been shown throughout the Venetian States to Austrian rule, he really thought it wise or prudent to attempt to retain them; and as it was clear that they could never be held but by military tenure at an expense far exceeding their worth, and with the daily chance of their being lost again, whether it was not better fairly to give them up at once. Baron Wessenberg said that it was a mistake to suppose that a military occupation would be necessary in order to ensure the future allegiance of the Venetian States to Austria. That the expense of a few garrisons, which would be all that was necessary, would be trifling. That the States might have an independent Government, provided they would come to an understanding as to their future financial arrangements, and that they would acknowledge the sovereignty of the House of Austria.

Baron Wessenberg said that Germany would never allow the Emperor to give up a portion of his territory which was absolutely necessary to her defence. The valley of the Adige, he said, runs up into the heart of the Tyrol, and the possession of it was of such vital importance that it would never be relinquished by Austria. He ended by saying "we cannot be satisfied with less than the Adige."

What Baron Wessenberg says with regard to Germany is to a certain degree true. It is supposed in the National Assembly, that if Venice is given up Trieste would be ruined. I have not however heard a voice raised in favour of the retention of Lombardy, and I feel convinced that were Austria insane enough to wish, and powerful enough to make the attempt, to retain it, she would raise such a burst of indignation as would speedily cause her to desist.

I am told that there is some intention of sending a Plenipotentiary on the part of the Central Power to mediate between the contending parties.

No. 120.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 4, 1848.

I AM this moment returned from the head-quarters of His Sardinian Majesty which were established just outside the walls of Milan yesterday forenoon.

I had on the preceding day been received by Field-Marshal Radetzky at his head-quarters at Camairago, on the right bank of the Adda.

On that occasion I stated to the Marshal the object of my visit, which was, if possible, to persuade him to conclude a suspension of hostilities for a given time with the Italian army, in order that time might be given for entering into negotiations for a definitive peace.

I observed to the Marshal the great probability that existed of an armed French intervention in the affairs of Italy taking place, unless means were speedily found to stop the progress of hostilities; and it was clear that such an event offered too many chances of lighting up a general European war. It was because I knew how sincerely anxious Great Britain was to contribute all her influence towards avoiding so serious a calamity for the whole of Europe; and it was also because I felt that England stood in the place of a friend and of an ancient ally towards each of the contending parties, that I had decided upon presenting myself at his head-quarters, in the hope that I might perhaps assist in bringing about an arrangement which I felt certain would meet with the sanction and approbation of the British Government.

Field-Marshal Radetzky, I regret to say, met my proposal with a restatement of terms which he had offered to His Sardinian Majesty, with the exception now of the military line of the Adda, which, having been passed by the Austrian troops, was no longer possible. The other conditions amounted in fact to the re-establishment of all territorial questions at the point at which they stood at the commencement of the war.

In reply I stated to the Marshal that I should report to His Sardinian Majesty the tenor of his answer, but that I had no power to offer an opinion upon such terms.

I should remark to your Lordship that both Field-Marshal Radetzky and Lieutenant-General Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who assisted at our conference

by desire of the Marshal, received my observations with regard to an armed French intervention in the affairs of Italy by the assurance that they foresaw as well as myself the consequences likely to result from it, but they were prepared, and ready to accept of them, should they unfortunately be realized.

On my return to the head-quarters of His Sardinian Majesty, which were on Tuesday last at Lodi, I repeated to His Majesty the details of my interview with the Marshal.

His Majesty was pleased to thank me in most gracious terms for the interest I had taken in his behalf; but he announced to me his intention, now that my endeavours to obtain a suspension of hostilities had failed, to take up a position in front of Milan and to protect that town as long as he was able.

The Sardinian forces concentrated about Milan amount, I was told, to between 40,000 to 45,000 men with 110 guns; those of the Austrians under Field-Marshal Radetzky, to about 55,000 men and 148 guns.

I have not time now to add other details connected with my late mission, but I will do so at the earliest safe opportunity that I can.

The French Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, M. de Reiset, arrived at Milan yesterday, when he saw King Charles Albert.

M. de Reiset told me that he had come with the intention of uniting his influence with mine in obtaining a suspension of hostilities, and expressed his regret that he had not arrived in time. He remains for the present at Milan.

I hear by report since my return to Turin, that last night the Sardinian Government decided in Council to apply for French troops, upon the understanding that they are not to pass through Switzerland, but to enter Piedmont by way of Pignerol.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 121.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday the Central Provisional Government of Lombardy ceased to exist, it being superseded by a Council of State, at the head of which General Olivieri is placed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 122.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 8, 1848.

UPON the receipt of your Lordship's instructions this morning, I proceeded with M. Bastide to General Cavaignac, and communicated to him the terms of the proposed mediation which I was now officially authorized to discuss with him.

I found upon all points a frank disposition to overlook any minor difficulties, and to concur in your Lordship's manner of executing our common objects. In discussing the details of boundary, the General, in examining the map, said he did not see why the variations, small as they were, had been proposed from the former boundaries on that map. I said I guessed it was in order to make the proposal as nearly as possible identic with that of which M. Hummelauer had been the bearer, and therefore to avert unnecessary objections in that quarter.

The General said he was satisfied with the important point, which was the distribution of the two fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera on one side, and of Verona and Legnago on the other.

The General agreed to adopt your Lordship's proposals and to send them at the same time to their Agents at Turin and at Innspruck.

The English and French couriers will start this evening for Turin and Innspruck.

No. 123. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 9, 1848.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 8th instant, reporting the result of your communications with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide, relative to the terms of the proposed mediation of Great Britain and France between Austria and Surdinia.

With regard to that part of the arrangement proposing a more direct line of boundary between Lombardy and Venice than the existing line between those two provinces, I have to state to your Excellency that the only reason for making that proposal was that as much interval of space as possible might be left between each of the four fortresses and the boundary line; but the precise course of that boundary might best be settled with reference to topographical circumstances, provided always that, as General Cavaignac observes, Mantua and Peschiera are left on one side, and Verona and Legnago on the other.

It would probably be desirable, however, that the line of position about Somma Campagna, &c., should be on the Lombardy side of the frontier.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 124.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 9.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, August 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith in original and translation, the last report of Marshal Radetzky, dated Gazzoldo, July 29th, by which your Lordship will perceive that the conditions under which Marshal Radetzky had offered to consent to an armistice on the 27th had not been accepted by the King of Sardinia, and that the Piedmontese army, having abandoned their strong position at Goito on the Mincio, had retreated behind the Oglio.

It is currently reported here, though no mention is made of it in the inclosed report, that the Marshal had replied to a second request of the King of Sardinia on the 28th for an armistice, that unless the Piedmontese army evacuated Lombardy, and the King consented to indemnify Austria for the expenses of the war (the sum of four millions sterling is said to be the amount demanded), he would not grant it. I cannot however answer for the truth of this report, though it is probable that every new success will make the conditions imposed by Marshal Radetzky more onerous.

The military chest of the King of Sardinia and his campaign plate are also stated to have been captured at Custozza.

The brigade of General Strassoldo is advancing on Brescia, to the north of the Marshal's line of operations, in pursuit of the Piedmontese corps under the orders of the Duke of Genoa, and all accounts seem to show that the Piedmontese army is in full retreat.

Inclosure in No. 124.

Extract from the evening "Vienna Gazette" of August 2, 1848.

ACCORDING to a report from Field-Marshal Radetzky, dated Gazzoldo, July 29th, which the War Minister has just received by estatette, King Charles Albert had not accepted the conditions which had been offered to him for the conclusion of an armistice.

The Field-Marshal had in consequence continued the pursuit of the enemy with four corps d'armée, and had reached the Oglio, the enemy having on the night of the 27th to 28th, abandoned Goito and taken up a position behind the above-mentioned river.

The 1st corps d'armée reached Casal Romana, and the 2nd corps Canetto, on the 29th. The advanced posts of both were on the Oglio; the reserve was at Aquanegra. The 4th was advancing from Mantua to Marcara.

No. 125.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 1, 1848.

YOUR Lordship will have heard from more immediate sources, of the defeat of the Piedmontese troops in Lombardy and of their retreat upon Goito.

The news of these disasters afforded a pretence to some of the lowest and most ill-disposed of the Florentine population to create serious disturbances in the city on the morning of the 30th ultimo. Although they were not of long duration, yet great alarm was caused in consequence.

The mob, who were assembled in the Piazza Gran Duca, were harangued by three individuals known to the police as thieves and vagabonds; one was a liberated felon. They ascended the steps of the Palazzo Vecchio, the seat of Government as it may be called in Florence, as within its walls are comprised all the offices of State as well as the halls of Assembly of the Senate and Council General. From thence they had the audacity to declare that the dynasty of Lorraine had ceased to reign, and that a Provisional Government would be named.

Order was restored in the course of the day, but I am sorry to say that the civic guard had little merit in this result, as it was with great difficulty they could be got together and prevailed upon to act with any energy.

The Grand Duke arrived in Florence in the afternoon from Pisa, and yesterday issued the proclamation which I have the honour to forward your Lordship in original and translation.

An extraordinary sitting of the Council General took place early yesterday morning, in which a law for the mobilisation of 6000 civic guards, to be augmented to 10,000, was carried unanimously. Previously, however, to the announcement of this law, the Ministry informed the Council General that they had resigned their respective offices into the hands of the Grand Duke, but would continue to transact the affairs of the State until His Royal Highness had appointed their successors.

The Tuscan Government have been informed that during the late conflict near Goito, a Modenese regiment of dragoons prepared to charge the Austrians, but in an instant they turned round and fired a volley into the Piedmontese ranks. A Piedmontese General rode up to the colonel of this regiment and shot him through the head. The General was afterwards killed.

I think it right to add that the Grand Duke stated yesterday evening, that this and other details sent from the camp were not always to be relied upon, but that no doubt whatever existed of the general disaffection of the Modenese troops.

The Grand Duke, in passing through Florence yesterday evening, was very well received by the people.

Inclosure in No. 125.

Proclamation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Fiorentini e Militi della Guardia Civica!

SE l'ordine e la concordia sono sempre fonte di prosperità per gli Stati, divengono nei momenti difficili elemento indispensabile per assicurare la comune salvezza.

La tranquillità pubblica fu gravemente compromessa in Firenze nel decorso giorno per opera di alcuni perturbatori che in gran parte non appartengono nemmeno a questa città, e che manifestavano l'intenzione di rovesciare l'attuale ordinamento politico del paese, e di avvolgere la Toscana nei disastri che sono sempre la conseguenza delle commozioni violente.

Al mio animo, già contristato dai recenti casi della guerra nazionale

accrebbe dolore l'annuncio di turbolenze così deplorabili. Per prevenirne la rinnovazione, mi volgo con piena fiducia alla saviezza della buona popolazione di Firenze, che saprà non lasciarsi trascinare dall' esempio di pochi traviati, non meno che allo zelo ed alla provata lealtà della nostra brava milizia cittadina, alla di cui testa sarò sempre pronto a mettermi per garentire alla società la conservazione del più prezioso dei beni, l'ordine pubblico.

Firenze, 31 Luglio, 1848.

LEOPOLDO.

*Il Presidente del Consiglio de' Ministri, Ministro Segretario
di Stato pel Dipartimento dell' Interno,
C. RIDOLFI.*

(Translation.)

Florentines, and Soldiers of the Civic Guard.

IF order and concord are always the origin of prosperity in a State, they become, in moments of difficulty, an indispensable element of common safety. The public tranquillity was yesterday seriously compromised in Florence by means of a few rioters, who for the most part are not even natives of this city, but who manifested an intention of overthrowing the actual form of existing Government, and of involving Tuscany in the disasters which are always the consequence of violent commotions.

My mind, already deeply suffering from the recent accounts of the national war, was doubly grieved at the announcement of such deplorable disturbances. To prevent the renewal of such like attempts, I rely with the greatest faith on the discernment of the good population of Florence, who will not allow itself to be led astray by the example of a few misguided individuals, as well as on the zeal and proved loyalty of our brave citizen soldiers, at the head of whom I shall always be willing to place myself, in order to guarantee to society the preservation of that most precious of blessings, public order.

(Signed)

LEOPOLDO.

*The President of the Council of Ministers, Secretary
of State for the Interior,
C. RIDOLFI.*

No. 126.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 9, 1848, 3 P.M.

M. BASTIDE mentioned to me this morning that a telegraphic despatch had arrived, announcing the capitulation of Milan.

He stated that the terms seemed to be fair, and he did not anticipate that that fact need have an injurious effect upon the course of our negotiations, as it made at least an armistice "de fait," as there was nothing more to fight about, unless the Austrians really intended to cross the Piedmontese frontier.

But M. Bastide has just come to me in the tribune in the Chamber, and has announced the very serious fact that the Austrians had entered the Legations and were in full march upon Bologna.

M. Bastide of course could say no more in a crowded tribune than request me, as soon as the discussion was over, to meet him at General Cavaignac's.

One cannot help fearing that, in consequence of this entirely unexpected turn of events, the French may feel themselves obliged to take a step in advance and to cross the frontier which they have been invited to pass.

I shall of course do my best to avert any hasty decision. I shall represent first, that it is impossible even to discuss a matter upon a telegraphic message, which we have seen in so many cases to have been erroneous; that one must ascertain whether the Austrians have been invited from Rome, in consequence of disturbances, to pass the frontier—an improbable supposition, but one that would alter the character of the move.

Of one thing we are sure, that it cannot, from the natural difficulty of time, have been a step authorized by the Austrian Government, with whom we have agreed to treat.

No. 127.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 9, 1848, half-past 5 P.M.

SINCE writing my other despatch of this date I have seen General Cavaignac, and he has shown me the telegraphic message they had received reporting the entrance of the Austrians into the Legations, stating that they were within four miles of Bologna, and that there existed great consternation in Tuscany. The despatch was dated Florence the 5th.

I remarked to the General that it was perhaps singular that what was known at Florence on the 5th of events on the north of Bologna, should not be known at Turin at the date of his last advices, but I did not insist much upon this point except as an additional reason for caution. I found the General quite willing to take no step without due consultation; but he said that if this fact were confirmed, the whole character of the question was changed, as Austria had no more right at Bologna than at Lyons. I said that it seemed to me that, as we were already in negotiation with Austria, a representation should be made at the seat of Government to know whether this act of his Generals had the Emperor's authority.

No. 128.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, August 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a bulletin published this day containing a report from Marshal Radetzky which arrived here last night, but too late for me to send by post an account of it to your Lordship.

Part of the deputation from the Diet at Vienna arrived here this morning and the rest are expected immediately. Your Lordship will have been informed of the proceedings at Vienna, and the demand made for the return of the Emperor to the capital. I will acquaint you as soon as possible with the decision of His Imperial Majesty, and I am inclined to think it will be to send the Archduke Francis Charles with full powers.

I cannot satisfy myself of the truth of various reports respecting the feelings of the provinces about the Diet, and the proceedings at Vienna. They are often contradictory. I have the best authority for the accounts of the feelings of the army in Italy, which are stated to be unanimous against the Viennese.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

P.S.—I have just heard that it was stated by some of the Diet that the return of the Emperor to Vienna is necessary in order to the establishment of a real responsibility, which cannot, as they assert, be had whilst he is absent.

P.

Inclosure in No. 128.

Bulletin of the Army of Italy.

(Translation.)

THE following reports have been received by estafette from Marshal Radetzky, commanding the army in Italy, relative to the rapid and bold advance of the army, and happy results of the pursuit of the enemy.

Head-quarters of Cicognolo, near Cremona, July 30.

After the Battle of Custozza on the 26th July, I passed the Mincio with my army in two columns.

The second corps d'armée occupied the heights of Volta, the first and reserve corps stood in the neighbourhood of that place at Monzambano and Pozzolengo.

On the evening of the 26th, and early on the 27th, as I have already reported, the second corps fought two bloody but brilliant engagements at Volta, in which the enemy, who probably wished to cover his retreat by this attack, was every where defeated. On the 28th I marched my army in pursuit of the enemy, and reached the Oglio on the 29th, whilst the enemy withdrew in haste and offered no resistance.

To-day, the 30th July, I have passed the Oglio with my army in two columns, without opposition, the first corps d'armée at Isola Dovarese, the second and the reserve at Canetto.

I have at the same time caused the 4th corps to move from Marcaria by Bozzolo as far as Solarolo.

The three first corps have taken up a position two miles on this side of Cremona, at Gadesco and St. Ambrogio.

Cremona will be attacked to-morrow.

(Signed)

RADETZKY, *Field-Marshal*.

Head-quarters at Sesto, five miles beyond Cremona, July 31.

Early this day, on the approach of my troops, the town of Cremona, which the enemy had quitted in the course of the night, and withdrawn over the Adda to Pizzighettone, surrendered without resistance, through the medium of a deputation sent to me. I left there a brigade of the reserve as garrison, and am now marching with all my four corps d'armée to the Adda, which I may perhaps cross to-morrow, if the enemy offer no great resistance.

The country-people met us on the road with cries of "I nostri liberatori." But in the towns there exists a bad spirit which must be chastised.

In Cremona we found five guns and captured a great quantity of provisions, besides several waggons of clothing and shoes.

The army continues under its great exertions to be animated with the best spirit, and in spite of the great heat, performs with alacrity the forced marches imposed upon it in pursuit of the enemy.

(Signed)

RADETZKY.

With joy and enthusiasm do I hasten to publish the accounts received from our valiant army in Italy. Their advance resembles a triumph. On the 23rd July the Marshal was at Verona, rather hard-pressed by the blockade of Mantua by the enemy. Hardly eight days later, the Imperial army is on the Adda. Our brave troops have performed prodigies of valour, have carried the before impregnable position of the enemy opposite Verona, won several brilliant engagements and one pitched battle, and are now in the heart of Lombardy. All hail to our brave Field-Marshal and his gallant army! Onwards to the west over the Ticino. Advance into the very capital of the perfidious Sardinian King, plant there the banner of Austria, and dictate such terms as the honour of our army, our righteous cause, and the shameful act of treachery committed against Austria demand.

Innsbruck, August 3, 1848.

The Military Commandant ad interim,
(Signed) ELIATCHEK.

No. 129.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, August 7, 1848.

I HAD this morning the honour of an audience of the Archduke John for the purpose of presenting to His Imperial Highness the letters from the Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Albert, of which I was the bearer. I seized the opportunity of fulfilling that part of your Lordship's instructions of the 29th ultimo, which enjoined me to express the deep interest which Her Majesty's Government took in the welfare of Germany, and the sincere and earnest wish which is formed that the deliberations now going on at Frankfort should lead to results conducive to the prosperity, the happiness, the strength and independence of the German nation. I alluded to the sacrifices which His Imperial Highness must have imposed upon himself in quitting his country, and I said that

both Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government wished him success in the arduous task which he had undertaken.

The Archduke, whom I had had the honour of knowing some years ago, received me with much cordiality, and expressed the satisfaction with which he had heard the assurances I had given him. He said that the difficulties which surrounded him were immense, but that he hoped with the aid of his Ministry (turning to Prince Leiningen, who was present) that he should be enabled to overcome them. There were two external questions, he said, which he was most anxious to terminate, as they menaced the repose both of the north and south of Germany; alluding to the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein and to the north of Italy. With respect to the former he hoped to be able to make such propositions as would be acceptable to the Danish Government, but that public opinion ran so strong here upon this question, that it was necessary to approach it with great caution. With regard to the Italian question His Imperial Highness said that his advice at Vienna had been, and that his opinion still was, that peace should be immediately made, and that Austria should content herself with as little as possible. "I would give up Lombardy," said His Imperial Highness; "I would abandon the Mincio; I would not assist upon keeping either Mantua or Peschiera; but the line of the Adige with Verona is necessary to us, that is, to Germany in general." I observed to His Imperial Highness that, speaking with all due deference in the presence of one of the Austrian Royal Family, I could not help expressing doubts as to whether there was such a chance of the Emperor's recovering the affection of the Venetian States, as would enable him to rule over them in peace. The Archduke replied that if the country was properly governed, there would be no disaffection; that the Venetian should be separated entirely from the other Austrian States, except in respect to military service and to the amount of revenue they were to furnish; and His Imperial Highness seemed to think that there would be no difficulty in settling these two points, or in the arrangement of the amount of the common debt for which Lombardy should become responsible.

I do not trouble your Lordship with any further details of the observations which I ventured to make to the Archduke, either on this or on the Schleswig-Holstein question. It would be a mere repetition of my former despatches on the same subjects.

No. 130.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 5, 1848.

THE information which I forwarded to your Lordship yesterday of the Sardinian Government having sent to Paris to apply for the assistance and entrance of French troops into Italy is confirmed.

The application however has been coupled with certain conditions, namely:—

That the force to be sent shall be composed of only 30,000 men, to be placed under the orders and direction of His Sardinian Majesty, and of 10,000 men to be dispatched to Venice.

That these corps shall be formed of regular troops, and that neither volunteers nor soldiers of the foreign legions shall be admitted into their ranks; and the desire has been expressed that General Oudinot should, if possible, be placed at the head of the French force about to enter Italy.

Whilst writing the above despatch, information has been brought by the Duc Melzi, who left Milan yesterday at 4 o'clock p.m., that the sound of a cannonade was then heard in the vicinity of the town.

No. 131.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 6, 1848.

WHEN the Chamber of Deputies passed the recent vote of confidence in His Sardinian Majesty, previous to the termination of the session, forty-one Members of the Chamber abstained from voting, some few of them for

conscientious constitutional reasons, the rest (the majority of the number, and comprehending the most ardent partisans of the Genoese faction) because they would not contribute towards passing a direct vote of want of confidence upon the newly-formed Administration.

Special Government Commissioners having now been appointed over the provinces, in imitation of the system lately adopted in France, several of those Members of the Chamber who had declined to vote on the question of the vote of confidence have been selected to fill these situations; and they have been furnished with the following instructions and powers:

1. To dispose of the public money.
2. To dispose of the armed force, inclusive of the Carabineers (or gendarmes).
3. To dismiss officers, civil, military, and of the civic guard.
4. To appoint others in their places, according to their pleasure.
5. To exercise watch over the clergy and all citizens in general; and
6. Power to arrest anybody who may be suspected.

No. 132.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 7, 1848.

THE communications between Milan and Novara having been interrupted by the presence of Austrian troops at San Pietro d'Olmo, the first post station on the road from Milan to Turin, much alarm was yesterday created throughout this capital, in consequence of the various reports that were in circulation, and the impossibility that existed of verifying their correctness.

The report to which the greatest degree of credence was given, and in which feeling the Government also participated, was that there had been fighting under the walls of Milan, that His Sardinian Majesty had conferred with the Milanese upon the propriety of obtaining a capitulation from Marshal Radetzky; that the Milanese had declined that proposition, beseeching His Majesty not to abandon them; and that upon receiving that reply, His Sardinian Majesty had declared his intention to remain amongst them and to share their fate.

Another report was to the effect that negotiations for a capitulation had been carried on to a certain extent between His Sardinian Majesty and Marshal Radetzky, and that the latter had agreed to grant certain facilities for the Milanese to retire with the Sardinian troops, but that His Sardinian Majesty had most unfortunately broken off these negotiations at the desire of the Milanese.

About mid-day yesterday I received the joint visits of the Marquis Pareto and the Abbé Gioberti, who came to me at the desire of the Council of Ministers to represent the critical state of affairs, and the fears that were entertained of His Sardinian Majesty's safety and of that of the Dukes of Savoy and of Genoa.

They stated that the Council proposed to send a deputation to the King's head-quarters for the purpose of seeing how matters stood and of advising upon the measures to be taken in consequence; and that they had come to me in the name of the Council to inquire whether I would accompany the deputation, and by my presence help to obtain for it a safe-conduct from the Marshal.

The Marquis Pareto at the same time put into my hands to read, two despatches from the Marquis Brignole at Paris, dated 1st and 2nd instant, in which the Sardinian Ambassador reports his conversations with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide, with reference to French armed intervention in Italy, if positively applied for by the Sardinian Government.

From these despatches I learn that the overtures upon this subject made by the Marquis Brignole and the Marquis Albert Ricci, who had arrived at Paris, had been received with some degree of hesitation by the French Government; but notwithstanding the Marquis Brignole asserts, in one of these despatches, his belief that the principle of French armed intervention in

Italian affairs, if positively demanded on the part of the Sardinian Government, will be agreed to.

After reading these documents I replied to the Marquis Pareto and his colleague as follows.

I repeated to him the terms of Marshal Radetzky's answer to me in our interview at his head-quarters, namely, that upon His Sardinian Majesty retiring with his troops within his ancient frontiers, upon his evacuating all the territory beyond that line which he had occupied, and upon his retiring from Peschiera and Venice, he was ready to conclude an armistice for the purpose of affording time for the negotiation of a definitive peace; but that it was impossible for him to arrest the course of his military operations except upon those conditions.

I then renewed to the Marquis Pareto the expression of what in my own opinion was the only course left open for His Sardinian Majesty to adopt, which was to accept immediately of the terms offered by Field-Marshal Radetzky, and thus at least put a stop to active hostilities; but I distinctly told the Marquis Pareto and the Abbé Gioberti that the opinion I had expressed was simply my own, and could not in any way be considered as the official expression of the advice of Her Majesty's Government, for they must be fully aware that I could have no instructions for the case actually under discussion.

I added that such a course would at once, as it seemed to me, avoid the necessity for a French armed intervention, and it would at the same time save this country from being overrun by Austrian troops; from having the military positions of this country occupied by the Austrians; and from having the theatre of war transferred from Lombardy to the plains of Piedmont.

I then said that if the Council of Ministers declared their readiness in writing to advise His Majesty to adopt this course, I was ready to accompany the deputation to the armies, and to assist, as far as was in my power, towards the conclusion of an armistice; but that to proceed there to submit to the Marshal less favourable terms for the Austrians than those which he had already proposed, was useless, and I must decline to undertake such a mission.

The Marquis Pareto and the Abbé Gioberti then left me, saying that they would report our conversation to their colleagues, and that they would inform me of the decision which they had come to upon the subject.

A couple of hours later I received from the Marquis Pareto a note, copy of which I herewith inclose.

I immediately waited upon His Serene Highness the Prince of Carignan, to whom I repeated all that had occurred at my conference with the Marquis Pareto and the Abbé Gioberti.

I discussed with His Highness the terms which Marshal Radetzky had proposed, and the expediency of His Sardinian Majesty accepting them and of his returning to his own dominions. I begged His Highness clearly to understand that I was ready to render every assistance in my power to endeavour to extricate His Sardinian Majesty from the critical position in which he had unfortunately placed himself; but that to do so with success I required assurances that the Members of the Cabinet were cordially acting with me, and that it was for that reason that I stipulated for a written declaration of the terms which were to be offered to the Marshal, and which, if approved of by me, I was willing to assist them in obtaining.

I added also, that should His Highness think that my presence near His Sardinian Majesty, independently of the deputation, could be of any use, I was ready to make the attempt to penetrate to His Majesty's head-quarters.

The Prince closed our conversation by telling me that he would again call together the Council of Ministers and urge upon them the arguments I had used, and that the decision of the Council would be communicated to me.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock last night I received a second letter from the Marquis Pareto, copy of which I herewith inclose, and which of course at once rendered it unnecessary for me to think further of returning to His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters.

Inclosure 1 in No 132.

The Marquis Pareto to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellence,

Turin, ce 5 Août, 1848.

APRES vous avoir quitté, j'ai été raconter au Conseil la conversation que nous avons eue ensemble. Le Conseil a été très flatté des bonnes dispositions que vous vouliez montrer à notre égard, mais étant absolument dans l'obscurité des circonstances et de la position du Roi, il n'a pu décider sur quelles bases il serait convenable de proposer de traiter. Il se bornerait donc à vous prier de vouloir bien procurer les moyens pour qu'une députation puisse se rendre auprès de Sa Majesté, et pour obtenir cela il voulait vous prier de vouloir bien accompagner cette députation. Je suis venu exprès chez vous pour vous adresser cette prière et en même temps pour vous faire savoir que Son Altesse Impériale désirait vous voir afin de vous demander la même faveur. Ne sachant pas à quelle heure vous rentreriez, j'ai pris le parti de vous laisser ces deux mots, en vous priant de vouloir bien satisfaire au désir de Son Altesse qui désire vous voir aussitôt que vous pourrez.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Turin, August 5, 1848.

AFTER having left you, I reported to the Council the conversation which we had together. The Council was much flattered by the kind dispositions which you were kind enough to evince towards us, but being entirely in the dark as to the circumstances and the position of the King, it was unable to decide on what bases it would be expedient to propose to treat. It would therefore confine itself to entreating you to have the goodness to find means to enable a deputation to present itself to His Majesty, and to effect that, it was desirous to beg you to be kind enough to accompany such deputation. I have called upon you on purpose to prefer this request, and at the same time to acquaint you that His Imperial Highness was desirous to see you, in order to ask the same favour of you. Not knowing at what hour you will return, I have determined to leave you these few lines, and to beg you to have the goodness to comply with the request of His Highness, who is anxious to see you as soon as possible.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) L. N. PARETO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 132.

The Marquis Pareto to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellence,

Turin, 6 Août, 1848.

LE Conseil vous doit une réponse à l'égard de la proposition que nous vous avons soumise de vouloir bien procurer à une députation qui devait se porter à Milan, un sauf-conduit pour remplir sa mission. Comme le Conseil ne pourrait guère souscrire aux conditions que vous croyiez seules acceptables, on est venu à la résolution de renoncer à l'envoi de cette députation. Le Conseil me charge donc de vous présenter ses plus sincères remerciemens pour les bonnes dispositions que vous aviez à cet égard, et moi j'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 6, 1848.

THE Council owes you an answer in regard to the proposition which we had made to you to procure for the deputation which was about to proceed to Milan, a safe-conduct to enable it to fulfil its mission. As the Council could scarcely consent to the conditions which you considered to be alone acceptable, they resolved to give up sending this deputation. The Council directs me therefore to offer you their sincerest thanks for the good disposition which you had shown in this respect, and I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) L. N. PARETO.

No. 133.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 7, 1848.

THE accounts received this morning from the army are as follows:—

That a capitulation had been offered to His Sardinian Majesty by Marshal Radetzky, granting forty-eight hours for the evacuation of Milan by the Piedmontese troops; and that His Sardinian Majesty had obtained from the Marshal for the Milanese their lives and property; but some reserve appears to have been made by Marshal Radetzky with reference to some of the principal authors of the insurrection against Austria.

His Sardinian Majesty and his sons the Dukes of Savoy and of Genoa are at present at Novara.

His Majesty was induced to enter the town of Milan in order to place himself at the head of the national guards; but he had no sooner done so than the Milanese intimated to him their intention of keeping him and his two sons as hostages for their own safety; and it would seem that it was owing to the Chevalier de La Marmora, who was let down from a window of the house occupied by the King, and who was thus enabled to give the alarm to a regiment of the Piedmontese Guards and a corps of riflemen, that they succeeded in escorting His Sardinian Majesty and his two sons from the Palace, to which the Milanese had threatened to set fire.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Genoa offered to remain himself as a hostage in the hands of the Milanese, provided the King was allowed to depart, but happily this proposal was not accepted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 134.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Innsbruck, August 4, 1848.

THE inclosed bulletin will inform your Lordship of the late military events in Lombardy.

The reports already communicated to your Lordship of the great satisfaction with which the farmers and peasants of the Milanese have seen the return of the Austrians, are confirmed. Many men belonging to those classes say that they have been deceived, and robbed for some months past of more property than in any former time during many years; and they are happy to see their protectors. It is not said that these people affect to have a taste for the Germans; it is the material interest, not sentiment, that is expressed by them.

The cities are said to have shown the same disposition.

The great success of the Imperial arms is likely to have an immense influence upon the internal affairs of the empire. It is not probable that the army will permit the Viennese to coerce the Emperor, if they should attempt it, as some people say they will do.

Inclosure in No. 134.

Bulletin from the Army of Italy.

FIELD-MARSHAL Count Radetzky has published the following report, dated August the 1st, from his head-quarters of Formigara on the Adda, which has been conveyed hither by Lieutenant Count Crenneville, who has just returned as courier from the army.

My valiant and indefatigable army crossed the Adda at noon this day with the 4th corps at Crotta d'Adda, and with the 1st, 2nd, and reserve corps at Formigara, dispersed the enemy's forces on the right bank, and surrounded Pizzighettone on both sides, upon which the enemy blew up the bridge and abandoned the place, which was forthwith occupied by us.

By all accounts the enemy appears to be in full retreat, partly towards Piacenza, and partly towards Pavia.

I shall therefore advance to-morrow with the 4th corps as far as the Po opposite Piacenza, with the 1st and 2nd corps on the road to Pavia as far as the Lannbro, and place the reserve at Casala Pusterlengo, to support the 4th corps.

I have sent a reconnoitring party on the road to Pavia, whose report I expect to receive about 3 A.M.

If the enemy should retire beyond the Ticino at Pavia, and then beyond the Po at Mezzana Corti, and thus quit the Lombard territory with his army, I should then commence my march northwards by Melegnano to Milan.

(Signed) RADETZKY.

Innsbruck, August 4, 1848.

ELIATCHEK,

Military Commandant ad interim.

No. 135.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 10, 1848.

I INCLOSE to your Lordship the copy of a note from M. Bastide giving the substance of our conference on the subject of the joint mediation in the affairs of the north of Italy, to which I have at once replied in the form desired. Your Lordship will observe that the conditions are in all respects substantially the same as the instructions contained in your Lordship's note to me.

Inclosure in No. 135.

M. Bastide to the Marquis of Normanby.

Paris, le 10 Août, 1848.

LE Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Française, à la suite des communications verbales qui ont eu lieu entre lui et son Excellence Lord Normanby, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande à Paris, croit devoir résumer dans la présente note les bases de la médiation commune que la France et l'Angleterre, également animées du désir d'arrêter l'effusion du sang en Italie, ont résolu d'offrir à leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche et le Roi de Sardaigne.

Ces bases dont les Représentans des deux Puissances médiatrices à Vienne et à Turin ont reçu l'ordre de proposer l'acceptation aux Cabinets Autrichien et Sarde, sont les suivantes:—

1. Les hostilités suspendues entre les troupes Sardes et Autrichiennes, les deux armées occupant leurs positions respectives de la manière qui sera déterminée d'après les avis officieux des Représentans des deux Puissances médiatrices.

2. Renonciation formelle de la part de l'Autriche à tout droit de souveraineté sur la Lombardie.

3. La constitution actuelle du Gouvernement du Nord de l'Italie résultant des vœux exprimés par les Lombards est un fait qui est pris pour base de la médiation sans que les deux Puissances entendent rien garantir ultérieurement au traité de paix qui est le but de la médiation.

4. Partage équitable de la dette de l'Autriche entre cette Puissance et la Lombardie.

5. L'Autriche conservera la souveraineté de la Vénétie, qui sera constituée comme l'est aujourd'hui la Hongrie, avec un Gouvernement et une administration séparés.

6. Les frontières entre la Lombardie et la Vénétie seront à peu près celles qui les séparent actuellement: Mantoue et Peschiera devant appartenir à la Lombardie, Vérone et Legnago à la Vénétie.

7. Les Duchés de Parme et de Modène seront l'objet d'une convention particulière.

8. Les propriétés privées et personnelles devront être respectées; celles de ces propriétés qui auront été sequestrées ou confisquées seront restituées.

Une amnistie pleine et entière sera garantie de part et d'autre à l'égard de tous actes politiques commis durant les derniers événements.

Le but du Soussigné en rappelant ici les propositions qui doivent être faites simultanément au nom de la France et de l'Angleterre, étant de constater l'accord établi entre elles sur le principe et les bases de leur médiation, il prie son Excellence Lord Normanby de vouloir bien répondre à la présente communication par une note semblable ou identique.

(Signé)

JULES BASTIDE.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 10, 1848.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, after the verbal communications which have passed between himself and his Excellency Lord Normanby, Ambassador of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland at Paris, thinks it right to recapitulate in this note the bases of the common mediation which France and England, equally animated with a desire to put a stop to bloodshed in Italy, have resolved to offer to their Majesties the Emperor of Austria and the King of Sardinia.

These bases, the acceptance of which the Representatives of the two mediating Powers at Vienna and Turin, have been instructed to propose to the Austrian and Sardinian Cabinets, are as follows:—

1. Hostilities to be suspended between the Sardinian and Austrian troops, the two armies occupying their respective positions in such manner as shall be determined upon in accordance with the unofficial suggestions of the Representatives of the two mediating Powers.

2. The formal renunciation on the part of Austria of all right of sovereignty over Lombardy.

3. The present constitution of the Government of the North of Italy resulting from the expressed wishes of the Lombards, is a fact which is taken as the basis of the mediation, without the two Powers undertaking to guarantee the treaty of peace which is the object of the mediation.

4. The equitable division of the debt of Austria between that Power and Lombardy.

5. Austria shall retain the sovereignty of the Venetian Provinces, which shall be constituted as Hungary is at present, with a separate Government and Administration.

6. The frontiers between Lombardy and the Venetian Provinces shall be nearly the same as those which separate them at present: Mantua and Peschiera belonging to Lombardy, Verona and Legnago to Venice.

7. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia shall form the object of a special convention.

8. Private and personal property is to be respected; any such property which may have been confiscated or sequestered shall be restored.

A full and entire amnesty shall be guaranteed on both sides for all political acts committed during the late events.

The object of the Undersigned in thus recapitulating the proposals which are to be made simultaneously in the name of France and of England, being to record the agreement established between them as to the principle and the bases of their mediation, he begs his Excellency Lord Normanby to be good enough to reply to the present communication by a similar or identic note.

(Signed)

JULES BASTIDE.

No. 136.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 10, 1848.

I HAVE just returned from the National Assembly, where M. Payet, who had been formerly secretary to M. Lamartine, unexpectedly asked a question on the affairs of Italy. He stated that the events which had rapidly followed each other had been of so serious a character that he felt bound to ask the Government whether they were prepared to take those measures immediately which the honour of France required; that if, as he had heard, Milan was taken, there was not a moment to be lost.

M. Bastide, in reply, said that these events had now for some days occupied the serious attention of the Government, and he was happy to say that in concert with England they had arranged the terms of a mediation which he trusted was likely to lead to the pacification of Italy; under these circumstances he declined to say more.

A M. Beaune, then began by expressing his surprise that M. Payet should have brought forward the question when it had been settled in the Committee for Foreign Affairs, of which he was a member, that nothing should be said about it. He then proceeded to say that he could not be satisfied with the explanation of M. Bastide. What they wanted was not the pacification of Italy but its enfranchisement.

M. Bastide said that in his view of the question the one included the other.

The "Bien Public" has also within the last few days been doing all in its power to urge the Government to a warlike course.

No. 137.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 11, 1848.

I SAW for the first time this morning in the French papers the proclamation of General Welden on entering the Legations.

This proclamation seems not only to adopt the former pretensions of Austria in the days of the Holy Alliance as to control over the rest of Italy, but definitely alludes to the first occupation of the Papal territory as a parallel case.

M. Bastide called on me shortly after I had read this document, and adverted at once to it, saying that this was a completely new feature in the case. It was impossible that France could submit to such an invasion of the Papal territory; indeed that the Pope had already applied to them for assistance.

I replied that if this proclamation was genuine, and if the pretensions there set forth were adopted by the Government of Austria, the case would thereby be very much altered, but I hoped he would recollect that, though this did not immediately belong to the subject of our mediation, yet the Italian question was necessarily connected in all its branches, and as the French Government had undertaken with us the part of mediators, I thought it important that they should not in a hurry take any step which might affect their action in that character.

Inclosure in No. 137.

Proclamation of General Welden on entering the Legations.—(From the "Constitutionnel" of August 11, 1848.)

JE passe le Pô pour la seconde fois avec mes troupes, pour disperser les bandes qui troublent la paix et l'ordre public. Il y a trente ans, l'Autriche avait conquis les Légations, et les a volontairement restituées à leur Souverain. Si l'Autriche avait eu des intentions de conquête, elle aurait, de plein droit, retenu

depuis trente ans les Légations en sa possession ; mais ces intentions conquérantes, elle ne les avait pas alors, comme elle ne les a pas aujourd'hui.

Elle veut seulement protéger les habitans paisibles et maintenir leur Gouvernement dans la possession des droits souverains qui lui sont disputés par une faction. Il est temps de mettre un terme aux désordres de ceux qui, par leur odieux fanatisme, leur soif de domination, leur rage de s'enrichir, ont formé un parti toujours remuant qui étend sur votre pays la guerre et la misère. Le Saint-Père a déclaré à plusieurs reprises qu'il ne voulait pas de guerre ; néanmoins les troupes Papales et les Suisses à la solde du Pape se sont battues contre l'Autriche. Vaincus près de Trévisé et de Vicence, ils se sont engagés à ne pas prendre les armes contre l'Empire pendant trois mois. Malheur à eux s'ils manquent à leurs obligations ! J'ai leurs noms inscrits, et s'ils tombent entre mes mains ils recevront la peine qu'ils méritent.

Mes opérations sont dirigées contre les bandes qui se donnent le nom de Croisés (Crociati), contre les factieux qui, à la honte de leur Gouvernement, s'efforcent d'égarer le peuple et de lui inculquer une haine stupide et injuste envers une Puissance toujours amie. Malheur à ceux qui resteront sourds à ma voix et oseront me résister ! Jetez les yeux sur les ruines fumantes de Sermide. Cette localité a été détruite, parceque les habitans ont fait feu sur mes soldats.

(Translation.)

I CROSS the Po for the second time with my troops, to disperse the bands which trouble public peace and order. Thirty years ago, Austria had made the conquest of these Legations, and voluntarily restored them to their Sovereign. If Austria had entertained intentions of conquest, she might with perfect justice have retained the Legations for the last thirty years in her possession ; but she had no such intentions of conquest then, as she has no such intentions now.

She merely wishes to protect the peaceful inhabitants and to maintain their Government in the possession of the sovereign rights which are called in question by a faction. It is time to put an end to the disorder of those who by their hateful fanaticism, their thirst of domination, their lust of riches, have formed a party always in agitation, which spreads war and misery over your country. The Holy Father has declared at various times that he did not wish for war ; nevertheless the Papal troops and the Swiss in the pay of the Pope have fought against Austria. Defeated near Treviso and Vicenza, they bound themselves not to take up arms against the empire for three months. Woe to them if they fail in their engagements ! I have their names written down, and if they fall into my hands they shall receive the punishment which they deserve.

My operations are directed against the bands which have taken the name of Crusaders, against the factious men, who, to the shame of their Government, endeavour to mislead the people and to inculcate in them a stupid and unjust hatred for a Power which has always been friendly to them. Woe to those who remain deaf to my voice and who dare to resist me ! Cast your eyes over the smoking ruins of Sermida ! That place was destroyed because its inhabitants fired upon my soldiers.

No. 138.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 11, 1848.

WITH reference to the note of M. Bastide which I sent home yesterday, I have the honour to inclose a copy of the note which I addressed in reply to M. Bastide.

Inclosure in No. 138.

The Marquis of Normanby to M. Bastide.

Paris, August 11, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., in consequence of the verbal communications which have taken place between him and his Excellency M. Bastide, has the honour to address to his Excellency the present note, stating the terms of joint mediation which England and France, animated by a desire to prevent the further effusion of blood in Italy, have agreed to offer to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria and His Majesty the King of Sardinia.

These terms which the Representatives of the two mediating Powers at Vienna and at Turin have been instructed to propose to the Austrian and Sardinian Cabinets, are as follows:—

1. That an immediate suspension of hostilities should take place between the Austrian and the Italian troops, the forces on each side retaining during the armistice such position as might be mutually agreed upon through the good offices of the Agents of the two mediating Powers.

2. That Austria should formally renounce all right of sovereignty over Lombardy.

3. The present constitution of the North of Italy being the result of the decision formerly come to by the Lombards, is a fact which is taken as the basis of the mediation, without its being understood that the two Powers guarantee anything subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty of peace which is the object of the mediation.

4. That Lombardy should take upon herself such portion of the aggregate debt of the Austrian Empire as might appear, according to fair proportions, to belong to her, upon her separation from the rest of that empire.

5. Austria shall retain the sovereignty of her Venetian provinces, which shall be constituted, as Hungary is at the present day, with a separate Government and Administration.

6. That the line of boundary between Lombardy and the Venetian State, to be hereafter precisely defined, should be that which is understood to have been the division between those provinces while forming part of the Austrian Empire, leaving Peschiera and Mantua to Lombardy, and Verona and Legnago to the Venetian Province.

7. That the Duchies of Parma and Modena shall be the subject of a separate arrangement.

8. Private and personal property in Lombardy and the Venetian State should be respected, and any such property which may have been sequestered or confiscated, should be restored; and a full amnesty should be granted on both sides in regard to all political acts during the late events.

In enumerating in the present note the proposals which are to be made simultaneously in the name of England and France, the desire of the Undersigned is thus to record the understanding which exists between them as to the principles upon which their mediation is founded.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 139.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatches to that of the 11th instant inclusive.

With reference to your despatch of yesterday's date, I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language which you held to M. Bastide and the representation which you made to him

as reported in that despatch, relative to the entrance of the Austrian troops into the Papal territory and to the proclamation issued by General Welden on that occasion.

Her Majesty's Government have not as yet received any direct information as to the entrance of Austrian troops into the Legations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 140.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 10th instant, inclosing a copy of a note which your Excellency had received from M. Bastide, giving a summary of the conference which your Excellency and M. Bastide had held together on the subject of the joint mediation of Great Britain and France in the affairs of Northern Italy.

I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of your having presented a similar note to M. Bastide, in compliance with his request to that effect.

No. 141.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 4, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that between 2 and 3 o'clock this day, the Austrian army made an attack on Porta Romana, just outside of which His Majesty Charles Albert had his head-quarters. At 4 o'clock, M. Reiset, the French Chargé d'Affaires, accompanied by the Duke of Dino, Aide-de-camp to His Majesty Charles Albert, M. Bréton, the French Vice-Consul (the French Consul being absent on a special mission), and myself, left my residence with the intention of waiting on His Majesty Charles Albert, to request him to furnish us with an escort, so that we might proceed to the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Radetzky with a flag of truce, in order to entreat that time might be allowed for the foreign subjects of the different nations residing in Lombardy to leave Milan. We were not fortunate enough to find His Majesty; but on General Antonini, whom we met, informing us that the Austrians had retired, and as it was getting rather late, we returned to the city. The General assured us, as well as the Duke of Dino, that he would acquaint His Majesty with the object of our mission, and that every facility would be afforded us, should we deem it necessary to proceed at a future period to the Austrian head-quarters.

I must inform your Lordship that before 3 o'clock strong barricades had been erected in every quarter of the city; at 2 o'clock the tocsin sounded, it being the preconcerted signal to erect them.

I further have the honour to inform your Lordship that the result of the action before Porta Romana being unfavourable to the Piedmontese troops, the King withdrew the whole of the army to the bastions that surround Milan, or to the fields immediately under them. His Majesty at the same time removed his head-quarters to the castle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 142.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have opened my house, and procured the use of all the apartments in the same building for the service of such British subjects as claim the protection of Her Majesty's flag.

I believe that nearly all the British persons, whether resident or visitors, now in Milan, have the benefit of that protection.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 143.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at 12 o'clock last night I was called upon again by M. Reiset, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Turin, and the Duke of Dino, who requested me to accompany them on a second visit to the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Radetzky, for the purpose of renewing our application for time to protect the persons and property of our and other nationals.

We were joined by two Generals of His Majesty Charles Albert, namely, General Rossi and General Lazzeri; but it was distinctly understood by us and by them, that our mission had no common accord, and we refused to associate ourselves directly or indirectly with any propositions which they had to make on behalf of His Majesty the King to Field-Marshal Radetzky.

We were fired at several times by the Austrian patrols, in consequence of night signals not being understood. At three miles distance we fell in with General d'Aspre, and about six miles from Milan we found the head-quarters of the Field-Marshal. The Generals bearing propositions from His Majesty were first admitted to the presence of the Marshal, and, on their retiring, after an interview of two hours, the French Chargé d'Affaires and myself had the honour to be received by the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces.

M. Reiset having taken the lead, informed the Field-Marshal that we asked for an armistice of forty-eight hours; to which the Field Marshal replied with some surprise, "What! an armistice! why they have capitulated." "If such be the case," we answered, "our mission is at an end," and we accordingly withdrew. On our return to Milan at 6 o'clock this morning, we went to the residence of His Majesty to ascertain whether or not a capitulation had been signed. We could get no decided answer; but we understood from the Generals Rossi and Lazzeri that the basis of the capitulation had been drawn up, but that it was not yet concluded.

Finding that a messenger was proceeding with His Majesty's answer to the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Radetzky, we addressed the inclosed letter to his Excellency, with instructions not to deliver it in case the capitulation was agreed to. An answer to those despatches not having yet reached Milan, we are up to the hour of post uncertain whether the capitulation has actually taken place or not.

A rumour generally prevails in the city, that a capitulation has been signed, that the Piedmontese army is about to retire beyond the Tessin, and so much excitement prevails among the people that it is possible great disorders may occur.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 143.

M. Reiset and Vice-Consul Campbell to Marshal Radetzky.

M. le Maréchal,

M. REISET, Chargé d'Affaires de France, et Mr. Robert Campbell, Vice-Consul d'Angleterre, ont l'honneur de vous demander, au nom de tous les Consuls résidant à Milan, quarante-huit heures d'armistice, afin qu'ils puissent faire sortir de la ville tous leurs nationaux. Ils demandent encore à M. le Maréchal Radetzky de vouloir bien fournir un sauf-conduit jusqu'à la frontière Suisse.

MM. les Consuls étrangers à Milan mettent sous la sauvegarde de M. le Maréchal Radetzky toutes les propriétés appartenant à leurs nationaux et les chancelleries des Gouvernemens étrangers.

MM. Reiset et Campbell ont l'honneur de joindre la liste des noms des Consuls résidant à Milan, et en même temps d'assurer son Excellence de leur haute considération.

(Signé)

REISET.

R. CAMPBELL.

(Translation.)

M. le Maréchal,

M. REISET, Chargé d'Affaires of France, and Mr. Robert Campbell, Vice-Consul of England, have the honour to ask of you, in the name of all the Consuls resident at Milan, a forty-eight hours' armistice, in order that they may effect the departure of their countrymen from the city. They also beg Marshal Radetzky to be good enough to furnish them with a safe-conduct as far as the Swiss frontier.

The Foreign Consuls at Milan place under Marshal Radetzky's protection all property belonging to their countrymen, and the Consular offices of foreign Governments.

Messieurs Reiset and Campbell have the honour to inclose a list of the names of the Consuls resident at Milan, and at the same time to assure his Excellency of their high consideration.

(Signed)

REISET.

R. CAMPBELL.

No. 144.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 7, 1848.

A REPORT has just reached me that M. Casati, President of the Council of Ministers, accompanied by the Abbé Gioberti, were about to proceed to meet the King, for the purpose of laying at His Majesty's feet the resignations of the Ministers.

I am informed that the Cabinet have come to the above determination from the feeling that the present tendency of public opinion in this country was against the continuation of the war, and that as they came into office representing a war policy, it was no longer possible for them to continue to conduct the affairs of the State.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 145.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 13.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 8, 1848.

COUNT Revel and M. Merlo, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, left Turin for the army last night, in order to engage the King to abdicate.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. ABERCROMBY.

No. 146.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 2, 1848.

THE Grand Duke of Tuscany having been informed that the King of Sardinia had sent for Mr. Abercromby to the camp to mediate between him and the Austrians, he earnestly requested me to write to Mr. Abercromby to represent to him the difficult position he would find himself in here, should there be any question of a resumption by their former possessors, of Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, &c., which had voluntarily annexed themselves to his dominions. The Grand Duke repudiates all ideas of being personally desirous of an enlargement of his former territory, but he dreads the effect that a loss of these newly acquired additions to Tuscany may have upon his people, and that they may think their expenditure of blood and treasure has met with no reward.

In compliance with His Royal Highness' wishes I have written to Mr. Abercromby. The Grand Duke relies, as usual, on the friendly assistance of Great Britain, should it be in her power to aid him in the present conjuncture.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 147.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 2, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome, giving me the information that Count Mamiani had announced to the Council of Deputies that the present Ministers would, with some slight changes, continue in the direction of public affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

P.S.—It appears that although the Pope will not declare war against Austria, he gives permission to send men and arms to the King of Sardinia, by treaty to be made to that effect.

G. B. H.

Inclosure in No. 147.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, July 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that Count Mamiani, the Minister of the Interior, yesterday announced to the Council of Deputies that the Ministerial crisis had ceased; that the present Ministers would, with some slight changes, continue in the direction of public affairs, and assume the full responsibility of their acts; that the Ministry, bent on a truly national and Italian policy, moreover declared that the Sovereign had granted it full powers to defend the State by every means; to closely unite and ally itself with other Italian Sovereigns for common defence, and that hence the first care of the Ministry would be to accomplish and publish the League, and conclude with Charles Albert a treaty to the effect "that whilst he defends as best he can our frontiers with his troops, we on our part will co-operate in his undertaking with what assistance of men and arms it will be possible for us to send."

His Holiness still refuses to declare war openly, but you will observe that

the above announcement of the Minister differs widely from the sentiments expressed by His Holiness in his answer and subsequent remarks to the President of the Council of Deputies, as reported in my last despatch, and which were strictly limited to the right of self-defence within the frontiers.

No. 148.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August, 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith Mr. Petre's despatch dated Rome, 2nd August.

It appears that the Council of Deputies voted on the 1st instant an address to His Holiness on the state of affairs in the north of Italy, and declared itself "en permanence" till an answer should be returned.

Mr. Petre subjoins a translation of the address. The Deputies profess the most unbounded loyalty to the Church and the Pope. They declare it is impossible that the independence of one Italian State can be secure if the whole of Italy be not independent. They beseech the Pope to trust in the representatives of the people. They deem it necessary to call to arms a sufficient number of volunteers, to place on active service the civic guards, to engage a foreign legion under the banners of the Church, and to fill the treasury by extraordinary means. They end by beseeching the Pope to save Italy and the Italian army from ruin. His Holiness answered that questions of such importance required mature consideration; that the address should be communicated to the "Alto Consiglio;" that the engagement of a foreign legion could not be done extempore; and that he wholly confided in the Council and in the good sense of the people.

Inclosure in No. 148.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, August 2, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Council of Deputies yesterday voted an address to be presented to His Holiness on the present state of affairs in the north of Italy, and moreover declared itself "en permanence" until an answer was returned.

The following is a translation of the address:

"Most Holy Father!

"In the difficulties of our country, the Council of Deputies has recourse to your Holiness, in whose name Italy rose in defence of its right of nationality, consecrated by those divine words which you addressed to the powerful (Sovereign), who is ill-resolved to establish his domination solely by the sword.

"The independence of one Italian State cannot be made secure if the whole of Italy be not independent. It is a question now with us, to be or not to be Italians; with you, Prince, to govern a free people, or to bow with us to the foreigner; with you, Pontiff, to defend the property of the Church, of which you are the venerable head. The Council of Deputies is resolved resolutely to defend to the last extremity all the rights of the Church, of the people, of the nation. O, Holy Father! place trust, place trust in the representatives of your people, elected by that law which you yourself have sanctioned; trust in our religion; in the love we bear you, which is itself a religion; succour us, succour Italy in the name of God. We consider it necessary to call to arms a sufficient number of volunteers; to place on active service the civic guards; to conduct under the banners of your Holiness a foreign legion; to fill the treasury of the State by extraordinary means. We are resolved on every sacrifice, because we are resolutely bent on saving for you the State and glory, independence

for Italy, the honour of all. And we are bent on saving, likewise for you, the State from intestine disorders, and from the unhappy ruin which threatens it, if we direct not to good the popular enthusiasm, and if you, with your authority, do not strengthen ours.

“Alas! give ear, O, Holy Father, to the voice of your devoted children. Alas! allow not that, under the reign of Pius IX, the memory of the disaster of an Italian army weigh on our conscience as a remorse.”

His Holiness received this address late at night. His Holiness answered verbally, that questions of such importance had need of serious and mature deliberation; that it would be necessary, in order to proceed regularly, that the address should be communicated to the “Alto Consiglio;” adding that the greatest captain of our times never sent young but veteran soldiers to war; and hence his triumphs; that he was not averse to the taking into pay of a foreign legion, but such things could not be done extempore, and that he wholly confided in the Council and on the good sense of the people to consider maturely, and to provide in this urgency as they thought best.

A collection of people, not very large, and chiefly of the lower classes, was waiting in the square before the Palace, and rudely demanded from the deputation the answer of the Sovereign. On hearing it, insulting cries were directed against the President Sereni, but the crowd, after much clamour and shout of death to various persons, and “Viva Canino!” “Charles Bonaparte!” attempted in vain to excite a riot in the streets, and then dispersed.

The President Sereni this morning gave up his seat as Deputy, on account, it is supposed, of the above insulting cries, and has I understand left Rome.

Count Mamiani has again resigned and is now no longer Minister. The whole Ministry is indeed, I believe, broken up.

Some additional precautions have been taken by the Minister of Police, and the town is quiet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 149.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 14, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 7th instant, reporting the communications which you had held with the Marquis Pareto and His Serene Highness the Prince of Carignan, with reference to the terms of an armistice between the Austrian and Sardinian armies, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued by you on this occasion, and to say that you judged rightly in declining to go to Marshal Radetzky's headquarters, unless you were authorized to make such proposals as you had reason to think the Marshal would accept.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 150.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that as I closed my despatch yesterday, great excitement prevailed among the people, in consequence of its being ascertained by them that the negotiations for a capitulation were on foot. I am sorry to say that this excitement immediately after broke out into acts insulting and dangerous to the person of His Majesty Charles Albert. About that time several of the royal carriages having taken the Turin road, and a body of cavalry having moved in the said direction, the people rushed to the Palace Greppi, in the Corsia del Giardino, where His Majesty had resided latterly, and

took the horses from four or five carriages which were preparing to depart, and overturned them on the spot, at the same time exclaiming, "Death to Charles Albert! we are betrayed!" and other similar expressions. Except in the immediate vicinity of the Palace Greppi the people for a short time seemed paralyzed; but between half-past 1 and 2 o'clock, on a report being circulated that the terms of the capitulation had been refused by His Majesty, the tocsin sounded in every quarter, when the national guards and other armed citizens rushed to their posts at the barricades, with the intention of defending the city to the last. At about 4 o'clock, the following addresses were put up in different parts of the city:—

"We two, who have remained at our post, hearing certain vague rumours respecting a capitulation said to compromise the honour of the Italians and the Milanese in particular, demand instantly that your Majesty will be pleased to give us explanations on this subject." Half an hour afterwards, another address appeared in these words:—"The King has given his word of honour, and offers his life as a guarantee, that he will fight with all his army to the last moment." These addresses were signed by Pompeo Litta and Ab. Anelli, members of the Provisional Government.

No confidence was placed in the promise of the King; the tocsin then ceased to ring; the people retired to their houses; and in many parts they began removing the barricades; and by sunset sufficient space was left in the principal thoroughfares for carriages to pass. About this time the Archbishop of Milan, accompanied by Signor Bassi, proceeded to the Austrian head-quarters, to advocate the cause of the people with Field-Marshal Radetzky, from which the best results are expected. After dark, great crowds assembled under the windows of His Majesty Charles Albert, using the most opprobrious epithets against him and the other members of his family. The Duke of Genoa came forward to beg they would retire, as His Majesty was not well. Several voices exclaimed, "Better if he were dead;" and others said "As to yourself, you are an impostor." At one period fears were entertained that the life of His Majesty might be attempted, as several shots continued to be fired against the Palace Greppi from time to time, which was provoked by some shots being fired upon the people, who were furious about being kept in ignorance of the terms of the capitulation. About 2 o'clock in the morning, some pieces of artillery were brought to act against the crowd in the Corsia del Giardino, when several discharges were made with blank cartridge, on which the people dispersed, thus enabling His Majesty Charles Albert to escape from Milan. I understand that His Majesty was repeatedly fired at on his way out of the town, and that several of his suite are wounded.

At 6 o'clock, the Piedmontese troops had left the bastions and were proceeding towards Piedmont out of Milan by the Porta Vercellina.

The following address was published this morning:—

"The Congregation of the Municipality of Milan.

"In consequence of the convention concluded between His Majesty Charles Albert and General Radetzky, the latter will occupy Porta Romana at 8 o'clock, and enter the town at 12. There is every reason to hope that the people of Milan will not suffer. All are earnestly requested to remove the barricades, the tricoloured flags, and cockades, as soon as possible.

"(Signed)

BASSI, *Podestà*.

TAVERNA, *Assessor*."

Tricoloured flags and cockades have disappeared, and the barricades are being fast removed. The Archbishop and Signor Bassi are still at Marshal Radetzky's head-quarters. Last night, the Duke Visconti's palace was attacked and plundered by the populace; and at this moment (10 o'clock) they are sacking that of the Duke Litta, and have set fire to the gateway of the Palace Greppi to obtain an entrance for the same purpose. Armed bands of the rabble are in different parts of the town plundering the houses of the rich.

I have the honour to add herewith a copy of the answer from Field-Marshal Radetzky to the letter addressed to him by M. Reiset and myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 150.

Marshal Radetzky to M. Reiset and Vice-Consul Campbell.

Messieurs,

Le 5 Août, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser la prompte rémission de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser. C'est avec bien de regret que je me vois forcé de ne pas accorder l'armistice demandé de quarante-huit heures, qui serait tout au profit de notre ennemi, qui vient de refuser les propositions faites de ma part concernant l'évacuation et la reddition de la ville de Milan. Si toutefois vous êtes en état, Messieurs, de faire agréer au Roi la reddition de Milan jusqu'à demain à midi, je prolongerais par égard pour vous, Messieurs, le terme de la sortie, ainsi que celle des compromis de vos compatriotes, jusqu'à demain au soir. En tout cas je vous prie de croire, Messieurs, que tant les personnes que les propriétés de vos compatriotes seront entièrement respectées. Pour ce qui a rapport au sauf-conduit, veuillez bien de suite m'envoyer vos passeports spéciaux pour les contresigner.

(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,

August 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the delivery of the letter which you were pleased to address to me. It is with much regret that I feel myself compelled not to grant the required armistice of forty-eight hours, which would be altogether for the advantage of our enemy who has refused the proposals made by me for the evacuation and surrender of the city of Milan. If however you are in a situation, gentlemen, to prevail on the King to agree to the surrender of Milan by to-morrow at noon, I would, out of regard for you, gentlemen, consent to defer till to-morrow evening the hour of evacuation, as likewise that of the departure of your countrymen who may be compromised. Under any circumstances I beg you to feel assured, gentlemen, that the persons as well as the property of your countrymen will be entirely respected. As regards the safe-conduct, will you be good enough to send me at once your special passports that I may countersign them.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

No. 151.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information a copy of the original and the translation of the Convention concluded on the part of His Majesty Charles Albert and Field-Marshal Radetzky, for the surrender of the city of Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 151.

Convention for the Surrender of Milan.

ARTICOLO I.

LA città sarà risparmiata.

ARTICOLO II.

Per ciò che dipende da sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo, promette di avere, per riguardo al passato, tutti i riguardi che l'equità esige.

ARTICOLO III.

Il movimento dell' armata Sarda si farà in due giorni di tappa, com' era già convenuto coi Generali Sardi.

ARTICOLO IV.

Sua Eccellenza accorda a tutti quelli che vogliono sortire dalla città, la libera sortita per la strada di Magenta, fino domani sera alle otto.

ARTICOLO V.

All' incontro il Maresciallo da sua parte domanda l'occupazione militare di Porta Romana alle otto del mattino, e l'entrata dell' armata ed occupazione della città a mezzogiorno.

ARTICOLO VI.

Il trasporto degli ammalati e feriti si farà nei due giorni di tappa.

ARTICOLO VII.

Tutte queste condizioni hanno bisogno di essere accettate da parte di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna.

ARTICOLO VIII.

Sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo domanda la liberazione immediata di tutti i Generali, ufficiali ed impiegati Austriaci che si trovano in Milano.

S. Donato, 5 Agosto, 1848.

(Sottoscritti) HESS,
Tenente-Maresciallo Quartier-Maestro dell' Armata.

PAOLO BASSI,
Podestà di Milano.

SALASCO,
Luogotenente-Generale e Capo dello Stato Maggiore.

(Translation.)

ARTICLE I.

THE city shall be spared.

ARTICLE II.

His Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky promises, as far as depends on him, to have that consideration for the past that equity may require.

ARTICLE III.

The departure of the Piedmontese army shall be made in marches of two days, as has already been agreed upon with the Piedmontese Generals.

ARTICLE IV.

His Excellency grants till to-morrow at eight o'clock in the evening free egress from the city by the Magenta road to all who wish to leave it.

ARTICLE V.

Field-Marshal Radetzky, on his part, demands the military occupation of the Porta Romana at eight o'clock in the morning, and the entry of the army and occupation of the town at twelve.

ARTICLE VI.

The removal of the sick and wounded shall be effected in the two days' march.

ARTICLE VII.

All these conditions must be accepted on the part of His Majesty the King of Sardinia.

ARTICLE VIII.

His Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky demands the immediate liberation of all the Austrian Generals, officers, and functionaries, now in Milan.

St. Donato, August 5, 1848.

(Signed) HESS,
Lieutenant-Marshal and Quarter-Master of the Army.
PAOLO BASSI,
Podestà of Milan.
SALASCO,
Lieutenant-General and Chief of the Staff.

No. 152.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austrian army under the command of Field-Marshal Radetzky entered the city of Milan yesterday. The most perfect order prevailed during the long defile of the troops, who appeared in the finest order, and not an offensive word was offered by the people. Your Lordship may consider this city to be now under the Imperial civil and military authority. The Piedmontese troops retired during the night and early in the morning on the road to Turin, and the national guard protected the houses of the principal nobility during the interval, by orders of the Podestà, Signor Bassi.

I have further the honour to inform your Lordship that the city of Milan is declared in a state of siege, as appears from a proclamation published last night, of which the following is the translation:—

“The undersigned, Field-Marshal, gives notice that he has assumed, till further orders, the military and civil government of the provinces of Lombardy. He warns all the inhabitants of the same to pay perfect obedience to the orders that he may think fit to issue. The refractory will be punished by martial law.

“The city of Milan is declared in a state of siege.

“His Highness Lieutenant-Marshal Prince Felix Schwarzenberg is named military governor of the city of Milan.

“Milan, August 6, 1848.

(Signed) RADETZKY.”

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 153.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 9, 1848.

SO many requests have been addressed to me that I should again return to the King's head-quarters, where it is thought my presence may in the present crisis be of use, that I have decided to go there this evening.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 154.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August, 9, 1848.

MESSRS. Casati and Gioberti returned to Turin this morning from Vigevano, where they had left His Sardinian Majesty.

These gentlemen have executed the commission with which they were charged to place their own as well as the resignations of their colleagues in His Majesty's hands, and I have been informed that His Majesty has accepted of them.

Count Revel and M. Merlo had not arrived at His Majesty's head-quarters when Count Casati and his colleague quitted them, but they would arrive there a short time afterwards.

There is now a hope that His Sardinian Majesty will select a Ministry disposed to support a pacific line of policy, and that by their efforts a sufficiently long suspension of hostilities may be obtained from Field-Marshal Radetzky to enable Sardinia to communicate with her allies, to allow Her Majesty's Government and that of France, if willing to co-operate together, to interpose their united good offices with the Cabinet of Vienna in favour of Sardinian interests, and to avoid the necessity of a French armed intervention in the affairs of Italy.

The accomplishment of these objects is, it appears to me, so urgent, that everything else ought to give way to them, for they involve, almost beyond a doubt, the question of peace or war for Europe.

I shall therefore lose no opportunity of urging to the utmost the adoption of measures calculated to bring them about, and I shall not hesitate to state these opinions in whatever quarters I may think it useful that they should be known.

No. 155.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, August 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the bulletin, with its translation, which Marshal Radetzky has issued from his head-quarters at Lodi, dated August 3rd.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 155.

Bulletin.

(Translation.)

FIELD-MARSHAL Count Radetzky makes the following report from his head-quarters of Lodi, dated the 3rd August, 6 P.M., respecting the progress and operations of the army:

PART 3.

T

Yesterday, at midnight, I already received intelligence from the 1st and 2nd corps, that after some skirmishing at the advanced posts they had advanced to within half an hour of Lodi; the darkness of the night alone prevented them from marching to the very walls of the town.

The enemy abandoned the town during the night, and it sent a deputation to me to tender its submission, whereupon I took possession of the city this morning at 10 A.M.

I sent forward the 1st and 2nd corps to the Lambro, half-way between this and Malegnano, where they are at present encamped at Tavazzano and Lodi Vecchio.

The reserve and my own head-quarters are at present at Lodi.

The 4th corps, with the exception of the Brigade Benedek, which I have ordered to move opposite to Piacenza, will march to Pavia, where it will arrive to-morrow the 4th August, as the greater part of the remaining forces of King Charles Albert have left the direction of Lodi and returned towards Pavia.

That corps will do its best to pursue the King, occupy Pavia, and defend the frontiers of the Gravelone.

If circumstances, which I cannot foresee, do not compel me to make another movement, I intend to-morrow, the 4th, to advance to Milan, take up my quarters at S. Donato, and push my fore posts to within 2000 paces of Milan.

(Signed) RADETZKY.

The advance of our brave army and the pursuit of the enemy is so rapid and of such happy results, that I may hope in my next bulletin to announce the submission of Milan, the triumphal entry of our victorious troops, and the occupation of that capital.

Innsbruck, August 6, 1848.

(Signed) ELIATCHEK,
Military Commandant ad interim.

No. 156.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, in original and translation, the bulletin published by Field-Marshal Radetzky from his head-quarters of S. Donato, dated August the 4th, 6 P.M.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 156.

Bulletin.

(Translation.)

FIELD-MARSHAL Count Radetzky publishes, from his head-quarters of S. Donato, dated August 4th, 6 P.M., the following details of the last operations of his brave army in Italy:

I left Lodi early on the morning of the 4th, and advanced with three corps d'armée, viz., the 1st, 2nd, and the reserve corps, as far as S. Donato towards Milan.

At S. Donato an engagement took place with the Piedmontese troops, who had taken up a position before Milan.

The 1st corps, however, kept the enemy in check till the brigade of the right wing under command of General Count Olam, could manœuvre against the left of the enemy, and the 2nd corps, marching parallel to the 1st, could engage the right wing of the enemy, upon which the enemy was discomfited and pursued as far as the walls of the city.

The valiant 10th battalion of Chasseurs from the brigade of Count Strassaldo of the 1st corps, who kept the enemy in check, again performed a fresh act of distinguished bravery, the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 6th companies of that battalion having, under Lieutenant Brandt, Jablonsky, Bek, and Brandenstein,

stormed the positions of the enemy on the right and left of the road which was confined on both sides by canals, and advanced far enough to attack from the rear a whole battery of sixteen-pounders, to shoot down the men who attempted to defend themselves, and to make themselves masters of the battery. A division of the Yägers (Chasseurs) brought the battery in triumph to our headquarters. Four officers and 120 men were made prisoners by the Brigade Strassoldo.

I am now waiting for the city of Milan, in which I understand two parties are contending for the mastery, to open its gates to me to-morrow, or to send a deputation.

If neither should take place in the course of the morning, I shall summon the city to surrender at discretion; if not I shall take other measures of hostility.

I have just received intelligence from the 4th corps d'armée, that Pavia has surrendered to that corps by deputation. The enemy had broken the bridge across the Po at Mezzana Corti.

I have thereupon ordered the 4th corps, after leaving a sufficient garrison at Pavia, to march by Abbiategrasso on the road to Magenta, and attack the enemy in the rear; but should the enemy have already crossed the Ticino, then to invest Milan from the western side.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

Innsbruck, August 7, 1848.

(Countersigned) ELIATCHEK,
Military Commandant ad interim.

No. 157.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, August 7, 1848.

THE bulletins from the army will show your Lordship the state of the war in Lombardy. I have only to add that orders have been sent to Marshal Radetzky not to pass the Ticino.

I have reason to believe that the general feeling among the Austrians is, that peace is most desirable for them, if not necessary; but, as I before stated to your Lordship, the same terms will not be acceded to by the victorious party, which would have been agreed to before that success which is now so signal.

The Austrians will consent to the independence of Lombardy, but demand certain pecuniary indemnities; such as part of the debt which would have belonged to Lombardy if not independent, and some portion of the expenses of the war. This to be settled subsequently. They will insist upon the line of the Mincio, and the fortress of Peschiera and Mantua being military positions necessary for Austria. The Austrians will not give up the Venetian Provinces nor Venice.

A confidential person has been or will be immediately sent to Paris to explain to the French Government the situation of Lombardy. The Austrians would prefer the mediation of England, but it must be undertaken on the basis of which I have given an account.

Your Lordship will learn from Paris what has been done there by the Austrians. Nothing up to this moment has been done at Vienna in foreign politics. Baron Wessenberg is still absent; I shall be at Vienna as soon as he will, and I will report to your Lordship without delay.

I take it for granted that your Lordship knows of the existence of a large party in Milan adverse to what the ruling party did during its reign, and that it is supposed the Austrians might, if they liked it, avail themselves of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Baron Wessenberg to Baron Koller.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Koller, August 15.)

M. le Baron,

Francfort, le 9 Août, 1848.

D'IMPORTANTS événemens sont venus modifier la situation des choses sur le théâtre de la guerre en Italie. Le Maréchal Comte Radetzky a repris l'offensive, et à la suite d'une série de combats glorieux pour les armes Autrichiennes, l'armée Piémontaise cherche en ce moment à regagner en toute hâte les frontières du Piémont. Nous espérons que le moment approche, moment appelé de nos vœux les plus ardens, où nous pourrons vouer tous nos efforts à l'œuvre de la pacification.

L'Autriche n'en a appelé de nouveau au sort des armes que contrainte par une nécessité qu'elle déplorait, et qu'elle avait voulu éviter en prenant l'initiative de la pacification. L'Europe connaît les démarches que l'Autriche a faites, même au moment de ses premiers succès, pour y arriver le plus tôt possible; l'Europe connaît les sacrifices que l'Autriche était prête à faire à cet effet. Maintenant que la victoire a couronné d'une manière si éclatante les efforts de son armée, le Gouvernement Autrichien n'en est pas moins animé du désir le plus vif et le plus sincère de concilier les vœux légitimes des habitans de ses provinces Italiennes avec les intérêts de l'ensemble de l'Empire; il n'aspire qu'à leur assurer les bienfaits de la paix, des institutions politiques basées sur la liberté et la nationalité; tel est le problème que nous avons en vue de résoudre; et quelles que soient les difficultés qu'il présente nous ne désespérons pas d'en venir au bout, pourvu que nos intentions bienveillantes et vraiment pacifiques rencontrent une confiance et une modération réciproques.

Persuadés que le Gouvernement Britannique, qui nous a exprimé plus d'une fois les vœux qu'il forme pour le rétablissement de la paix en Italie, ne se refusera pas dans ce moment décisif à user de son influence morale auprès des parties intéressées, pour faciliter le résultat de nos efforts, à cet effet nous nous empressons de lui manifester itérativement les intentions pacifiques dont nous ne cesserons d'être animés. C'est dans ce but que je vous charge de donner communication de cette dépêche à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé)

WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Baron,

Frankfort, August 9, 1848.

IMPORTANT events have occurred to modify the situation of affairs on the theatre of war in Italy. Marshal Count Radetzky has resumed the offensive, and at the close of a series of combats glorious for the arms of Austria, the Piedmontese army is now endeavouring in all haste to regain the frontiers of Piedmont. We trust that the moment is approaching, a moment invoked by our most ardent prayers, in which we may be able to devote all our efforts to the work of pacification.

Austria did not again appeal to the chance of arms till constrained to do so by a necessity which she deplored, and which she was anxious to avoid by taking the initiative for a pacification. Europe knows the measures which Austria took, even at the time of her first successes, to arrive at such a conclusion as soon as possible; Europe knows the sacrifices which Austria was ready to make for that purpose. Now that victory has in so brilliant a manner crowned the exertions of its army, the Austrian Government is not the less animated with the most lively and sincere desire to conciliate the just wishes of the inhabitants of its Italian provinces with the interests of the Empire at large; it seeks but to secure to them the benefits of peace, political institutions based on liberty and nationality; such is the problem which we are anxious to solve; and whatever difficulties it may present, we do not despair of succeeding, provided that our friendly and sincerely peaceful intentions meet with reciprocal confidence and moderation.

Convinced that the British Government, which has more than once

expressed the desire which it entertains for the re-establishment of peace in Italy, will not refuse at this critical moment to exert its moral influence with the parties interested, in order to facilitate the accomplishment of our endeavours, it is with this view that we repeat the expression of the peaceful intentions by which we shall not cease to be animated. It is for this purpose that I have to instruct you to communicate this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) WESSENBERG.

No. 159.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 9, 1848.

THE town of Turin continues calm and quiet; the orders issued by the Committees of Public Safety and by the other authorities of the country, prohibiting certain irregularities which have been allowed to exist, have been peaceably carried into execution, and prove almost beyond a doubt that had similar measures been adopted at other moments, the result would have been equally successful.

At Genoa, according to the reports I have received, there seems to have been some slight popular excitement, but nothing beyond the control of the authorities, or which a little firmness and discretion will not be easily able to restrain.

The war party have endeavoured to excite as much as possible the feelings of the people to express a desire to continue the contest, but the Marquis Pareto admitted to me yesterday in conversation, that the desire for the prolongation of the war was completely worn out, and that a peace was what was now generally wished for.

At Genoa seven individuals only subscribed their names on the lists opened for the enrolment of volunteers for the army; and thirty at Turin; and some of the extraordinary Commissioners sent by the late Government into the provinces to raise there the public spirit, write that their efforts have been useless.

It is clear therefore that the war can alone be sustained by means of French armed intervention, which it is evidently not for the interests of this country to demand, nor of France, under existing circumstances, lightly to accord; and it is consequently sincerely to be desired that the Governments of Great Britain and of France should, by the seasonable interposition of their good offices and influence, contribute towards the peaceable settlement of the Italian question.

Should Her Majesty's Government alone, or in conjunction with that of France, consent to take upon themselves such a part, it would, I have every reason to believe, be gratefully acknowledged by this country, and it would afford additional evidence of the sincerity of the peaceful intentions of this Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 160.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 9, 1848.

I AM informed to-day that the Piedmontese General Sambuy has again re-entered Modena.

The Austrian General Welden has moved in force into the Legations, and has issued a proclamation declaring that he comes there for the purpose of preserving the country from robberies and depredations,

Your Lordship will probably consider that the above expressions in reality mean, the military occupation of the States of the Church by Austria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 161.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship translation of a convention for the exchange of prisoners, which was published yesterday in the official part of the "Piedmontese Gazette."

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 161.

Convention for the Exchange of Prisoners.

(Translation.)

THIS day, August 8, 1848, was concluded at Milan, a suspension of arms for three days, for the exchange of prisoners, the conditions of which are equally applicable to the Piedmontese army and to the auxiliary troops of Lombardy and of the other States of Italy, and are as follows:—

Field-Marshal Count Radetzky will lose no time in giving the necessary orders for the return into their respective countries, within the shortest possible period, of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Piedmontese army, and of the Tuscan, Roman, Neapolitan, and Lombard auxiliary troops, regular and volunteer, with their allowance in money and rations according to their respective ranks.

The King of Sardinia will on the other hand allow all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Imperial army, taken by his troops or those of his allies, to return to their country, allowing them, in reciprocity with the preceding Article, their allowances in money and rations to the frontier.

No. 162.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 10, 1848, 1 P.M.

I HASTEN to inform your Lordship that I have this moment seen the Marquis Pareto, who informed me that the courier from head-quarters had just arrived; that as he was leaving Vigevano, Count Salasco, chief of the general staff of the army, returned to it from Milan, and that he had sent a verbal communication by the messenger to Government here, that a suspension of hostilities had been concluded with Field-Marshal Radetzky for the term of forty-five days, in order to negotiate for a permanent peace.

The Marquis Pareto told me that the conditions of the armistice had not been sent, and that it was simply a verbal notification of the fact that had been brought by the messenger from the army.

I lose not a moment in sending this important information to Paris by estafette, in order that Her Majesty's Ambassador in that capital may, should he deem it advisable, use his endeavours to prevent the French army from passing the frontiers of His Sardinian Majesty's dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 14.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 11, 1848.

IN my despatch of yesterday I had the honour to inform your Lordship that an armistice for forty-five days had been signed at Milan between Lieutenant-General Count Salasco, chief of the general staff of the Sardinian army, and Lieutenant-General Hess, chief of the staff of Field-Marshal Radetzky, with the view of terminating by negotiation the war that has been carrying on in Lombardy.

Since writing that despatch I have learnt the conditions of the above-mentioned armistice, which are as follows:—

The evacuation of the fortress of Peschiera, the Piedmontese retaining possession of their own “*matériel de guerre*”;—

The evacuation of the fort of Rocca d’Anfo ;

The evacuation of Venice and of the Duchies of Parma and Modena ; the Duchy of Plaisance remaining to Sardinia, with the exception of the town and the military rayon of the fortress, which have to be given up to the Austrians.

A general exchange of prisoners had been agreed to by a previous arrangement.

Your Lordship will observe that the terms of this armistice are conformable to those which Field-Marshal Radetzky told me it was alone possible for him to accept, the single exception being with regard to the territory of the Duchy of Plaisance, to which, as your Lordship is aware, Sardinia has by former treaties certain eventual claims.

The conditions of this armistice have not yet been published, from a fear of their being unpopular, but the fact of the conclusion of the suspension of hostilities for forty-five days was yesterday inserted in the official part of the “*Piedmontese Gazette*.”

It is I think a mistake not at once to have announced the terms of the armistice, and not to have declared openly that they were the only ones which under existing circumstances it had been possible to obtain.

A very short time must place the public in possession of them.

The opportunity is lost of explaining with effect that a suspension of hostilities is a purely military transaction, and that the conditions of a definitive treaty of peace are not consequently compromised by it.

The state of Ministerial interregnum in which we are at present placed is unfortunate ; the retiring Government refuse to take any measures tending towards a pacific line of policy, and there is nobody as yet in a condition to act in that sense in the name of a new Administration.

Much valuable time is thus lost in making the preparations for commencing negotiations.

Your Lordship will perhaps permit me to express my opinion that it will not be desirable that the negotiation for peace should be carried on directly between Sardinia and Austria.

I could perceive when at the Austrian head-quarters that there existed a degree of personal animosity against the King that would render direct negotiations between him and the Cabinet of Vienna difficult and doubtful ; whereas were they to be conducted with Austria by a mediating Power or Powers on behalf of Sardinia, there would be a better prospect of obtaining for this country a good and satisfactory peace.

This is generally felt to be the case by all parties in this country, and I feel that I shall not be misleading your Lordship when I say that the mediation of Her Majesty’s Government is anxiously desired by the Piedmontese nation ; and your Lordship will know how far it may be possible, should our mediation be asked, to engage the French Government in a co-operation upon this question, and to secure the many advantages that would be obtained by the participation of the Government of France in a pacific intervention in the affairs of Northern Italy in conjunction with Her Majesty’s Government.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 11, 1848.

IN another despatch of this date I have reported to you the terms of the Armistice that has been concluded between the Sardinian and Austrian armies.

It was clear, even before the affair of Milan, that unless the Sardinian troops were enabled to gain sufficient time to recover from the effects of fatigue and hunger, and to restore confidence in their ranks, it would be impossible for them to offer any effectual resistance to the advance of the Austrian army; but when, owing to the conduct of the Milanese, His Sardinian Majesty was forced to agree to the capitulation of Milan, and to retire behind the Tessin, no doubt any longer existed in the minds of those who had opportunities of seeing and judging of the condition of the Sardinian army, that either a suspension of hostilities must be obtained, or that an armed French intervention must take place.

To this latter alternative His Sardinian Majesty was however personally opposed.

The force of public opinion, however, expressed to him through various channels; the conviction that his own troops were unable to resist any hostile attack that might be directed against them; the proximity of the Austrian army; the certainty that a considerable time must elapse before a French army could arrive in position upon the Tessin, which period Field-Marshal Radetzky, unless stopped by the conclusion of an armistice, might employ in overrunning Piedmont, in possessing himself of the military positions of this country, and in preparing to fight the French army within the dominions of His Sardinian Majesty, and in rendering those dominions as long as possible the theatre of war, all these considerations taken together, have no doubt obliged His Sardinian Majesty to conclude the armistice that has just been signed, and which placed him in open opposition with the Ministers whose resignations he has just accepted.

It was therefore not merely an act of policy, but one of necessity, to conclude the above-mentioned armistice, even on what might be perhaps considered by a portion of the Piedmontese public to be hard terms, but which were the only terms which could be obtained, rather than expose the country to what must be considered to be greater evils,—foreign occupation, and the probable overthrow of the constitutional monarchy.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 11, 1848.

YOUR Lordship's despatch of July 28 followed me to Milan, where I received it, just as I was on the point of returning to Turin.

The instructions which it contained with regard to Lieutenant Campbell were then no longer applicable, and the events that have followed upon the capitulation of Milan have done away with the necessity of employing that gentleman as had been directed.

The Sardinian army has certainly suffered severely from fatigue, from four months' constant bivouac, and from want of food.

The soldiers and officers have displayed throughout the greatest bravery and enthusiasm for the service, and when engaged with the enemy, have given proof that the military spirit of the Piedmontese, which has for ages been always remarkable, had not by any means diminished in the present generation.

In all the actions fought during the campaign the infantry and artillery were the two arms generally engaged, and by universal consent the Piedmontese artillery distinguished themselves for the excellent service of their guns and the boldness of their manœuvres.

Amongst the infantry where the conduct of the regiments has been exemplary, the Brigade of Savoy, the Brigade of Guards, and that of Aosta, particularly distinguished themselves.

The whole of the infantry has however suffered severely, and disorganization to a considerable extent has taken place since the commencement of the retreat.

Complaints were made that the men were harassed with unnecessary marches and countermarches; that sufficient care was not taken to secure supplies for the troops; that the military combinations were ill-devised, and that advantage was not taken of the various successes which the valour of the troops had gained over their opponents.

These opinions, receiving support from the manner in which the Chambers publicly criticised the operations of the war and the conduct of commanding officers of corps, have led to military discipline being much weakened in the army, and to much discouragement amongst the troops.

The cavalry have been comparatively little engaged and little exposed, they have consequently suffered considerably less than the infantry, and the men and horses of those regiments which I saw when lately at head-quarters were both in good working condition.

The same may be said also of the artillery horses and of those belonging to the ammunition-waggons, waggon-train, &c.

There is but one opinion throughout the army, and that a most highly honourable and favourable one, with regard to His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy.

Besides proofs of personal coolness and courage when under fire, which His Royal Highness repeatedly gave, his conduct and bearing towards the troops under his command have gained him the attachment of the soldiers. They found in him an intelligent and cool leader, one who was ready to reward good conduct by encouragement and commendation, and that which above all other things ensures the devotion of the soldier, the sympathy of his commander when suffering privation, and the certainty that his leader is anxiously and actively employed in securing for him those necessities and comforts which a state of warfare admits of.

As to the exact numbers at the present moment of the Sardinian army I cannot venture to form an opinion, many having returned to their homes.

Now, however, that an armistice has taken place, the attention of commanding officers will naturally be directed towards a thorough reorganization of the army and towards rendering it again effective.

No. 166.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 11, 1848.

CONSIDERABLE difficulty I am afraid is likely to arise in the way of forming a new Cabinet.

I have heard that Count Revel since his return the day before yesterday from His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters has received a letter from His Majesty directing him to form a new Government. The Count has in consequence applied to various individuals for their co-operation in a new Cabinet, but his endeavours have not been over successful.

Two parties are at present at work to obtain an influence in the country; both are however I believe in inferior numbers.

The two parties are, 1st. The retrograde Aristocratical party. 2nd. The ultra-Radical and Revolutionary party.

The first would gladly, if possible, return to the ancient system, and turn to profit in that sense the blow which the national cause of Italy has just received by the reverses which have befallen the Sardinian arms; the second, equally profiting by the same reverses, would derive from them an irresistible argument that the war must be maintained at any cost, that the entrance of a French army into Italy was no longer to be delayed, and that unless Italy suc

ceeded in driving out the Austrians by force of arms, and at any price or risks, she would be for ever dishonoured.

I have no belief that the retrograde party will be able to do much, though it may probably be active and influential enough to call down upon itself the disapprobation and violence of the opposite faction, and to place persons and property belonging to the retrograde and aristocratical party in great danger; but it is possible, unless a strong and well-constituted Government can be formed of the middle and Constitutional party in this country, that the ultra Radical and Revolutionary party may cause some trouble and confusion.

The formation of an Administration composed of men known to be sincerely attached to and promoters of a Constitutional form of Government, is particularly necessary at the present moment, and it should comprise men acceptable to the country on the ground of their political principles, yet free from revolutionary tendencies.

Whoever comes now into office on true constitutional and monarchical principles will have an arduous and perhaps perilous task to perform, for he will have to combat the two extreme parties above mentioned.

No. 167.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 11, 1848.

I HAVE learnt from a source on which I can rely, that on the armistice being concluded with Field-Marshal Radetzky, His Sardinian Majesty at once sent orders to his Ministers at Turin to forward notice of the fact to the Government of the French Republic, desiring them at the same time to take the proper measures to stop the advance of the French troops across the frontiers of his dominions.

The Government returned for answer to His Sardinian Majesty, that, disapproving of such a measure, they could not comply with His Majesty's wishes, and they therefore requested that if His Sardinian Majesty persisted in his presented intention, he would at all events communicate them at Paris through some other channel.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to know what course His Sardinian Majesty has followed upon receiving the above communication from his Ministers; but it is right that your Lordship should know that if a delay has occurred in requesting that the French army should not cross the frontiers of this kingdom, it has not been occasioned by His Sardinian Majesty.

No. 168.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copies of reports which I have received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Genoa, relative to the state of public feeling in that town.

Inclosure 1 in No. 168.

Vice-Consul Barchi to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellency,

Genoa, August 8, 1848.

THIS morning at about half-past 4 o'clock, the drum was beat in all the streets; the national guard was called out. This alarm is caused from the intelligence brought in the evening, and confirmed after the arrival of the mail from Turin, that the Austrians entered Milan, it is said by capitulation, but the terms are unknown to the public.

The word "treachery" is unfortunately spread amongst the low class. The Porto Franco and many shops are kept closed; some companies of the national guard have been sent to the forts; they are disarming Castelletto, people wish to see it levelled to the ground. Measures are taken to preserve order, but we have no sufficient power, if the national guard do not act with energy in case of need.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BARCHI.

P.S.—This moment, at the theatre door, a flag is out to form a mob to go to the Governor's to request arms for the people.

A. G. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 168.

Vice-Consul Barchi to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellency,

Genoa, August 9, 1848.

YESTERDAY a committee, composed of the Lieutenant-Governor Regis, Giorgio Doria, and Avvocato Bidio, was formed for the purpose of preserving tranquillity, and as no confidence can be placed in all the reports, the said committee has sent Thomas Spinola and Avvocato Federici to Turin, who have to send by estafette the real facts.

Many of the inhabitants, and even a great number of the national guard, are for proclaiming the Republic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BARCHI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 168.

Vice-Consul Barchi to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellency,

Genoa, August 10, 1848.

THE town is tranquil, though many people appear in a state of agitation; they are busy in continuing to disarm Castelletto; and the national guard are in the outward forts, in conjunction with the soldiers. Yesterday afternoon there was a row at the Palazzo Tursi. The mob cried "Down with Balbi!"

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. BARCHI.

No. 169.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 6, 1848.

GREAT consternation prevailed in Florence yesterday morning in consequence of the news having been received from Bologna, that General Welden had entered the Legations with his army, and was advancing on Bologna at the head of 4000 men. The inclosed proclamation from the General to the inhabitants of the Legations, which I have this moment received, contains his reasons for entering the Legations, and states that the chief object of the invasion is to disperse the bands of malefactors who do not cease to disturb public order, and in defiance of the wishes of their own Government excite and mislead the harmless population by spreading lies and calumnies against a nation which has always been friendly to them.

In the course of the day I received intimations from the Tuscan Government of the alarm that prevailed in the city, lest the Austrian army should advance upon it, and of their own embarrassment how to act in so momentous a crisis. I need not trouble your Lordship with all the details connected with this state of things, but it ended in my coming to the determination to offer my

mediation to the Government, if they thought it might avail them in their present difficulties.

I subsequently wrote to Don Neri Corsini, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, offering my mediation, but on the condition that no "levée en masse" or other warlike preparations should be made by the Tuscan Government; as if such were the case, I felt convinced that my mediation would be of no avail.

Don Neri Corsini came to me in the course of the evening, and in the name of the Grand Duke and of the Government thanked me for my offer, and accepted with gratitude the mediation I proposed, and promised to adhere to the conditions I had annexed to my proposal of interference, with one exception, which was, that in order to calm the public effervescence and to ensure their own personal safety and perhaps their existence, they had been obliged to order a few troops to the frontier, and two or three pieces of cannon.

In my letter to General Welden I have explained this circumstance, and it must be very evident to him that the Tuscan precautions for defence are more imaginary than real, as there are no troops left in the country.

I dispatched my letter to the General, of which I also inclose a copy, late last night to Bologna by one of the Grand Duke's couriers, whom he had placed at my disposal for this purpose.

Baron Poilly called on me this morning, in order to inform me that Don Neri Corsini had sought the assistance of the French Legation, and he requested me to furnish him with a copy of what I had written to the Austrian General, which I accordingly did.

I have received this morning from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Ferrara a letter of which I have the honour to inclose an extract.

I trust that what I have done will meet with your Lordship's approval and with that of Her Majesty's Government.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch I have received from the French Chargé d'Affaires a copy of the letter he has written to General Welden, and which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

Inclosure 1 in No. 169.

Proclamation of Marshal Welden.

Agli Abitanti delle Legazioni.

PER la seconda volta passo il Pò colle mie truppe a disperdere le bande che non cessano di turbare la pace e l'ordine pubblico. Il Santo Padre vostro signore, ispirato dal sacrosanto ufficio di cui è investito, più volte protestò di non volere la guerra. Ciò nullameno le truppe Pontificie e gli Svizzeri da lui assoldati pugarono contro l'Austria a Treviso ed a Vicenza, e vinti capitolarono obbligandosi per tre mesi di non riprendere le armi contro l'Impero. Guai a loro se violassero i patti! Tengo registrati i loro nomi, e lo sleale che cadesse nelle mie mani non avrebbe da attendere che il meritato supplizio.

Le mie mosse sono dirette contro le bande che si chiamano Crociati, contro i faziosi che in onta al proprio Governo si affaticano d'ingannare il buon popolo con menzogne e sofismi, e d'infondergli un odio ingiusto ed assurdo contro una Potenza sempre stata amica.

Trenta e più anni or sono l'Austria conquistò le Legazioni, considerate il giojello degli Stati Pontificii, e le restituì con nobile disinteresse al legittimo Sovrano. Le continuate amichevoli relazioni ed i reciproci riguardi di buon vicinato doveano rafforzare sempre più la pace fra i due popoli, sennonchè un abbominevole fanatismo, la smania di arricchirsi e d'ingrandire a spese del popolo, e le mire ambiziose per arrogarsi il Governo medesimo, crearono un partito sempre irrequieto, che cuopre il vostro pacifico e fertile paese di miseria, di guerra, e delle distruzioni che ne sono l'inseparabile conseguenza.

E ormai tempo di porre un argine a tanto disordine. Dove la voce della ragione non potrà penetrare, mi farò ascoltare coi miei cannoni.

Lungi da ogni idea di conquista mai coltivata dall'Austria riguardo al vostro paese, giacchè diversamente ne avrebbe con tutto il diritto conservato il pos-

sessò trent' anni fà, io intendo solo proteggere i pacifici abitanti e conservare al nostro Governo il dominio che gli viene contrastato da una fazione.

Guai a coloro che si mostrassero sordi alla mia voce ed osassero di far resistenza! Volgete lo sguardo sugli avanzi fumanti di Sermide. Il paese restò distrutto perchè gli abitanti fecero fuoco sui miei soldati.

Dal mio Quartiere-Generale, Bondono, 3 Agosto, 1848.

Il Tenente-Maresciallo comandante l'Armata di Reserva,
WELDEN.

(Translation.)

To the Inhabitants of the Legations.

FOR the second time I have crossed the Po with my troops, in order to disperse those bands which unceasingly disturb the peace and public order. His Holiness, your master, inspired by the sacred office with which he is invested, has more than once protested that he wishes not for war; but notwithstanding this, the Pontifical troops and the Swiss in his pay have fought against Austria at Treviso and Vicenza; having been vanquished they capitulated, binding themselves for three months not to bear arms against the Austrian empire. Woe to them if they should violate the treaties! I have their names registered, and the traitor who should fall into my hands has only to expect his deserved doom.

My troops are directed against those bands that term themselves "Crusaders," and against the factious, who, in spite of their own Government, labour to deceive the good people with falsehoods and sophisms, and to inculcate in them an unjust and absurd hatred against a Power that has always been a friend.

It is now thirty years since Austria conquered the Legations, the gem of the Papal States, and with noble disinterestedness restored them to their legitimate Sovereign. The continued friendly intercourse and reciprocal considerations of good neighbourhood ought to have confirmed, more and more, the peace between the two countries, had not an abominable fanaticism, a mania to become richer and greater at the expense of the people, and the ambition of arrogating to itself the governing power, created a party for ever restless, that covers your peaceful and fertile country with misery, war, and the ruin which is inseparable consequence thereof.

It is now time to put a stop to such disorders; and where the voice of reason cannot penetrate, my cannon shall procure me a hearing.

Far from any views of conquest, which Austria never entertained with respect to your country, though she might with every right have kept possession of it thirty years ago, my sole intention is to protect the peaceful inhabitants, and to maintain to your Government that power which is attacked by a faction.

Woe to those who show themselves deaf to my voice, and dare to resist! Turn your eyes upon the burning ruins of Sermide. The town was destroyed because the inhabitants dared to fire on my soldiers.

Head-Quarters at Bondono, August 3, 1848.

The Lieutenant-Marshal, &c.
(Signed) WELDEN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 169.

Sir George Hamilton to the Marquis Layatico.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Florence, 5 Aout, 1848.

AYANT appris qu'un corps d'Autrichiens sous le commandement du Général Welden a occupé Bologna, je suis prêt à offrir ma médiation si le Gouvernement Toscan croit que par ce moyen l'effusion de sang soit évitée, ou autres malheurs conséquens de la guerre.

En faisant cette offre, cependant, je désire y annexer la condition qu'aucune levée en masse ou autre appareil militaire ne soit fait en Toscane; autrement tout espoir de l'heureuse réussite de l'offre de ma médiation sera perdu.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) GEORGE BAILLIE HAMILTON.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 5 Août, 1848.

HAVING learned that a body of Austrians under the command of General Welden has occupied Bologna, I am ready to offer my mediation if the Tuscan Government thinks that by that means bloodshed or other misfortunes consequent upon war may be avoided.

In making this offer, however, I wish to accompany it with the condition that no levy en masse or other military preparations be made in Tuscany; otherwise all hope of a happy result of the offer of my mediation would be destroyed.

Accept, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE BAILLIE HAMILTON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 169.

Sir George Hamilton to General Welden.

Excellence,

Florence, 5 Août, 1848.

ANIME par le désir d'empêcher l'effusion de sang, et Représentant d'une Puissance qui désire également le bien de l'Autriche et de l'Italie, je viens d'offrir au Gouvernement Toscan d'employer auprès de votre Excellence mes bons offices pour empêcher que les frontières de ce pays ne soient envahies hostilement par l'armée Autrichienne, mais sous cette condition, qu'aucune levée en masse ni apparats militaires ne soient faits de la part de la Toscane. Cette offre a été acceptée avec reconnaissance, mais en l'acceptant, le Gouvernement Toscan m'a prié de dire à votre Excellence, que pour calmer l'effervescence publique, ou, pour mieux dire, pour assurer leur propre existence, il est nécessaire qu'on envoie quelques troupes à la frontière comme démonstration de résistance.

Je me hâte donc de proposer à votre Excellence de respecter les frontières de cet Etat, modernes ainsi qu'anciennes. En vous priant, M. le Général, de respecter les frontières nouvellement acquises de la Toscane, j'ose vous prier de vous rappeler, qu'en acceptant la souveraineté de Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, &c. le Grand Duc l'a fait en déclarant expressément qu'il en prenait la souveraineté jusqu'à ce que les arrangemens territoriaux définitifs soient faits en Italie, et pour empêcher ces provinces de tomber dans un état d'anarchie.

Dans ces circonstances, je propose à votre Excellence de respecter ces frontières qui n'ont pas été ajoutées au Grand Duché par la guerre ou par l'intrigue, mais pour le bien temporaire de l'Italie.

L'indulgence que je demande de la part de votre Excellence, poussé comme je le suis par le désir de servir également l'Autriche et l'Italie, ne peut qu'ajouter au lustre des armes Autrichiennes, et amener avec plus de promptitude une solution des troubles qui agitent maintenant l'Italie.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé)

G. B. HAMILTON,

Ministre d'Angleterre près les Cours de Toscane,
de Parme et de Modène.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Florence, August 5, 1848.

ANIMATED by a desire to prevent bloodshed, and Representative of a Power which desires equally the welfare of Austria and of Italy, I have just offered the Tuscan Government to employ my good offices with your Excellency, to prevent the frontiers of that country from being hostilely invaded by the Austrian army, but on this condition, that no levy en masse or other military preparations be made on the part of Tuscany. This offer has been accepted with gratitude, but in accepting it the Tuscan Government has begged me to say to your Excellency, that in order to calm the public excitement, or rather to secure their own existence, it is necessary that some troops should be sent to the frontier for a show of resistance.

I hasten then to propose to your Excellency to respect the frontiers, modernas well as ancient, of this State. In begging you, M. le Général, to respect the newly-acquired frontiers of Tuscany, I venture to remind you that the Grand Duke in accepting the sovereignty of Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, &c., declared expressly that he assumed such sovereignty till definitive territorial arrangements should be made in Italy, and to prevent those provinces from falling into a state of anarchy.

Under those circumstances I propose to your Excellency to respect those frontiers which have not been annexed to the Grand Duchy by war or by intrigue, but for the temporary welfare of Italy.

The indulgence which I request from your Excellency, moved thereto as I am by a desire to be of service equally to Austria and Italy, cannot fail to add new lustre to the Austrian arms, and to bring about with greater speed a settlement of the disturbances which are now agitating Italy.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON,
Minister of England at the Courts of Tuscany,
Parma, and Modena.

Inclosure 4 in No. 169.

Vice-Consul Mac Alister to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Ferrara, August 3, 1848.

THIS morning Marshal Welden has caused to be affixed to our city walls a proclamation, stating that he intends immediately to occupy with his troops the four Legations in the name of the Emperor of Austria; to restore order and submission in the Papal dominions, being understood (sic) with His Holiness; to crush the Crusaders, and protect the Government and the peaceable and well-disposed against the rebellious bands; and this evening, or to-morrow morning, our city is to be occupied by 4000 or 5000 Austrians. Another army under Prince Lichtenstein has gone towards Modena.

In the meantime orders were given that the whole of the Papal troops garrisoned here should leave the town, which they have done, with the exception of about 50 carabineers and some 300 or 350 Swiss infantry, barely sufficient to mount the guards at the respective posts. All the arms and ammunition in the meantime to be delivered to the city magistrates, who are to be held responsible for any opposition; threatening in such case to destroy the town, and holding out the example of Sermide, now in flames for having offered opposition to the entrance or demand of a small detachment sent to explore the positions on the Mantua frontier.

Inclosure 5 in No. 169.

Baron Poilly to General Welden.

M. le Général,

Florence, 6 Août, 1848.

LE Gouvernement Toscan connaissant les principes d'union, de paix, et de fraternité que le Gouvernement de la République Française s'est fait gloire de proclamer hautement à tous les peuples dès son avènement, vient de me demander d'adjoindre mon concours près de vous aux bons offices de M. le Ministre d'Angleterre, dans le but de sauvegarder par une médiation commune les frontières du Grand Duché d'une invasion des troupes Autrichiennes.

J'accède au désir du Gouvernement Toscan de voir les délimitations territoriales du Grand Duché rester telles qu'elles ont été fixées par le vœu spontané des populations.

Les considérations que M. le Ministre d'Angleterre vous présente dans la lettre qu'il vous a adressée hier pour vous proposer, M. le Général, de respecter la légitimité de ces frontières, sont aussi, j'ai l'honneur de vous le dire, l'expression de mes convictions.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) POILLY.

(Translation.)

M. le Général,

Florence, August 6, 1848.

THE Tuscan Government, knowing the principles of union, peace, and fraternity which the Government of the French Republic has gloried in loudly proclaiming to all nations since its existence, has just requested me to unite my efforts to the good offices of the Minister of England, with a view of protecting, by means of a common mediation, the frontiers of the Grand Duke from an invasion of the Austrian troops.

I accede to the desire of the Tuscan Government to see the territorial boundaries of the Grand Duchy remain such as they have been fixed by the spontaneous desire of the people.

The considerations which the Minister of England offers to your notice in the letter which he addressed to you yesterday, in order to propose to you, M. le Général, to respect the legitimate character of those frontiers, are also, I have the honour to inform you, the expression of my convictions.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) POILLY.

No. 170.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a proclamation issued yesterday by the Grand Duke for the purpose of calming the fears and excitement prevailing in Florence, consequent upon the supposed advance of the Austrian army.

In this proclamation His Royal Highness informs the Tuscans that Great Britain and France, having offered their mediation to prevent the hostile invasion of the frontiers, he trusts that the offer made by the Representatives of these friendly Powers will avail, provided that Tuscany remains calm in the present state of affairs.

All attempts to form another Ministry at Florence have failed. Several persons of distinction have been charged with the task of making a Government, but no one seems willing to undertake it.

The Chambers have however passed a vote of confidence in the late Ministry, and have asked them to remain for the present in the direction of affairs, and have given them unlimited power for eight days to take what measures may seem necessary for the preservation of order in the Grand Duchy during the present crisis.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 170.

Proclamation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Toscani,

SE la sola forza delle armi potesse farci pienamente sicuri dai pericoli che ci minacciano sì da vicino, generosa risoluzione sarebbe quella di riporre nelle sole armi ogni speranza di salute. Ma oggi non avremmo certezza di resistere soli e male agguerriti ad un nemico vincitore, che già invase il territorio di due Stati limitrofi, senza temere di ostacoli che l'arrestassero. Ogni speranza non è peraltro perduta, e la vittoria può tornare nuovamente a coronare le armi confederate. Non sono esauste le forze d'Italia per i sofferti infortunii, nè a lei è mancato il conforto d'Europa che l'animava al glorioso cimento. E noi non disperiamo dei fati d'Italia, e siamo risoluti a durare nel proposito che già ci fece associare le nostre armi a quelle del Rè Carlo Alberto, nè per sventure sapremo separarci da lui. Ma ora abbiamo bisogno di tempo per riparare alle perdite sofferte, per salvare il paese da un subito pericolo. Con questo consiglio noi non pensiamo già di patteggiare l'onore della patria, ma di serbarci illesi a migliori fortune. Ce ne offre il modo la spontanea e concorde mediazione

d'Inghilterra e di Francia, dandoci fiducia che i confini dello Stato non saranno violati, quando l'ordine interno si mantenga, quando i provvedimenti che il Governo deve e vuol fare, e fa per la difesa, non diano occasione a tumulti. Il mio Governo appoggiato dal voto delle Nazionali Assemblee, ha creduto di dovere accogliere per il bene comune gli ufficii amichevoli delle due Potenze.

Toscani! Il momento è solenne: un'atto improvido può travolgere la patria in fatali calamità, delle quali non ci basterebbe la vita per dimenticare le conseguenze. Uniamoci concordi per sostenere questa dura prova che i tempi ci impongono. Io torno a ripetervi che sarò sempre con voi, per sostenere la causa nazionale e per mantenere quelle istituzioni che sanzionarono fra noi la pubblica libertà: e voi promettete di adoperarvi efficacemente per sostenere e difendere la maestà delle leggi, onde il risorgimento d'Italia non sia esposto a nuovi ed estremi pericoli. La sorte della patria è nelle vostre mani. Io veglierò perchè sia salvo l'onore, voi dal canto vostro salvate quello che dopo l'onore avete più caro. Alle armi cittadine io affido la tutela dell'ordine, ed i cittadini si rammentino che coll'opporsi virilmente a chi tentasse di suscitare tumulti, si opporranno ai nemici della patria; perchè chi vuole i tumulti vuole lo straniero, e con esso tutti i mali di una provocata invasione.

Dato in Firenze, li sei Agosto, milleottocentoquarantotto.

LEOPOLDO.

*Il Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri, Segretario
di Stato al Dipartimento dell' Interno,
C. RIDOLFI.*

(Translation.)

Tuscans!

Florence, August 6, 1848.

IF the sole force of our arms were sufficient to secure us fully from the dangers which threaten us so closely, it would be a generous resolution to place in our arms alone every hope of safety. But now, alone and untrained to war, we should scarcely be able to resist a triumphant enemy, who has already invaded two neighbouring States, without fearing any obstacles which might stop his march. But all hope is not lost, for again victory may turn and crown the allied arms. The forces of Italy are not exhausted by her past misfortunes, nor did she lack the countenance of Europe which encouraged her to the glorious trial. We despair not of the destinies of Italy, and we are determined to remain steadfast in the purpose which made us unite our arms to those of King Charles Albert, nor shall misfortune cause us to separate ourselves from him. But now we want time to repair our losses, and to save the country from imminent peril. By this we intend not to barter the honour of our country, but to keep ourselves intact for better fortunes. To effect this, England and France offer us their spontaneous and united mediation, giving us the assurance that the limits of the State shall remain inviolate, as long as internal order is maintained, and as long as the provisions which the Government should and will make and is making for our defence give rise to no disorders. My Government, supported by the vote of the National Assemblies, has thought it its duty to accept for the general good the friendly offers of the two Powers.

Tuscans! The moment is solemn. An inconsiderate act may overwhelm your country in fatal calamities, the consequences of which one life would be too short to obliterate. Let us be united in order to support this hard trial which the times impose on us. I again repeat to you that I shall ever be with you to support the national cause and to maintain those institutions which public liberty has sanctioned amongst you. And do you promise to act with effect in the support and defence of the majesty of the law, in order that the regeneration of Italy be not exposed to new and extreme perils. The destinies of your country are in your hands: I shall take care that your honour be preserved intact; you, on your side, save that which next to honour you have most at heart. To the civic arms I confide the maintenance of order, and let the citizens remember, that in strenuously opposing the authors of disturbances, they oppose the enemies of their country; for whoever wishes for disorder wishes for the stranger, and with him for all the evils of a provoked invasion.

Florence, August 6, 1848.

(Signed)

LEOPOLDO.

RIDOLFI.

No. 171.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship Mr. Petre's despatches from Rome of the 4th instant, in which he states that, in the absence of the Ministers, the Deputies had decreed the mobilization of 12,000 civic guards, the enrolment of additional troops, and that a body of foreign troops to the amount of 12,000 should be called under the Papal banners. These resolutions were carried unanimously. A forced loan and the issuing of treasury bills was also proposed to different sections of the Chamber.

Mr. Petre further states that a brief of the Pope endeavouring to calm the agitation of the people, caused by the various events, had been torn down by the populace.

No Ministry had as yet been formed.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 171.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 4, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Council of Deputies met on the 2nd instant under the presidency of the Advocate Sturbinetti, who communicated to the Chamber the verbal answer of His Holiness, mentioned in my despatch of that date.

In the absence of the Ministers, the Deputies proposed:—

1st. An address to all the Italian Parliaments, inviting them to unite for common defence and national independence, and to transmit, by a Deputy, the address to each Parliament.

2ndly. To decree that the Ministry mobilise 12,000 civic guards for the defence of public order and of independence.

3rdly. To decree that the Ministry, employing all the means granted by the Statute, enrol even by a bounty, in the shortest possible time, the greatest number possible of volunteers for the service of the State and of independence.

4thly. To decree that the Ministry call without delay, under the Papal banners, a body of foreign troops to the number of 12,000, and that they be commanded by a skilful general, be he national or foreign.

All these propositions were carried unanimously.

Three other propositions were committed to the different sections of the Chamber. They are

1st. To decree a forced loan of 4 per cent. on all rents derived from mortgages.

2nd. To decree the issuing of treasury bills (*boni del Tesoro*) to the value of a million of dollars, on the security of Government property (*beni Camerali*).

3rd. To authorize the Minister to issue a million of treasury bills upon the remaining value of the so-called apanage (*appannaggio*); these bills to be all of legal currency (*corso forzoso*).

The above-mentioned apanage was the property of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, sold a few years ago to the Government, and resold in part to individuals.

The first four of the above-named propositions were communicated to the Alto Consiglio the same day, and passed with little opposition, except on the part of Count Mastai, a nephew of His Holiness; but Prince Rospigliosi proposed and carried that instead of the form "the Council decrees," should be substituted the one of "the Council deliberates."

The refusal of the Pope to sanction some of the measures reported above led to the resignation of Count Mamiani.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 171.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 4, 1848.

AT the close of the sitting of the Council of Deputies, reported in my other despatch of this day's date, the Minister of Police remaining pro tempore in office, informed the Chamber that the city was tranquil; that there was indeed some agitation arising from the present state of affairs; that he had immediately taken measures to discover the authors of the disorders, and of the insults directed against the President of the Chamber on the previous evening; and that he hoped that the good people of Rome would assist him in preventing the recurrence of similar excesses, so that their representatives should be respected.

He then told the Chambers that the brave legion returned from Vicenza was under arms, and would assist in maintaining tranquillity; that he could not expect less from soldiers so distinguished in the field of battle.

That he had taken other measures, such as were conformable to his principles. "I here solemnly protest," he exclaimed, "that I greatly detest disorder, and that I will take every measure to prevent it; but I know not how to put myself in opposition to a people who, compact and dignified, demands just things; and which are guaranteed by the laws and the constitution."

You will observe that the legion above mentioned by the Minister of Police, was, according to the orders of the Minister of War, to break up on its arrival in Rome, to retire to their homes, and within five days to report themselves to the commanders of the various battalions from which they had volunteered in March last; that they refused to disband, that they took possession of the Jesuits' house, under an order of the Minister of the Interior, who had no right to grant it, threatening in case of refusal, to do so by force; that their quarters are still there, and that being church property, the occupation of it without permission of the Pope, has been declared by His Holiness a sacrilege.

This legion has presented an address to the Deputies, offering their services, and dated it from "Il Quartier del Gesù."

Yesterday a brief of His Holiness was affixed in the usual public places, stating that it was instantly required that he should, as far as in him lay, calm the agitation caused by various events which were taking place by recalling trust and confidence; that to replace the Ministers who had again resigned, he had called to Rome the Pro-Legate of Urbino and Pesaro, the Conte Fabri, already arrived, to form a new Ministry; that in answer to the complaints concerning the unprotected state of the Province of Ferrara, he had taken measures of defence; that he had published his sentiments through his Cardinal Secretary of State, and repeated them in Vienna, and that he had authorized the late Ministry to provide for the defending of the frontiers of the State; that as to the rest, it was but too true that the enemies of order and of public tranquillity in all times and under all Governments, took advantage of external dangers to disturb the minds and hearts of the inhabitants; that God, however, watched over Italy, the State of the Church and this city, placed by Him under the immediate protection of the most Holy Mary, the Protectress of Rome, and of the Chief of the Apostles; and that, although more than one sacrilege had saddened the capital of the Catholic world (alluding to the murder of the priest Ximenes, and to the occupation of the Jesuits' house), he still trusted that the prayers of the Church would ascend before the Lord, and would cause benedictions to descend, strengthening the good, and recalling its enemies unto the paths of honour and justice.

This brief was immediately torn down, and in some places in the presence of the civic guards on duty, without the slightest interference. It was however published in the journals.

No Ministry has as yet been formed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 172.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 7, 1848.

AT the moment I was about to dispatch Lieutenant Robbins to Turin, I received from General Welden an answer to my proposed offer of mediation, which appears to me extremely satisfactory. The General accepts my offer, provided I will guarantee for the Tuscan Government an observation of the conditions which I insisted on as the price of my mediation. I have in consequence written to the Grand Duke the letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, and I hope that His Imperial Highness will enable me to send off the required guarantee to General Welden this evening.

I have the honour also to inclose a copy of General Welden's letter to me.

The messenger whom I dispatched to the Austrian head-quarters informs me that General Welden told him that he should occupy Bologna to-day with all his troops. He had refused to receive the deputation which had been sent to him from the city.

The messenger believes that the Austrian force under General Welden amounts to 12,000 or 14,000 men. He says that the civic guard of Cento, the head-quarters of the General, about twenty miles from Bologna, were doing duty for the General, forming his guard of honour, and occupying the posts of the town in order to relieve the troops.

General Welden has sent me a proclamation addressed to the Modenese by General Baron Perglas, which I have the honour of inclosing also herewith. I beg leave to call your Lordship's particular attention of this document.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

P.S.—I have this moment received from the Grand Duke a guarantee that the conditions which I have required will be observed by Tuscany. I shall consequently send the messenger Lieutenant Robbins, by way of Bologna, to convey this assurance to General Welden.

Inclosure 1 in No. 172.

Sir George Hamilton to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Monseigneur,

Lundi, 7 Août, dix heures et demie A.M.

J'AI l'honneur d'envoyer ci-incluse à votre Altesse Royale copie de la réponse du Général Welden, qui me paraît fort favorable.

Le Général accède à ma proposition, pourvu que je garantirai l'exécution des conditions de la part de la Toscane que j'ai demandées comme prix de ma médiation.

J'espère donc que votre Altesse Royale me mettra à même de pouvoir faire cette garantie au Général Welden.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) G. B. HAMILTON.

(Translation.)

Monseigneur,

Monday, August 7, 10½ A.M.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Royal Highness a copy of General Welden's answer, which seems to me to be very favourable.

The General assents to my proposition, provided that I shall guarantee the execution of the conditions on the part of Tuscany which I have required in return for my mediation.

I hope therefore that your Royal Highness will enable me to give this guarantee to General Welden.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 172.

*General Welden to Sir George Hamilton.***Excellence,***Cento, le 6 Août, 1848.*

DANS votre dépêche de Florence, 5 Août, 1848, vous me faites l'honneur, Monsieur, de me proposer, en guise d'intermédiaire entre l'Autriche et la Toscane, de respecter les frontières de ce pays, à condition qu'il s'abstienne de toute levée en masse et de tout apparat militaire, et se contente d'une démonstration de résistance en envoyant quelques troupes à la frontière pour calmer l'effervescence publique, ou, pour mieux dire, pour assurer l'existence de son Gouvernement.

Je sens tout le prix de la médiation de l'Angleterre, et accepte, tout en regrettant qu'elle n'ait été offerte plus tôt, la proposition que vous voulez bien me faire; pourvu toutefois que vous me garantissiez, Monsieur, l'exécution des conditions de la part de la Toscane; puisqu'un Gouvernement qui est obligé à avoir recours à de vaines démonstrations pour assurer la tranquillité et son existence, ne peut offrir une suffisante sécurité.

Agréez, Monsieur, quelques exemplaires de proclamations et bulletins que je répands ici, et que je communique aussi à la Légation Autrichienne de Florence.

Ils vous prouveront, j'espère, le désintéressement de nos intentions, et vous intéresseront pour la part que vous prenez à la bonne cause.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) **WELDEN**, *Lieutenant-Général,*
Général en Chef du 2me Corps de Réserve.

*(Translation.)***Excellency,***Cento, August 6, 1848.*

IN your despatch from Florence of the 5th August, 1848, you do me the honour to propose to me, in the character of mediator between Austria and Tuscany, to respect the frontiers of the latter, on condition that Tuscany shall abstain from any levy en masse and from all military preparations, and shall content herself with an outward show of resistance by sending some troops to the frontier to calm the public excitement; or to speak more correctly, to secure the existence of her Government.

I feel the full value of the mediation of England, and I accept, whilst regretting that it has not been offered sooner, the proposal which you have had the goodness to make to me; provided always, that you will guarantee to me the execution on the part of Tuscany of the conditions; inasmuch as a Government which is forced to have recourse to vain demonstrations in order to secure tranquillity and its existence, cannot offer sufficient securities.

Accept, Monsieur, some copies of proclamations and bulletins which I am distributing here, and which I also am communicating to the Austrian Legation at Florence.

They will I hope prove to you, that our intentions are disinterested, and will be interesting to you in respect to the part which you are taking in the good cause.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) **WELDEN**, *Lieutenant General,*
General commanding in chief the 2nd Corps of Reserve.

Inclosure 3 in No. 172.

Proclamation of General Perglas.

Agli Abitanti del Ducato di Modena.

UNA rivoluzione vituperevole cui non prendeste parte, serbando la fede alla patria ed al vostro Sovrano, ha posto a socquadro il vostro bel paese. Un Rè estraneo cui non fù mai sacra la parola, e che sotto lo stendardo della libertà

nasconde le proprie mire ambiziose e rapaci, minaccia d'imporsi il suo giogo e di precipitarvi nella miseria, che felici eravate sotto il saggio governo del vostro Duca.

La vostra causa dovrà decidersi colle armi. L'Austria le ha brandite e portate vittoriosamente fino ai vostri confini. Le mie truppe hanno varcato il Pò in più punti per accorrere al vostro sostegno, alla vostra liberazione. Schieratevi tra le loro file, bravi Modenesi! Già addestrati ed esperti nel maneggio delle armi, formerete una legione a parte e sarete trattati in parità delle mie truppe. Scegliereete i vostri ufficiali e spiegando i colori del vostro paese concorrerete a combattere il comune nemico,—il nemico dell'ordine e di ogni buon diritto.

Eccito anche gli Svizzeri, che assoldati dallo straniero pugnarono contro di noi, a raccogliersi sotto i vessilli Imperiali, memori dell'antica fede e della loro origine Tedesca. All'ombra dei medesimi e combattendo per la buona causa, potranno coprire di nuovi allori le glorioso loro armi. Io li accoglierò come fratelli, assicurando loro il trattamento finora goduto.

BARONE DI PERGLAS,

*Imperiale Reale Tenente-Maresciallo e Comandante
delle Truppe Austriache lungo il Pò.*

(Translation.)

To the Inhabitants of the Duchy of Modena.

A DISGRACEFUL revolution, in which you, preserving your faith to your country and your Sovereign, took no part, has brought confusion into your beautiful country. A foreign Prince, whose word was never sacred, and who under the banner of Liberty, conceals his own ambitious and rapacious views, threatens to lay you under his yoke, and to precipitate you into misery, you who were so happy under the wise government of your Duke.

Your cause must be decided by the sword. Austria has taken up arms and carried them victoriously to your confines. My troops on many points have crossed the Po, to hasten to your assistance, to your deliverance. Range yourselves in their ranks, brave Modenese! Already instructed and dexterous in the use of arms, you will form a separate legion, and be treated on an equality with my own troops. You will choose your own officers, and displaying the colours of your country, concur in opposing the common enemy,—the enemy of order and of every good right.

I so call upon the Swiss, who are paid by the stranger to fight against us, to go ther under the Imperial banners, remembering their former faith and their German origin. Fighting under their shadow for the good cause, they will be able to crown with new laurels their glorious arms. I shall receive them as friends, assuring to them the pay they have till now received.

(Signed) BARON DE PERGLAS.

No. 173.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying proclamations issued this morning, containing the official announcement of the fusion of Venice with the dominions of the King of Piedmont, and bearing the signature of the Piedmontese Commissioners, General Colli and Signor Cibrario.

The Piedmontese colours, the Italian tricolor, bearing the Cross of Savoy on the white field, but retaining the Lion of St. Mark in the corner, were hoisted to-day on the flag-staffs in the Square of St. Mark, and saluted by the Venetian guard-ship in the port.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 173.

Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Venice.

L'IMMEDIATA unione della città e provincia di Venezia, quale fu votata dall' Assemblea dei nostri rappresentanti, venne ammessa dalla Camera dei Deputati e dal Senato, nonchè sancita da Sua Altezza Serenissima il Principe Luogotenente, a nome di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna, colla Legge del 27 Luglio p. p.

Essendo ciò stato ufficialmente comunicato al Governo Provvisorio di Venezia mediante dispaccio ministeriale del 29 Luglio, con incarico contemporaneo di farne la relativa pubblicazione, esso Governo

Decreta :

La Legge 27 Luglio decorso, quale è compresa nel presente decreto, viene pubblicata per ogni suo effetto. (Segue la legge.)

Eugenio, Principe di Savoia-Carignano, Luogotenente-Generale di Sua Maestà nei Regii Stati in assenza della Maestà Sua.

Vista la deliberazione del dì quattro corrente mese della città e provincia di Venezia stata presentata a Sua Maestà da speciale deputazione al quartier Generale di Roverbella nel successivo giorno dodici, secondo la quale deliberazione è generale voto di quella popolazione di unirsi al nostro Stato ;

Il Senato e la Camera dei Deputati hanno adottato ;

Noi, in virtù dell' autorità che ci è delegata, abbiamo ordinato ed ordiniamo quanto segue :

I. L'immediata unione della città e provincia di Venezia, votata dall' Assemblea de' suoi rappresentanti, è accettata.

La città e la provincia di Venezia formano cogli Stati Sardi e cogli altri già uniti, un solo regno, alle condizioni contenute nelle leggi d'unione colla Lombardia.

II. Per le Provincie Venete vi sarà una Consulta Straordinaria come per quelle di Lombardia. Essa sarà composta degli attuali Membri del Governo Provvisorio di Venezia, e dei due Membri per ciascuno dei comitati delle quattro provincie di Padova, Vicenza, Treviso, e Rovigo, contemplati nelle dette leggi d'unione.

Quando le tre provincie di Verona, Udine, e Belluno, si riuniscano anch' esse agli Stati medesimi, potranno inviare alla Consulta stessa due Deputati per ciascheduna.

I Ministri Segretari di Stato sono incaricati della esecuzione della presente legge, la quale sarà sigillata col sigillo dello Stato, pubblicata nella città e comuni della provincia di Venezia, ed inserita negli atti del Governo.

Dato in Torino, addì ventisette Luglio, mille ottocento quarantotto.

EUGENIO DI SAVOJA.

V. SCLOPIS.

V. DI REVEL.

V. GAZELLI, *pel Controllore-Generale.*

VINCENZO RICCI.

Venezia, 6 Agosto, 1848.

CASTELLI, *Presidente.*

CAMERATA.

PAOLUCCI.

MARTINENGO.

CAVEDALIS.

REALI.

(Translation.)

THE immediate union of the city and province of Venice, as voted by the Assembly of our Representatives, has been agreed to by the Chamber of Deputies and by the Senate, and sanctioned by His Most Serene Highness the Prince Lieutenant, in the name of His Majesty the King of Sardinia by the Law of the 27th July past.

This having been officially announced to the Provisional Government of

Venice by a ministerial despatch dated 29th July, with instruction to publish the same, the said Government

Decrees :

The Law of 27th July past, as comprised in the present decree, is made public to be carried into execution. (Here follows the law.)

Eugene, Prince of Savoy-Carignan, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty in the Royal States during His Majesty's absence.

In view of the deliberation dated the 4th instant, of the city and province of Venice, presented to His Majesty by special deputation at head-quarters in Roverbella on the 12th of the same month, according to which deliberation the general vote of the population is to unite itself to our State ;

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have adopted ;

We, in virtue of the authority which is delegated to us, have ordered and do hereby order as follows :

I. The present union of the city and province of Venice, voted by the Assembly of their representatives, is accepted.

The city and province of Venice forms with the Sardinian States and with the others already united, one sole kingdom, on the conditions contained in the laws of union with Lombardy.

II. There shall be a Special Consulta for the Venetian Provinces as for those of Lombardy, which shall be composed of the present Members of the Provisional Government of Venice, and of two Members from each of the four provinces of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Rovigo, proposed by the said laws of union.

When the three provinces of Verona, Udine, and Belluno unite also with these States, they may send to the same Consulta two Deputies for each State.

Our Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of this law, which shall be sealed with the seal of the State, published in the city and dependencies of the province of Venice, and inserted among the Acts of the Government.

Given in Turin, 27th July, 1848.

EUGENIO DI SAVOJA.

V. SCLOPIS.

V. DI REVEL.

V. GAZELLI, *for the Comptroller-General.*

VINCENZO RICCI.

Venice, August 6, 1848.

CASTELLI, *President.*

CAMERATA.

PAOLUCCI.

MARTINENGO.

GAVEDALIS.

REALI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 173.

Proclamation of the Sardinian Commissioners in Venice.

I Commissarii Straordinarii del Rè Carlo Alberto nella città e provincia di Venezia.

Concittadini !

CHIAMATO dal vostro libero voto il Rè Carlo Alberto vi accoglie e vi proclama eletta parte della sua grande rigenerata famiglia.

Veneziani, il Rè conosce, ama ed ammira questo popolo generoso, che in tempi di universale servaggio fu il primo ad alzare in queste lagune un' ara alla libertà ; che cresciuto a potenza d'impero e dominatore dei mari, salvò più volte l'Italia minacciata dai barbari ; che alle arti, alle scienze e alle lettere diè splendido ed ospitale ricetto ; che rifulse e rifulgerà nella storia al pari delle più cele-

brate nazioni; che finalmente in questo gran moto della risorgente Italia si mostrò degno de' suoi famosi progenitori, rivendicando fortemente, sollecitamente la propria indipendenza. Il Rè vi conosce e vi ama, e ricevendovi tra' suoi figli, sente nel più vivo del cuore qual forza e quale splendore s'aggiunga all' unione Italiana, sola ancora di salute che assicuri il nostro valore contro alla forza numerica delle falangi nemiche.

Veneziani! Carlo Alberto s'accingeva a versare per voi il proprio sangue e quello de' Principi suoi figliuoli, primachè niun indizio trasparisse del magnanimo vostro concetto d'unirvi alla Monarchia costituzionale dell' Alta Italia da lui fondata. Immaginate con qual cuor vi riguardi ora che si confondono, nel vessillo comune della indipendenza Italiana, la Croce di Savoia col glorioso Leon di S. Marco.

Veneziani! Le nazionalità non si ricostituiscono, e ricostituite, non si conservano senza dure prove, senza pericoli, senza sacrificii. Chi ama la libertà, chi ama la patria, debb' esser disposto ad ogni cimento, sol che viva libero, solo che vegga la patria indipendente. Chi misura l'estensione del sacrificio non è cittadino, non è buon Italiano.

Mercè il valor vostro voi siete ora liberi. Questo ben supremo niuno ve lo potrà strappare se al valore continuerete ad aggiungere l'amor dell' ordine, l'osservanza della legge e della disciplina, senza le quali la libertà perisce. E noi, onorati dell' alta e difficile missione di reggere in nome del Governo, questa maravigliosa città e questo popolo generoso, invochiamo fidenti il concorso e l'assistenza di tutti i buoni, quel concorso e quell' assistenza mercè la quale il Governo Provvisorio ha potuto condurre felicemente a termine l'arduo mandato di cui l'onorava la confidenza de' suoi concittadini; noi invochiamo principalmente il concorso di quella inclita milizia cittadina che ha già segnalato in tante guise il proprio affetto alla gran causa nazionale.

Indirizziamo, o fratelli, i nostri sforzi uniti al comun bene, rammentiamo che Venezia non può esser vinta finchè si mantiene ordinata e concorde e gridiamo

Viva S. Marco! Viva Carlo Alberto! Viva l'Italia!

Venezia, addì sette d'Agosto, 1848.

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
CASTELLI.

(Translation.)

The Commissioners Extraordinary of King Charles Albert in the City and Province of Venice.

Fellow-citizens!

KING CHARLES ALBERT, called by your free vote, accepts you, and proclaims you an elected part of his great regenerate family.

Venetians! The King knows, loves, and admires the generous people who in times of universal bondage were the first to raise in these Lagoons an altar to liberty; who, rising to the power of a lord and ruler over the seas, saved Italy more than once when menaced by the barbarians; who gave a signal and hospitable reception to arts, sciences, and letters; who shone forth, and will stand refulgent in history as equal to the most celebrated nations; who, in short, in this great movement of rising Italy, have shown themselves worthy of their illustrious forefathers, by regaining firmly and quickly its own independence.

The King knows you and loves you; and by receiving you among his children he feels sensibly what strength and splendour is added to the Italian union, the only anchor of safety which can insure us against the numerical force of the enemy's phalanx.

Venetians! Charles Albert was ready to shed his blood and that of the Princes his sons for you, before any signs had appeared of your magnanimous conception of uniting yourselves to the constitutional monarchy of Upper Italy founded by him. Imagine with what pleasure he contemplates you, now that the Cross of Savoy and the glorious Lion of St. Mark are united in the common standard of Italian independence.

PART 3.

Y

Venetians! Nationality is not easily to be re-established, and once re-established, it is not preserved without hard trials, without dangers, without sacrifices. Whoever loves liberty, whoever loves his country, must be ready to meet every danger, so that he may live free, and that he may see his country independent. Whoever calculates upon the greatness of the sacrifice necessary is no citizen, no good Italian.

Thanks to your valour, you are now free. This supreme good no one will be able to tear from you if you continue to join to valour a love of order, an observance of the laws and of discipline, without which liberty perishes. And we, honoured by the exalted and difficult mission of ruling, in the name of the Government, this wonderful city and its generous people, placing our faith in the co-operation and assistance of all good men, we invoke that concurrence and assistance by which the Provisional Government has been able to lead to a happy end the arduous task with which it has been honoured by the confidence of its fellow-citizens; we invoke principally the co-operation of that excellent militia of the citizens, which has already in so many instances signalized itself and shown its good-will for the national cause.

Let us direct, O brothers, our united efforts for the general good! Let us remember that Venice cannot be vanquished as long as order and concord are maintained there; and let us cry:

Viva S. Marco! Viva Carlo Alberto! Viva Italy!

Venice, August 7, 1848.

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
CASTELLI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 173.

Proclamation of the Sardinian Commissioners in Venice.

I Commissarii Regii Straordinari nella città e provincia di Venezia.

VEDUTO l'Articolo II della Legge del 27 di Luglio ultimo scorso, che proclama l'immediata unione della Venezia al Regno dell' Alta Italia, sulle basi della unione della Lombardia;

E veduta la legge che provvede al reggimento interinale della Lombardia;

Decretano:

1. La città e provincia di Venezia sarà governata colle norme infrastabilite fino all' apertura del Parlamento comune, successivo all' Assemblea Costituente.
2. Al popolo Veneto sono conservate e guarentite nella forma ed estensione attuale di diritto e di fatto, la libertà della stampa, il diritto d'associazione, e l'istituzione della Guardia Nazionale.
3. Il potere esecutivo sarà esercitato dal Rè col mezzo di un Ministro responsabile verso la nazione, rappresentata dal Parlamento.
4. Gli atti pubblici verranno intestati in nome di Sua Maestà il Rè Carlo Alberto.
5. Sono mantenuti in vigore le leggi ed i regolamenti attuali e quelli che erano vigenti prima della recente occupazione dello straniero.
6. Il Governo del Rè non potrà conchiudere trattati politici e di commercio, nè far nuove leggi, abrogare o modificare le esistenti, senza concertarsi previamente con una Consulta Straordinaria, composta dei membri attuali del Governo Provvisorio.
7. Le basi del protocollo 13 Giugno, p. p., intorno alla legge elettorale per la Costituente saranno mantenute, come per la Lombardia e le Provincie Venete, così per la città e provincia di Venezia.

Venezia, a' di 7 Agosto, 1848.

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
CASTELLI.

(Translation.)

The Royal Commissioners Extraordinary of the Province and City of Venice.

IN view of Article II of the Law of the 27th July last, which proclaims the actual union of Venice to the Kingdom of Upper Italy on the basis of the

union of Lombardy; and of the law which provides for the temporary government of Lombardy.

Decree:

1. The city and province of Venice shall be governed by the following regulations, till the opening of the general Parliament succeeding the Constituent Assembly.

2. To the Venetian people is preserved and guaranteed according to present form and extent de jure and de facto, the liberty of the press, the right of assembly, and the institution of the National Guard.

3. The executive power shall be exercised by the King, through a Ministry responsible to the nation, which shall be represented by a Parliament.

4. The public acts will be drawn out in the name of His Majesty King Charles Albert.

5. The actual laws and regulations are maintained in vigour, as also those that were in activity before the late occupation of the country by the foreigner.

6. The Government of the King shall not have the power to conclude political or commercial treaties, to create new laws, to abrogate or modify the existing ones, without first concerting on the same in a special Consulta composed of the actual members of the Provisional Government.

7. The basis of the protocol of the 13th June last, regarding the electoral law for the Constituent shall be maintained in the city and province of Venice, as in Lombardy and the Venetian provinces.

Venice, August 7, 1848.

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
CASTELLI.

No. 174.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Venice, August 7, 1848.

I INCLOSE the copy* of a proclamation addressed by the Austrian General Welden to the inhabitants of the Legations, dated Bondeno (a town to the south of the Po, not far distant from Ferrara), announcing the passage of the Po by the troops under his command, but stating that his operations are directed against the bands of Crusaders, and to the protection of the peaceful inhabitants, and that he is not actuated by any views of conquest.

It is reported here that the Austrian troops have advanced to the neighbourhood of Bologna, but I have no means of ascertaining the truth of this report.

No. 175.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Naples, August 2, 1848.

THE revolt in Calabria has been completely extinguished, but an evil has grown up during and after the contest, which has produced great prejudice to private interests, and provoked many comments both in the public of Naples and in the Chamber of Deputies.

General Nunziante and his confederate officers found it politic to stir up among the lower orders a party hostile to the insurgents, and succeeded in dividing the country and paralyzing the rebellion, so that the royal authority was actually restored rather by these means than by military force.

At the termination of the contest the partisans of the Crown fell upon the

* See Inclosure 1 in No. 169.

property of those who were suspected of disaffection, and carried off the cattle and crops, even retaining in many cases possession of the soil itself. The troops which received orders to quell those disorders in many retired districts are accused of rather abetting than suppressing the evil, and so the province has become the theatre of anarchy and military excesses.

At Pizzo and Monteleone several atrocities were perpetrated by the army, which have gone unpunished, and General Nunziante has exercised an arbitrary power in dissolving the national guards and putting weapons into the hands of persons devoted to the royal interest, a course not unreasonable within due bounds, but which he is accused of having practised to an unjustifiable degree, and in violation of the articles of the Constitutional Statute.

No. 176.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord,

Naples, August 8, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy and translation of the addresses voted in reply to the speech of the Crown delivered at the opening of the Chambers on the 1st of July.

In the address of the House of Peers the only remarkable feature is to be found in the statement of their hope that His Majesty the King will maintain the integrity of the kingdom, thus pointing to the reconquest of Sicily.

The Deputies have given a marked expression of blame against the present Cabinet for having dissolved the Chambers after the catastrophe of the 15th of May, by which mistrust was created and the pacification of the country impeded; as well as a declaration of the regret with which they witnessed the recall of the troops from the Italian war.

These addresses were framed by Commissioners appointed by the respective Chambers for the purpose.

That of the Peers was carried without discussion, the other was debated with some vivacity, but the opposition were unable to effect any alteration of the original draft.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 176.

Address of the Neapolitan Chamber of Peers to the King.

Sire,

LA Camera de' Pari sente il dovere di esprimere all' autore augusto dello Statuto Costituzionale i sentimenti della sua profonda riconoscenza. Patto ormai solenne tra la sua Real Corona ed i suoi popoli, mercè di esso un avvenire incomincia, il quale con più stretti ed indissolubili nodi unirà la divozione de' popoli all' amore del Principe. Come il capo immortale della regnante dinastia ebbe la gloria di restituire a queste contrade l'indipendenza politica e l'uso della loro patria civil sapienza, vostra Maestà pareggiandole alle più culte nazioni, avrà quella di averle elevate alle libere costituzionali istituzioni. La sua Real Dinastia ed i popoli conserveranno indelibile memoria di queste due grandi epoche del reame, nelle quali appajono sì strettamente associati. Vostra Maestà nell' aprire ad essi un' era novella, dovè sperare con noi che quel solenne giorno si desiato non si cambierebbe in un giorno di lutto e di amarissime rimembranze. Nulladimeno se un tanto dolore potesse ammetter compensi, in questo forse ne troverebbe, che la sventura è anche insegnamento, e che l'esperienza impara a' popoli ad evitare i pericoli tra' quali si è corso.

Le leggi, o Sire, che ad un libero reggimento si convengono, son quelle principalmente che assicurando l'ordine e l'esatta e ferma amministrazione della giustizia, permettono alla libertà di adagiarsi sul concorso spontaneo di tutti, guarentendo a ciascuno la pace pubblica e privata, e con essa il lavoro, i commerci ed il credito, e perciò la privata e pubblica prosperità.

Di queste leggi essenzialmente abbisognano i suoi popoli, dopo recenti, tristissime e condannevoli perturbazioni, le quali misero il Governo della Maestà vostra nella dura necessità di unire e rendere disponibile la totalità delle forze del paese.

Tali, tra le altre, son le leggi sulla pubblica istruzione, che forma ed eleva gli animi alla conoscenza, non solo de' propri dritti, ma de' propri doveri; sulla rigorosa ed integra amministrazione delle comuni e delle provincie, che costituisce il primo anello ed è il primo e saldo fondamento della pubblica ricchezza; sulla guardia nazionale, la quale composta de' più probi cittadini, ha il dovere di proteggerne e mantenerne la benefica azione. La Camera de' Pari si studierà di concorrere coscienziosamente col Governo della Maestà vostra e con l'altra onorevole parte della legislatura, ad uno scopo sì giusto e sì urgente, modellandone lo spirito sul patto che deve loro servire di base.

Il regno ancor sì recentemente abbondante di capitali inoperosi, non può in sì breve periodo, ed a malgrado dell' aumento di spese durate per le inesorabili vicissitudini de' tempi, non può stimarli, esauriti, e perciò il pubblico erario seriamente compromesso. Se la confidenza turbata, la confidenza che n'è la vita ed il movimento, li ha forzati o celarsi, il suo ritorno li renderà alla circolazione, li metterà nelle normali loro vie.

La Camera de' Pari ha fiducia che la calma e l'ordine sarà il miglior rimedio per la finanza del paese, e che guari non andrà, che accoppiata ogni economia compatibile con la dignità e la sicurezza dello Stato, col rinnovamento del commercio, delle private contrattazioni, la finanza trionferà delle sue presenti strettezze. La Camera de' Pari rivolgerà ad un oggetto di tanta importanza le sue meditazioni più assidue.

La Camera de' Pari si congratula che la Maestà vostra abbia in generale ragion da credere che le relazioni pacifiche di questo regno con le Potenze straniere non sien cangiate. Il Governo di vostra Maestà porterà senza dubbio un occhio vigile ed un' attenzione ferma e costante sui gravi avvenimenti i quali si manifestano intorno a noi, e che potrebbero esercitare sulla integrità e la potenza di questo reame, che è tra le principali parti d'Italia una seria influenza.

La Camera de' Pari seconderà con ogni suo potere gli sforzi del suo Governo per trarre dalla pace esterna tutti i beni che comprende per lo incremento della pubblica prosperità, e pel mantenimento di quella libertà saggia ed ordinata che vostra Maestà, prendendo Iddio a testimonio (seguendo il nobile suo linguaggio) della purità delle sue intenzioni, ha voluto, secondo la ragione de' tempi, assicurare a' suoi popoli. La dignità di questi verrà così aumentata, accresciuti lo splendore e la saldezza del Trono, e riformata nella concordia e nella unione l'indipendenza e l'importanza dello Stato.

Iddio benedirà la grande opera, e la storia la scriverà ne i suoi fasti; che ove è libertà senza licenza, conciliazione senza debolezza, e forza senza abuso, ivi è vera gloria e durevole stabilità.

La Commissione,

NAVARRA, *Presidente.*

CIANCIULLI, LUIGI, *Relatore.*

MAZZETTI.

SPINELLI.

PARRILLI.

ABATEMARCO.

FALCONE, *Segretario.*

(Translation.)

Sire,

THE Chamber of Peers feels it its duty to express to the august author of the Constitutional Statute the sentiments of its deep-felt gratitude. This solemn engagement between the Sovereign and the people opens a bright prospect for the future, the consequence of which will be to blend together with firmer and more strict bonds the devotion of the nation and the love of the Sovereign. As the immortal head of the reigning dynasty had the glory to give back to this country its political independence, and the use of its own wise institutions, so your Majesty, placing it in the same footing with the most civilized nations, will have the glory of having ennobled it by the concession of free constitutional institutions. Your royal dynasty and the nation will always remember these two great epochs of the realm, in which they appear with such character of

similarity. Your Majesty, in opening a new era for this country, must have entertained, together with us, the hope that this solemn day, so long wished for, should not be changed into a day of sadness and of painful memory. The only thing that can be said in mitigation of that deplorable event, is that we learn a great deal from misfortunes, and that experience teaches men to avoid the dangers into which they have fallen.

The laws which are suited to a liberal Government are those which, while they secure on the one hand public order, and the exact and firm administration of justice, enable, on the other, real liberty to repose on the spontaneous co-operation of the community, securing to each individual public and private tranquillity, and also work, commerce, and credit, and therefore general prosperity.

Of those laws your people are essentially in want, after the recent deplorable commotions which placed the Government of your Majesty under the painful necessity of uniting together and rendering efficient the whole of the forces of the country.

Such, amongst others, are the laws relative to public instruction, which forms the mind and elevates it to the knowledge not only of its rights, but also of its duties; the laws relative to the rigorous and just administration of the communes and provinces, which constitutes the first link in the chain, and is the chief and most solid basis of public wealth; the laws relative to the national guard, which, composed of the most honest citizens, has the right of protecting and maintaining their beneficial action. The Chamber of Peers will study to act conscientiously in accordance with your Majesty's Government, and with the other Honourable House of Legislature, in so just and necessary a design, shaping the spirit of their actions according to the fundamental principles by which they are to be guided.

As unemployed capital so recently abounded in the kingdom, it is impossible that in so short a time, notwithstanding the increase of expense and the force of circumstances, it should be all exhausted, or the public treasury seriously compromised.

If the loss of public confidence, on which depends monetary life and action, has forced that capital into hiding-places, so will the return of that confidence restore it to circulation in the usual manner.

The Chamber of Peers feels sure that peace and order will be the best remedy for the finances of the country, and that soon, every economy compatible with the dignity and safety of the State will go hand in hand with the renewal of commerce and of private contracts, and that the finances will triumph over their present difficulties. The Chambers of Peers will afford to this most important subject its most serious attention.

The Chamber of Peers rejoices that your Majesty has in general reason to think that the pacific relations of this kingdom with foreign Powers are not changed. The Government of your Majesty will certainly pay a constant serious attention to the important events which are going on around us, and which might exercise a serious influence upon the integrity and power of this kingdom, which is one of the principal parts of Italy.

The Chamber of Peers will second with all its power the efforts of your Government, so as to derive from the external peace all the blessings which for the increase of internal prosperity, and for the maintenance of that wise and legal liberty which your Majesty (to use your own noble language), calling God as a witness of the purity of your intentions, has determined, in accordance with the spirit of the times, to insure to your people. The dignity of the people will thus be enhanced, the splendour and solidity of the Throne increased, and the independence and importance of the State consolidated by concord and union.

God will bless the great work, and history will write in its annals that where liberty exists without license, conciliation without weakness, and force without abuse, there true glory and durable stability is to be found.

The Commission,
(Signed) NAVARRA, *President*.
L. CIANCULLI, *Reporter*.
MAZZETTI.
SPINELLI.
PARILLI.
ABATEMARCO.
FALCONE, *Secretary*.

Inclosure 2 in No. 176.

*Address of the Neapolitan Chamber of Deputies to the King.***Sire,**

IL 29 Gennaio fu giorno di felicità e di gioja perfetta per questo popolo e il più glorioso del regno di vostra Maestà. Caduti gli ordini feudali, che ci ressero ne' secoli trascorsi, la monarchia Costituzionale, ch' è la forma ottima del principato civile, era divenuta il solo politico reggimento proporzionato alle presenti nostre condizioni; e la Maestà vostra, considerata sapientemente la maturità de' tempi e degli uomini, coll' atto sovrano di quel memorabile giorno proclamò questo nobilissimo fatto, e gettò le basi del nostro politico risorgimento. Ma col richiamare questi popoli alla libertà ed alla vita politica, la Maestà vostra non apriva ad essi soltanto una nuova era di felicità e di grandezza. Parte considerevole di un gran tutto, i nostri destini sono intimamente congiunti con quelli della comune patria Italiana. Onde coll' iniziare tra noi il reggimento costituzionale, la Maestà vostra avanzò grandemente l'opera dell' Italiana rigenerazione, incominciata dal Santo Pontefice che siede glorioso e benedetto sulla cattedra di S. Pietro.

Un' altro giorno dovea emulare e vincere il 29 Gennaio, quello in cui vostra Maestà dovea per la prima volta essere circondato dalle Camere Legislative, chiamate a rendere feconde le nostre nuove istituzioni, e a congiungere indissolubilmente tra loro esenz' alcun estraneo intervento la nazione ed il Principe. Ma quel giorno tanto da tutti vagheggiato, e ch' esser dovea apportare di gioja, fu per un funesto disastro sventuratamente tramutato in giorno di lutto, e dalla Maestà vostra e da noi non sarà mai abbastanza deplorato, siccome quello che fatalmente venne ad interrompere quella confidenza intiera e serena che dee stringere insieme il Rè ed il suo popolo.

Noi non contristeremo il cuore di vostra Maestà soffermandoci su questa dolorosa rimembranza; nè le parleremo dei mali onde furono afflitti i pacifici abitanti di questa città; nè dell' ansia e del timore onde gli animi di tutti furono compresi sulle future sorti del regno. Ma la sacra parola di vostra Maestà venne bentosto a calmare ogni timore, e la nazione udì con gioja l'annuncio della prossima riunione dei suoi rappresentanti. Nondimeno, gli straordinarj provvedimenti che nel tempo medesimo Consiglieri della Corona credettero di adottare, e l'inaspettata e precipitosa dissoluzione della Camera dei Deputati, attenuarono i benefici effetti della sovrana parola, agitarono la pubblica opinione, e nocquero alla pacificazione del regno. La Camera è profondamente addolorata che una funeste collisione abbia perturbato e disertato una delle più nobili parti nel nostro reame. Deplorando quei tristi e lacrimevoli casi, noi facciamo caldissimi voti perchè la quiete e la pace sieno bentosto restituite a quelle travagliate contrade, e perchè la clemenza della vostra Maestà lenisca l'acerbità delle piaghe, che sono la necessaria conseguenza delle discordie civili.

A riparare per quanto è in noi gli effetti di tante sventure, ed a ristorare pienamente la confidenza che dee legare il Principe ed il popolo, noi veniamo, forti della purità delle nostre intenzioni, benchè ancora compresi da una infinita tristezza. Pure procureremo di non mancare nè all' aspettazione della Maestà vostra nè alla fiducia di coloro che ci hanno eletti, nè alle nostre proprie coscienze. Ristabilita la confidenza, potrà il nostro concorso giovare agli alti intendimenti di vostra Maestà, che non possono essere se non per la prosperità e la gloria vera della nazione.

I progetti di legge che la Maestà vostra ci annuncia saranno da noi disaminati colla maggiore possibile diligenza, essendo persuasi che senza di essi le nostre libere istituzioni rimarrebbero in grandissima parte infeconde. L'amministrazione comunale e provinciale primo strato di ogni società politica richiamerà principalmente la nostra attenzione, ed una legge che assicuri la libera azione dei comuni e delle provincie, senza distruggere l'autorità centrale, sarà un vero beneficio per queste popolazioni. Vostra precipua e sollecita cura sarà parimente il riordinare la Guardia Nazionale con una legge definitiva, per modo che la tranquillità interna dello Stato sia assicurata e l'ordine e la libertà diventino tal cosa, che non si possano dissociare. Anche il diffondere l'istruzione nel popolo è cosa che non patisce indugi, persuasi

come siamo che una grandissima parte de' nostri mali presenti procede dalla ignoranza, nella quale il popolo è stato ostinatamente tenuto. Una istruzione civile religiosa ad un tempo verserà certamente il balsamo sopra molte nostre ferite.

Le pubbliche finanze attireranno del pari tutta la nostra attenzione, affine di recar rimedio al dissesto, cui soggiacquero e che d'ordinario suole tener dietro alle politiche vicissitudini, segnatamente quando non lievi mali preesistessero, cui non siesi a suo tempo fatto riparo. Così procureremo che una ragionevole parsimonia prevalga nelle spese, la quale non tolga che provveda agli essenziali bisogni dello Stato ed al mantenimento di una civiltà severa, quale si conviene alla presente generazione. La confidenza e l'amore, di cui testè parlavamo, l'ubertà nativa di questa terra e l'attività e la prontezza dell'ingegni che vi vivono le industrie e i commerci assicurati dalla libertà saranno cagione che il nostro reame risalga subito anche per la prosperità materiale al posto che gli è destinato dalla Provvidenza.

Gli attentati commessi contro la proprietà e l'onore de' privati sono preveduti e puniti da tutte le legislazioni de' popoli anche meno civili. Ondè a reprimerli e frenare altro non è necessario se non che l'azione delle leggi e de' magistrati sia in efficace modo assicurata: pur nondimeno se di altre provvidenze legislative fosse mestieri, noi non mancheremo certo a questo sacro dovere, e quante volte a riconoscere le cause de' disordini sia uopo di coraggio, noi di questo coraggio ben ci sentiamo capaci increndoci parimente una libertà senz'ordine ed un'ordine senza libertà, e ritenendo come ugualmente funesti la licenza e l'arbitrio.

Sire, la proclamazione sovrana del 7 Aprile fece aperto al vostro popolo quanto profondamente fossero a cuore a vostra Maestà le sorti delle altre parti d'Italia. Le milizie spedite a combattere per la guerra dell'Italiana indipendenza partirono fra le acclamazioni di un popolo giubilante. Ond'è che grave dolore afflisse i nostri animi quando i vostri Ministri credettero di dovere richiamare quelle milizie dal campo della guerra, convinti come siamo che la nostra politica rigenerazione non può essere perfetta senza l'indipendenza e la ricostituzione della intera nazionalità Italiana, la quale non può seguire senz'accreocere lo splendore del trono della Maestà vostra, che regna sopra una parte tanto cospicua della patria comune. Laonde la Camera fa fervidi voti perchè si affretti l'ora del riscatto d'Italia, e tornata la pace nella Penisola possano i diversi Stati che la compongono rivolgere le loro cure a vicendevolmente rafforzarsi ed unire identificando sempre più e perfezionando i loro politici ordinamenti, e stringendo i patti di un'amichevole federazione di che lo sviluppo intellettuale, morale e materiale de' singoli Stati si gioverà grandemente, e più che qualunque altro questo reame, fatto per essere uno de' primi Stati Italiani.

Sire, la Camera de' Deputati è lieta di udire dalla bocca di vostra Maestà come il suo inflessibile proponimento sia di assicurare e rafforzare le nostre libere istituzioni e la felicità e il bene di questi popoli. In questo alto e nobile intento noi ci uniremo con tutto l'ardore del cuore, con tutte le forze del nostro animo, e saremo felici poter concorrere per quanto è in noi al compimento di un così magnanimo scopo, quale si è il consolidamento delle nostre libertà e la prosperità e la grandezza di questa nobilissima parte d'Italia.

La Commissione,

CAPITELLI, *Presidente.*

ROBERTO SAVARESE.

GIUSEPPE DEVINCENZI.

GAETANO GIARDINI.

SAVERIO BALDACCHINI.

GABRIELE CAPUANO.

FRANCESCO SAVERIO CORRERA.

GIUSEPPE MASSARI, *Segretario.*

(Translation.)

Sire,

THE 29th of January was a day of happiness and content for the people and the most glorious of the reign of your Majesty. The feudal system, by

which we were governed in times past, having fallen, the Constitutional Monarchy, which is the best form of Government for a polished nation, had become the only political rule suited to our present condition; and your Majesty, having wisely taken into consideration the aptness of the times and men, by a Royal Act of that memorable day, proclaimed the fact and laid the foundation of our political regeneration. But by calling this people to the enjoyment of liberty and to political life, your Majesty did not open to it alone a new era of happiness and greatness. As a part of the whole, our destinies are intimately connected with those of Italy, our common country. Your Majesty, therefore, by opening to us the way to a Constitutional Government, greatly advanced the work of the Italian regeneration, which was begun by the Holy Pontiff who now gloriously and blessed sits on the chair of St. Peter.

Another day was to have rivalled and surpassed the 29th of January; the day on which your Majesty was to have been surrounded for the first time by the Legislative Chambers destined to make fruitful our new institutions, and to cement the union, without foreign intervention, of the Sovereign and the nation. But that longed-for day, which was to bring happiness, was unfortunately changed by a fatal disaster into a day of sadness, which will ever be deplored by your Majesty and by us, as on that day the happy confidence which must unite the King to his people was fatally interrupted.

We will not sadden your heart by dwelling too much on this painful remembrance, nor will we speak of the evils which afflicted the peaceful inhabitants of this town, nor of the anxiety and fear with which the minds of all were oppressed for the future fate of the kingdom. But the sacred promise of your Majesty soon came to calm all fear, and the nation heard with joy the announcement of the approaching meeting of its representatives. Nevertheless, the extraordinary precautions which at that time the Counsellors of the Crown thought fit to adopt, and the unexpected and hasty dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, lessened the beneficial effects of the sovereign promise, agitated the public mind, and impeded the pacification of the kingdom. The Chamber deeply laments that a fatal collision should have disturbed and laid waste one of the most noble districts of the kingdom. Deploring these sad events, we sincerely pray that quiet and peace may soon be restored to these unhappy countries, and that your Majesty's clemency may assuage the soreness of the wounds which are the necessary consequences of civil discords.

We come, therefore, strong in the purity of our intentions, although oppressed by great sadness, to repair as much as we can the effects of so many misfortunes, and to restore in full the confidence which ought to bind the Prince to the people, and we will endeavour not to disappoint your Majesty's expectations, the confidence of those who have elected us, nor our own consciences. When confidence is restored, our concurrence will be of assistance to your Majesty's great talents, which will only be employed for the prosperity and true glory of the nation.

The projects of laws which your Majesty announces to us shall be examined by us with the greatest diligence, being sure that without them our free institutions would be for the most part of no effect. The communal and provincial administration, which is the first stratum of all political society, shall meet with our chief attention; and a law, which shall ensure the free action of the communes and provinces, without destroying the central authority, will be a real benefit for these populations. Your chief and anxious care, at the same time, must be to reorganize the national guard by a definitive law, so as to ensure the internal tranquillity of the State, and order and liberty may become so united that they cannot be torn asunder. Also the diffusing instruction amongst the people is a thing which cannot be delayed, as we are persuaded that a great part of our present evils proceed from ignorance, in which the people has been obstinately kept. A joint civil and religious instruction would certainly pour a balsam over many of our wounds.

The public finances shall also meet with all our attention, so as to remedy the disorder in which they were, and which is customary after all political changes, and particularly when great evils existed beforehand, which were not remedied in time. So shall we obtain a reasonable economy in the public expenditure, which will not however impede provision being made for the essential wants of the State and the maintenance of that strict civilization which is becoming in the present generation. The confidence and love of which we have just

spoken, the natural fertility of this soil, and the activity and talent of the inhabitants, together with the industry and commerce guaranteed by free institutions, will soon cause this kingdom to rise to that pitch of material prosperity to which Providence has destined it.

Attempts against the property and honour of individuals are treated of, and punished by the laws of even the most uncivilized nations. To repress and curb them, nothing more is necessary than that the free action of the laws and magistrates should be efficiently guaranteed, but if it were necessary to frame other legislative measures, we shall certainly not be wanting in this holy duty, and whenever courage may be needed to find out the causes of disorders, we feel ourselves capable of acting with that courage; as liberty without order and order without liberty are alike offensive to us, and as we hold licence and despotism to be equally fatal.

Sire, the Royal Decree of April 7th proved to your people how much your Majesty had at heart the fate of the other portions of Italy. The troops sent to fight for the war of Italian independence left amidst the acclamations of an exulting people. Great grief, therefore, afflicted our minds when your Ministers thought fit to recall those troops from the field of battle, convinced as we are that our political regeneration cannot be perfect without the independence and reconstitution of the whole Italian nation, which could not take place without increasing the splendour of your Majesty's throne, who reigns over so conspicuous a part of our common country; therefore, the Chamber fervently prays for the hastening of the Italian redemption, and that peace may be restored to the Peninsula, so as to enable the different States composing it mutually to strengthen and unite themselves, always intermixing and perfecting their political systems, and to enter into the engagements of an amicable federation, of which the intellectual, moral, and material development would be of the greatest benefit to each State, and mostly to this kingdom, which is made to be one of the leading States of Italy.

Sire, the Chamber of Deputies rejoices to hear from your Majesty's mouth that it is your determined purpose to guarantee and strengthen our free institutions and the happiness and well-being of this people. In this lofty and noble intent we will unite with you in all the ardour of our hearts and all the force of our souls, and we shall be proud to be able to concur as far as in us lies, in the completion of so great a work as the consolidation of our liberty and the prosperity and greatness of this most noble part of Italy.

The members of the Commission,
(Signed)

CAPITELLI, *President.*

ROBERTO SAVARESE.

GIUSEPPE DEVINCENZI.

GAETANO GIARDINI.

SAVERIO BALDACCHINI.

GABRIELE CAPUANA.

FRANCESCO SAVERIO CORRERA.

GIUSEPPE MASSARI, *Secretary.*

No. 177.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 14, 1848.

IN reference to my despatch of August 11 in which allusion is made to assistance which had been asked of France by the Pope, I should add that I understand that that demand was confined to furnishing some war-stores, and providing a French ship of war for the transport of a legion of foreign volunteers to be taken into the service of the Pope, and did not extend to the landing of French troops in any part of the Papal dominions.

No. 178.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, August 13, 1848.

YOUR Lordship's despatches of the 9th instant, have reached me in time to enable me to have some further communication with Baron Wessenberg on the subject of the settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy before his Excellency's departure for Vienna, which is fixed for to-morrow evening.

I read to Baron Wessenberg that part of your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant to Lord Normanby, which states the basis on which the British Government would be willing to mediate between the belligerent parties, and which was nearly identical with the propositions made by M. Hummelauer on the 24th of May. Having read them, I said that I presumed that the Austrian Government would be ready at once to treat on those terms.

His Excellency answered that he should have no objection to take M. Hummelauer's proposition as a basis for a final arrangement, but it would probably be thought necessary at Vienna to introduce some modifications. His Excellency went on to state that it must be recollected that Austria had been forced into the war, that she had only defended herself, that when at the commencement she had been desirous to come to an arrangement, all her offers had been refused; that not even an armistice had been granted, in order to see if an accommodation was practicable; that she had been obliged therefore to continue her armaments at a ruinous expense, and certainly now considered herself entitled to require indemnities for her expenses. As it appeared to me that Baron Wessenberg's words implied an indemnity of territory rather than of money, I asked him whether such was his idea. He replied that the National Assembly at Vienna would demand a secure line of frontier, but that he was not sufficiently versed in military matters to state what that frontier ought to be; and he repeated that at all events Austria must be in some way or other repaid the expenses which she had been forced to incur by aggressions on the part of the Italians.

His Excellency then said, "However, matters are now in a train of settlement. By this time an armistice must have been concluded, and the first important question to decide is the place where the negotiations for a final peace are to be opened." The French Cabinet, he continued, had proposed Milan, but to that he thought there would be on many accounts decided objections at Vienna. Upon my asking his Excellency what place he thought of, he replied that the Austrian Government would naturally prefer Vienna; and that, considering that Austria was the injured party, and that her interests were most at stake, he did not think the preference unreasonable; but as in all probability the opposite party might make difficulties, some place might be chosen which would form, as near as possible, a centre between the Powers, belligerent as well as mediating, concerned in the negotiation. "It will not be this point," observed his Excellency, "that will stop the negotiations."

No. 179.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord,

Innsbruck, August, 9, 1848.

I INCLOSE the bulletin published this day, reporting the taking possession of Milan by the Marshal Radetzky on the 6th instant.

I hope to be in Vienna in a few days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

P.S.—Prince Frederick Lichtenstein, who arrived here this morning from Milan, reports that the King of Sardinia was obliged to leave Milan suddenly in consequence of the unfriendly feeling manifested by the party opposed to him. His Majesty, it is believed, went direct to Turin.

P.

Inclosure in No. 179.

Bulletin.

(Translation.)

LONG live the Emperor! Honour and glory to the valiant Imperial army in Italy! Long may victory favour our brave Commander Radetzky!

Major-General Prince Frederick Lichtenstein is just arrived from Italy with the following accounts of victory:—

Head-quarters of Milan, August 6, 1848.

The city of Milan is ours! It surrendered to the mercy of His Majesty the Emperor, and I entered it with my brave army this day at noon.

The Piedmontese army left the town to-day, and must according to a convention agreed upon between it and the city of Milan, pass the Ticino before 7 o'clock this evening, and must have consequently passed the confines of the Imperial territory.

The army commenced its offensive operations at Verona two weeks ago: it has during this time fought victoriously at Somma Campagna, Custozza, Volta, Cremona, Pizzighettone, and for two days before Milan itself, and is now, on the fourteenth day, master of the capital of Lombardy.

The army and its leaders believe that they have thus faithfully fulfilled their duty towards their beloved Emperor and country, for no enemy now remains on the soil of Lombardy. I transmit this victorious news by one of the bravest Generals of the army, General Count Clam, to the Ministry of War at Vienna, at the same time that I have sent to His Majesty the Emperor an equally brave general officer, Major-General Prince Frederic Lichtenstein, as the bearer of this happy intelligence to Innsbruck.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

The miserable "Governo Provvisorio" at Milan is fallen. The Imperial eagle again soars over Milan and in Lombardy, in its former place and its former glory. The shameful treachery of the Lombards towards the Austrian Government and every German has been fully overcome by the military glory of Austria. The cause of justice has triumphed. Long live the Emperor!

Innsbruck, August 9, 1848.

(Signed) ELIATCHEK.

No. 180.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information the copy of a convention for an armistice, which was concluded yesterday the 9th instant between General Salasco and General Rossi, representing the King of Sardinia, and General Hess, Quarter-Master-General of the Austrian army, and chief of the Staff.

Prince Schwarzenberg, Military Governor of Milan, has published an order of the day declaring that it is not the intention of Field-Marshal Radetzky to enforce the conscription of all persons in the ages of eighteen and forty, ordered and partially acted upon by the Committee of Public Defence. A belief that the Austrian Government would resort to this harsh measure induced many persons of all classes to abandon their homes; in consequence of which belief the order of the day is published, with the hope of arresting the tide of emigration. The conduct of the Austrian authorities, both civil and military, is moderate and conciliatory; but so great a terror exists among the Milanese, that the great majority of the inhabitants have abandoned the city, and the few who remain do so from the want of means of paying the expenses of a removal. The city is deserted by all the nobility and by large numbers of the middle and lower classes. The only foreign route for which passports are given is Switzerland. The post-office has not delivered letters or newspapers, including those from England and France, since the entrance of the Austrian army.

A body of Austrian troops under General Welden took possession of Bologna a few days since, without opposition; but orders, I understand, have been issued, enjoining him to evacuate it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 180.

Convention for an Armistice between the Austrian and Sardinian Armies.

Convention d'Armistice entre les Armées Sarde et Autrichienne, comme prélude des Négociations pour un Traité de Paix.

ARTICLE I.

LA ligne de démarcation entre les deux armées sera la frontière même des Etats respectifs.

ARTICLE II.

Les forteresses de Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo et Osopo seront évacuées par les troupes Sardes et alliées, et remises à celles de Sa Majesté Impériale; la remise de chacune de ces places aura lieu trois jours après la notification de la présente Convention.

Dans ces places tout le matériel de dotation appartenant à l'Autriche sera rendu,—les troupes sortant emmèneront avec elles tout leur matériel, armes, munitions, et effets d'habillement y introduits, et rentreront par étapes régulières et le chemin le plus court, dans les Etats de Sa Majesté Sarde.

ARTICLE III.

Les Etats de Modène, Parme, et la ville de Plaisance avec le rayon de territoire qui lui est assigné comme place de guerre, seront évacués par les troupes de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne trois jours après la notification de la présente.

ARTICLE IV.

Cette Convention s'étendra également à la ville de Venise et à la terre ferme Vénitienne. Les forces militaires de terre et de mer Sardes quitteront la ville, les forts, et les ports de cette place pour rentrer dans les Etats Sardes. Les troupes de terre pourront effectuer leur retraite par terre et par étapes sur une route à convenir.

ARTICLE V.

Les personnes et les propriétés dans les lieux précités seront mis sous la protection du Gouvernement Impérial.

ARTICLE VI.

Cette Armistice durera pendant six semaines pour donner cours aux négociations de paix, et le terme expiré sera prolongé de commun accord, ou dénoncé huit jours avant la reprise des hostilités.

ARTICLE VII.

Des Commissaires seront nommés respectivement pour l'exécution la plus facile et amiable des Articles ci-dessus.

(Signé) HESS,
Chef de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée Autrichienne.

SALASCO,
Général, Chef de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée Sarde.

ROSSI, *Genéral.*

(Translation.)

Convention for an Armistice between the Sardinian and Austrian Armies,
to serve as prelude to Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace.

ARTICLE I.

THE line of demarcation between the two armies shall be the frontier line of the respective countries.

ARTICLE II.

The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo, shall be evacuated by the Sardinian troops and their allies, and made over to the troops of His Imperial Majesty; the surrender of each of these places shall take place three days after this Convention shall be made known.

In those places all the *matériel de dotation* belonging to Austria shall be delivered up, the evacuating troops shall carry away with them all their matériel, arms, munitions, and clothes which they may have brought thither, and shall re-enter the States of His Sardinian Majesty by regular stages and the shortest route.

ARTICLE III.

The States of Modena, Parma, and the city of Piacenza, with the portion of territory assigned to it as a *place de guerre*, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, three days after this Convention shall be made known.

ARTICLE IV.

This Convention shall be equally applicable to the city of Venice and its continental territory. The Sardinian land and sea forces shall quit the city, forts and port thereof, in order to return to the Sardinian territory. The land forces shall be at liberty to effect their retreat by land and by stages on a route hereafter to be agreed on.

ARTICLE V.

Persons and properties in the above-mentioned places shall be placed under the protection of the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE VI.

This Armistice shall last for six weeks, so as to afford time for the negotiations for peace, and when that term shall have expired, it shall be prolonged by common agreement, or notice of its expiration given eight days before the resumption of hostilities.

ARTICLE VII.

Commissioners shall be named by the respective Parties to provide for the most easy and amicable execution of the Articles above stated.

(Signed)

HESS.
SALASCO.
ROSSI.

No. 181.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 9, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of August 7, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which enables me to guarantee to the Austrian General that the conditions I had annexed to my offer of mediation should be scrupulously observed on the part of Tuscany. This note, which commences by thanking me on the part of the Grand Duke and the Tuscan Government for the eminent services I had rendered to Tuscany by preventing an invasion of her territory, I dispatched last night by messenger to General Welden at Bologna. At the request of the Government I also dispatched a messenger to Modena with a letter to Baron Perglas, from whom I have received a most polite reply, informing me that Prince Lichtenstein commands the army of reserve which has entered Modena, and that he was himself on the point of joining General Welden with the troops under his command at Bologna.

In the course of yesterday the Government posted the notification in the streets of Florence, which I inclose in original and translation, informing the people what I had done, and it appears that the eight days' dictatorial power given to the Ministry, which I mentioned to your Lordship in my despatch of the 7th instant, had been voted by the Chambers in order that the Government might be enabled to preserve the internal quiet which I had required should be maintained as the price of mediation.

I omitted to call your Lordship's attention to a passage in General Welden's letter to me, of which I sent your Lordship a copy on the 7th instant, which is remarkable; I allude to where he says, "Je sens tout le prix de la médiation de l'Angleterre, et accepte, tout en regrettant qu'elle n'aie été offerte plus tôt, la proposition que vous voulez bien me faire."

The General must allude to a general mediation of Great Britain in Italian affairs, as my offer of mediation was made the moment I heard of the Austrian advance on Bologna.

I am informed by the Tuscan messenger whom I have sent to Modena, that everything was perfectly quiet at Bologna, all the duty being done by Austrian troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch I have received the “Modena Gazette” of yesterday, the concluding paragraph of which is remarkable:—“7 o’clock in the evening.—The Austrians are entering into the city amidst the most joyful and cordial demonstrations of the people, more particularly of the country people, who are assembled here at our most abundant market.”

I hear that in Florence the hope of a cessation of the war has caused the greatest joy, and that an universal feeling of gratitude prevails towards England for the mediation I have thought it my duty to offer.

G. B. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 181.

Don Neri Corsini to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 7 Août, 1848.

JE viens de lire la lettre par laquelle votre Excellence a annoncé à Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc, mon maître, que d’après les bons offices de la Légation Britannique, le Feld-Maréchal Baron de Welden a consenti à respecter les frontières actuelles du Grand Duché de Toscane, pourvu que l’ordre ne soit point troublé à l’intérieur, qu’on ne fasse point de levées en masse, et que le Gouvernement Toscan se borne simplement à garnir ses frontières.

Je dois avant tout, M. le Ministre, vous exprimer, par ordre exprès de Monseigneur le Grand Duc, toute sa royale satisfaction pour le service éclatant que votre Excellence vient de rendre à la Toscane; et je suis en même temps autorisé à vous déclarer que vous pouvez franchement garantir au Feld-Maréchal Welden l’exécution des conditions sus-énoncées de la part du Gouvernement Grand Ducal, qui compte sur l’intelligence du peuple Toscan pour lui faire apprécier la nécessité de la modération dans les circonstances actuelles.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) N. CORSINI.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Florence, August 7, 1848.

I HAVE just read the letter in which your Excellency has announced to His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, my master, that in consequence of the good offices of the British Legation, Field-Marshal Baron Welden has consented to respect the existing frontiers of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, provided that tranquillity shall not be disturbed in the interior, that no levy en masse shall take place, and that the Tuscan Government shall confine itself simply to garrisoning its frontiers.

I must before all, M. le Ministre, express to you, by the express commands of the Grand Duke, his entire royal satisfaction at the brilliant service which your Excellency has done to Tuscany, and I am at the same time authorized to declare to you that you may frankly guarantee to Field-Marshal Welden the execution of the conditions above set forth by the Government of the Grand Duke, which is confident that the good sense of the people of Tuscany will make it understand the necessity for moderation under present circumstances.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) N. CORSINI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 181.

Notification of the Tuscan Government.

UNA comunicazione ufficiale del Ministro Inglese residente in Firenze ha fatto conoscere che il Tenente-Generale Welden, al seguito dei buoni uffici interposti dal Ministro predetto, al quale si era successivamente unito anche l'Incari- cato di Affari della Repubblica Francese, ha dichiarato che i confini della Tos- cana saranno rispettati dalle armi Austriache, purchè l'ordine interno si conservi nel Granducato, e non si facciano leve in massa, nè atti di aggressione.

Il Ministro d'Inghilterra avendo garantita l'esecuzione delle suddette con- dizioni, il Governo confida che il senno e la lealtà delle popolazioni Toscane le impegneranno a conservare quella quiete che è necessaria per la salvezza della patria.

Sebbene la dichiarazione del Tenente-Generale Welden sia sufficiente a rassicurare, pure ad esuberanza di cautele eguali uffici sono stati fatti dal prelo- dato Ministro d'Inghilterra presso il General Perglas, comandante il corpo d'occupazione di Modena, e si attendono con fiducia simili risultati.

Ciò nonostante non si rallentano i provvedimenti per guarnire la frontiera e per esser pronti ad ogni possibile eventualità.

Firenze, li 7 Agosto, 1848.

*Il Ministro Segretario di Stato pel
Dipartimento degli Affari Esteri e della Guerra,
N. CORSINI.*

(Translation.)

AN official communication of the English Minister residing in Florence has made known that Lieutenant-General Welden, in consequence of the mediation offered by the aforesaid Minister, who was joined subsequently by the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, has declared that the frontiers of Tuscany will be respected by the Austrian arms, provided that internal order be observed in the Grand Duchy, and no levée en masse or other acts of aggression be resorted to.

The Minister of England having guaranteed the execution of the above conditions, the Government trusts that the good sense and loyalty of the Tuscan population will induce them to preserve that tranquillity which is necessary for the salvation of their country.

Although the declaration of Lieutenant-General Welden is a sufficient security, notwithstanding, from an excess of caution, a similar application has been made by the above-mentioned Minister of England to the Baron Perglas, commander of the army in occupation of Modena, and a similar result is confi- dently expected.

Nevertheless, the necessary measures have not been neglected to strengthen the frontier and to be prepared for every possible eventuality.

Florence, August 7, 1848.

*The Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War,
(Signed) N. CORSINI.*

No. 182.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 10, 1848.

AT 4 o'clock P.M. yesterday a courier from Bologna arrived at my house, on his way into Florence, bearing despatches from the Pro-Legate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Florence, informing him that the city had been bombarded by the Austrians. The bearer of these despatches, who was a gentleman resident in Bologna, had orders to lay the state of affairs before me, consult with me whether I could come forward in any manner for the relief of Bologna,

and, after having done so, to proceed to Florence, to lay the case before the Tuscan Government.

Mr. ———, who had volunteered to bring these despatches, was taken up as an Austrian spy in Bologna itself, kept all night in custody, whilst loaded pistols were held at his head. He was with difficulty rescued by the Police in the morning, and enabled to continue his journey to Florence.

From his account to me, it is very evident that the imprudent conduct of some Bolognese, in insulting two Austrian officers who had gone into a café, was the origin of all the evil that has occurred. From one provocation to another, the porters or lazzaroni of Bologna, a class of men peculiar to that city, armed themselves with their knives, drove in a picquet of Austrians established outside the town, and took fifty prisoners and two pieces of cannon.

The Austrian General, incensed at this outbreak, fired rockets into the city; and although much harm had not been done when the courier came away, two palaces were in flames, and the people in the greatest agitation.

In the course of the evening I saw the despatch from the Pro-Legate to Don Neri Corsini, which confirmed the information given by the courier, with this addition, that General Welden had demanded Count Bianibetti, the Pro-Legate of Bologna, or his son, as a hostage from the city, and that that officer had immediately given himself up.

The Internuncio came to me and implored me to write to General Welden, and protest against the measures he had pursued. I refused to write to the General in the sense required by the Internuncio, but wrote a despatch to General Welden, in terms which I thought best calculated to make an impression on him, and calling upon him, in the name of humanity and civilization, to desist from bombarding the town.

I may here inform your Lordship that the Pope has protested in the strongest terms against the conduct of Austria, and has called upon all his allies to protect his States in this crisis of his affairs.

I have the honour herewith to inclose this protest, which has been published to-day.

The Internuncio was on the point of dispatching my letter to Bologna, when M. Benoit Champy, the new French Minister, who had arrived at Florence the day before, came to me, accompanied by most of the foreign Ministers resident in Florence, and proposed sending off a despatch to General Welden, signed collectively by the Diplomatic Body, protesting against his conduct, and calling upon him to desist from bombarding the town. I then read to the Diplomatic Corps the letter I had intended sending to General Welden. They approved of it, and finally agreed upon writing the remonstrance of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, with the signatures annexed to it. I of course withdrew my letter to General Welden; and at 2 o'clock this morning the remonstrance was dispatched by estafette.

I trust your Lordship will approve of the part that I have taken in this business, which I look upon as an unfortunate affair.

I inclose a number of the Leghorn "*Corriere*," in which King Carlo Alberto is proclaimed a traitor, for having surrendered Milan to the Austrians.

Inclosure 1 in No 182.

Protest of the Pope.

Protesta di Pio IX contro l'Occupazione degli Stati della S. Sede operata dalle Truppe Austriache.

FINO dal principio del suo Pontificato la Signoria di nostro Signor, osservando la condizione dello Stato Pontificio, nonchè quella degli Stati d'Italia, come padre comune dei Principi e dei popoli, alienò egualmente dalle guerre estericie che dalle discordie intestine, immaginò ed intraprese le negoziazioni di una Lega fra i Principi della Penisola, essendo questo l'unico mezzo atto ad appagare le brame de' suoi abitanti, senza punto ledere i diritti dei Principi; nè contrario le tendenze dei popoli ad una bene intesa libertà. Queste negoziazioni furono in parte secondate ed in parte tornarono infruttuose.

Sopravvennero quindi le grandi vicende Europee, alle quali tennero dietro i fatti e la guerra d'Italia. Il Santo Padre sempre coerente a se stesso, con gran suo sacrificio si mostrò alieno dal prendere parte alla guerra, senza però trascurare tutti i mezzi pacifici per ottenere il pieno intento che si era prefisso. Ma questa condotta, ispirata dalla prudenza e mansuetudine, non ha impedito con sua gran sorpresa, l'ingresso nei suoi Stati ad un armata Austriaca, la quale non ha esitato di occupare alcuni territorii, col dichiarare che l'occupazione era in via temporaria.

E dunque necessario di far conoscere a tutti come il dominio della Santa Sede venga violato da questa occupazione, la quale con qualunque intendimento sia stata intrapresa non poteva mai giustamente eseguirsi senza preventivo avviso e necessario consenso.

In sì dura necessità nella quale si vuole mettere dalla forza de' nemici esterni, e dalle insidie dei nemici interni, il Santo Padre si abbandona nelle mani della Divina Giustizia, e benedirà l'uso dei mezzi da adoprarli secondo che le circostanze richiedono; e mentre per mezzo del suo Cardinal Segretario di Stato protesta contro un simile atto, fa appello a tutte le amiche Potenze, affinché vogliano assumere la protezione degli Stati per la conservazione della loro libertà ed integrità, per la tutela dei sudditi Pontificii, e soprattutto per la indipendenza della Chiesa.

Roma, dalla Segreteria di Stato, questo giorno, 6 Agosto, 1848.

Il Segretario di Stato, G. CARD. SOGLIA.

(Translation.)

Rome, August 6, 1848.

FROM the beginning of his Pontificate, His Holiness, our master, observing the condition of the Papal States and that of the other States of Italy, as common father of princes and nations, equally averse to foreign war and intestine dissensions, in order to procure the real happiness of Italy, undertook negotiations for a league amongst the Princes of the Peninsula, this being the sole means of satisfying the desires of the people without in any way injuring the rights of the Sovereign, and without opposing the tendencies of the people to a well-regulated liberty. These negotiations were partly seconded and partly remained unsuccessful.

Then came the great changes in Europe, which were followed by the war in Italy. The Holy Father, ever consistent, showed himself, to his own prejudice, averse to take part in the war, without however neglecting every pacific mode of obtaining the result he had first proposed to himself. But this mode, inspired by prudence and mildness, has not, to his great surprise, prevented an Austrian army from entering his States, which has occupied several territories, declaring the occupation to be only temporary.

It is therefore necessary to make it known to all, that the Power of the Holy See has been violated by this occupation, which, whatever was its object, could not have been justly effected without previous notice and the necessary consent.

In this dire necessity, in which he is placed by the force of foreign enemies and by the snares of internal ones, His Holiness throws himself into the hands of Divine Justice, which will bless the use of those means which are to be adopted according as circumstances demand; and whilst, by means of his Cardinal Secretary of State, he protests loudly against this act, he appeals to all friendly Powers to assume the protection of these States, in order to preserve their liberty and integrity, to guard the Pontifical subjects, and above all to maintain the independence of the Church.

(Signed)

G. CARD. SOGLIA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 182.

*The Diplomatic Body at Florence to General Welden.**Florence, ce 9 Août, 1848.*

LES Soussignés, Ministres accrédités près de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane, poussés par le désir de voir cesser une effusion de sang déplorable, viennent protester devant votre Excellence des sentimens de douleur qu'ils ont éprouvés à la nouvelle des événemens qui depuis hier ensanglantent Bologne, et la prier de faire cesser une attaque qui livre une population tout entière aux plus terribles angoisses, et que réprouvent les lois de l'humanité et les principes de la civilisation.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé) GRIFEO,
Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Naples.

G. BAILLIE HAMILTON,
Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique.

BENOIT CHAMPY,
Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République Française.

MOLTKE,
Ministre Résident de Danemarck.

BUGMAN,
Ministre Résident de Suède.

MASSONE,
Internonce du St. Siège.

SCHAFFGOTACH,
Ministre Résident de Prusse.

(Translation.)

Florence, August 9, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Ministers accredited to His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, influenced by the desire to see an end put to lamentable bloodshed, have now to express to your Excellency the feelings of pain which they have experienced on receiving intelligence of the events which since yesterday have caused blood to be shed at Bologna, and to ask you to put a stop to an attack which is giving up the whole population to terrible misery, and which is opposed to the laws of humanity and the principles of civilization.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) GRIFEO,
Neapolitan Minister Plenipotentiary.

G. BAILLIE HAMILTON,
Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary.

BENOIT CHAMPY,
Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

MOLTKE,
Danish Resident Minister.

BUGMAN,
Swedish Resident Minister.

SCHAFFGOTACH,
Prussian Resident Minister.

Inclosure 3 in No. 182.

Extract from "Il Corriere Livornese" of August 9, 1848.

"IL sacrificio della patria è consumato." Milano fu tradita e consegnata all' Austriaco. Sola, e con le braccia inermi, pugnava cinque giorni, e trionfava! ora armata, e confidata ad un Carlo Alberto rivedeva le falangi che avea vinte, e fugate. Oh chi non piangerà sui destini d'Italia! Noi cercammo una patria, —e trovammo tomba, e vergogna.

Torni, torni di nuovo lo straniero a dileggiarci. Egli a ragione dirà mostrandoci a dito: Non son fatti per la libertà!

(Translation.)

THE sacrifice of our country is consummated. Milan has been betrayed and consigned into the hands of the Austrian. When alone and without arms it fought five days and triumphed! now, armed and confided to a Carlo Alberto, it has been subjected to the phalanxes which it had conquered and put to flight. Oh! who will not weep over the destinies of Italy! We sought a fatherland and have found desolation and shame. Let the stranger return, yet let him return to overwhelm us. He is in the right—and will say pointing at us with his finger—They are not worthy of liberty!

No. 183.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

(Extract.)

Berne, August 14, 1848.

IN consequence of intelligence having reached me that a large number of Italian refugees were assembled at Lugano, Canton of Tessin, armed, under the command of the Duke of Litta, with the intention of making it their headquarters, from thence to direct attacks against the Austrians, I thought it my duty immediately to wait upon the President, in order to point out to him the expediency of putting a stop to such proceedings, the continuance of which would be in direct opposition to the neutrality Switzerland has hitherto so wisely maintained, might give the Austrians a pretext for entering the Swiss territory, and thereby complicate the negotiations in which I am given to understand the British and French Governments are conjointly engaged with a view of mediating between the hostile parties in Italy.

The President received my observations courteously, saying that he entered fully into the views I took; that he would assemble the Directory the same evening; and that if it should appear that the Government of Tessin were unable to maintain the strictest neutrality on behalf of the Confederation, he should immediately recommend that Federal troops be sent to enforce the observance thereof.

No. 184.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 13, 1848.

I RECEIVED yesterday by messenger Gutch, a despatch from his Excellency the Marquis of Normanby, transmitting to me your Lordship's despatch to me of August 7, together with its inclosure.

The same evening M. de Reiset called upon me to tell me that his instructions had arrived, and that he was ready to co-operate with me in all that was connected with the offer of the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France between Sardinia and Austria.

This morning M. de Reiset and myself had a long conversation together, in which we reciprocally exchanged communication of the conditions which in the opinion of our respective Governments were to be considered as the bases

upon which the mediation of Great Britain and France was to be offered to the Cabinets of Turin and Vienna.

From my previous despatches your Lordship will have learnt that it was no longer possible for M. de Reiset and myself to obtain a suspension of hostilities upon the terms you had proposed, the armistice signed between Generals Salasco and Hess at Milan on the 9th instant having been already concluded.

Your Lordship will also have learnt the unfortunate impression made by the terms of that act upon the minds of the public of Turin.

Representations were made both to M. de Reiset and myself to endeavour if possible to obtain either some modifications or explanations from Field-Marshal Radetzky, that the armistice was to be considered purely as a military, and not as a political act.

The Cabinet of which the Marquis Pareto was a member, having forwarded their resignations to His Sardinian Majesty, and they having been accepted, M. de Reiset and myself have been of opinion that it would not be advisable for us to tender to the retiring Government the offer of the mediation of Great Britain and of France, but that we should make the offer to His Sardinian Majesty, subject to His Majesty's answer receiving the sanction of the new Cabinet.

We therefore propose for this purpose to proceed to-morrow to Alexandria, where His Sardinian Majesty is at present residing, and it is more than probable that on our arrival there we shall find some member of the new Government who will be able to give us the necessary official answer, which we shall transmit without loss of time direct to Innsbruck.

No. 185.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 13, 1848.

I HAVE this morning received from the Marquis Pareto a note copy of which I herewith inclose.

I also forward copy of the answer which I have returned to it, and I also add the number of the "Piedmontese Gazette" of the 12th instant, in which your Lordship will find inserted amongst the official acts of the Government, the armistice signed by General Salasco with the Austrian General Hess at Milan on the 9th instant.

M. de Reiset, who has received from the Marquis Pareto a similar note to the one which has been addressed to me, has replied to the same effect, stating that he considers the protest of the Marquis Pareto to bear merely a personal and not Ministerial character.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 185.

The Marquis Pareto to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, le 13 Août, 1848.

AU nombre des actes qui ont été faits dans ces derniers jours, il y a eu un armistice signé seulement par le Général Salasco. Cet acte, qu'on a qualifié de convention, a une partie qui est relative à des mesures militaires et une autre qui peut être considérée comme politique. Le Ministère, qui n'a pris aucune part à cet acte, ne saurait le regarder comme légal, et il ne pourrait lui reconnaître aucune valeur. Il croit donc de son devoir de protester contre tout ce qu'il pourrait y avoir de politique dans cet acte, et de déclarer qu'on ne pourra jamais le considérer comme un titre qui doit servir de base aux négociations.

Le Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur de porter cette déclaration à la connaissance de Mr. Abercromby, et le prie d'agréer, &c

(Signé)

L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 13, 1848.

AMONGST the events of these last days there has been an armistice signed only by General Salasco. This document, which has been entitled a convention, contains a passage with reference to military measures, and another which may be considered as of a political character. The Ministry, which has had nothing to do with this document, cannot consider it as legal, and cannot allow it to possess any weight. It considers it therefore its duty to protest against anything of a political nature which this document may be supposed to possess, and to declare that it can never be considered as a document which can serve as a basis for the negotiations.

The Undersigned, Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to make this declaration known to Mr. Abercromby, and to request, &c.
(Signed) L. N. PARETO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 185.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Marquis Pareto.

M. le Marquis,

Turin, August 13, 1848.

I HAD the honour to receive this morning your letter dated this day, announcing to me that the Government of which you are a member not having taken part in the conclusion of the armistice signed on the 9th instant between General Salasco and General Hess, they could not accord to that act either legality or validity; and that they considered it to be their duty to protest against all that was political therein, and to declare that they could not accept of it as serving for a basis for negotiation.

I beg to observe to you, M. le Marquis, in reply, that this act having been sanctioned by His Sardinian Majesty, and having been inserted on the 12th instant amongst the official acts of the Government in the official part of the official "Gazette" of this country, I cannot on the 13th attach any weight to the protest which you have addressed to me; and that I must consider the armistice in question as having been communicated to the public with the sanction of the Government by whom it has been officially published.

I therefore confine my present letter to the above single remark, and to the acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter which you did me the honour to address to me this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 185.

Armistice signed by General Salasco and General Hess.

Convenzione ed Armistizio tra gli Eserciti Sardo ed Austriaco come preludio delle Negoziazioni per un Trattato di Pace.

ARTICOLO I.

LA linea di demarcazione fra i due eserciti sarà la frontiera medesima dei rispettivi Stati.

ARTICOLO II.

Le fortezze di Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, ed Osopo, saranno evacuate dalle truppe Sarde ed alleate e rimesse a quelle di Sua Maestà Imperiale. La consegna di ciascuna di queste piazze avrà luogo tre giorni dopo la notificazione della presente Convenzione.

In queste piazze tutto il materiale di dotazione appartenente all' Austria

sarà restituito. Le truppe uscenti porteranno con esse tutto il loro materiale, armi, munizioni ed effetti di vestiario quivi introdotti, e rientreranno per tappe regolari e per la via più breve negli Stati di Sua Maestà Sarda.

ARTICOLO III.

Gli Stati di Modena, di Parma e la città di Piacenza col territorio che le è assegnato come piazza di guerra, saranno evacuati dalle truppe di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna tre giorni dopo la notificazione della presente.

ARTICOLO IV.

Questa Convenzione si estenderà parimente alle città di Venezia e alla terraferma Veneziana; le forze militari di terra e di mare Sarde lasceranno la città i forti ed i porti di questa piazza per rientrare negli Stati Sardi. Le truppe di terra potranno effettuare la loro ritirata per terra e per tappe sopra una strada da determinarsi.

ARTICOLO V.

Le persone e le proprietà nei luoghi precitati sono poste sotto la protezione del Governo Imperiale.

ARTICOLO VI.

Quest' armistizio durerà sei settimane per dar corso alle negoziazioni di pace, ed a termine spirato sarà o prolungato di comune accordo o denunziato otto giorni prima della ripresa delle ostilità.

ARTICOLO VII.

Saranno reciprocamente nominati commissari per la più facile ed amichevole esecuzione dei suddetti Articoli.

Quartier-Generale, Milano, 9 Agosto, 1848.

(Firmati all' originale)

CONTE SALASCO,

Luogotenente-Generale, Capo dello Stato Maggiore Generale dell' Esercito Sardo.

HESS,

Luogotenente-Generale, Quartiere Maestro-General dell' Esercito Austriaco.

D'ordine del Rè,

Dal Quartier-Generale, Vigevano, il 10 Agosto, 1848.

*Il Luogotenente-Generale,
Capo dello Stato Maggiore Generale,
SALASCO.*

(Translation.)

Convention for an Armistice between the Sardinian and Austrian Armies,
to serve as prelude to Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace.

ARTICLE I.

THE line of demarcation between the two armies shall be the frontier line of the respective countries.

ARTICLE II.

The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo, shall be evacuated by the Sardinian troops and their allies, and made over to the troops of His Imperial Majesty; the surrender of each of these places shall take place three days after this Convention shall be made known.

In those places all the *matériel de dotation* belonging to Austria shall be delivered up, the evacuating troops shall carry away with them all their matériel, arms, munitions, and clothes which they may have brought thither, and shall re-enter the States of His Sardinian Majesty by regular stages and the shortest route.

ARTICLE III.

The States of Modena, Parma, and the city of Piacenza, with the portion of territory assigned to it as *place de guerre*, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia three days after this Convention shall be made known.

ARTICLE IV.

This Convention shall be equally applicable to the city of Venice and its continental territory. The Sardinian land and sea forces shall quit the city, forts, and ports thereof in order to return to the Sardinian territory. The land forces shall be at liberty to effect their retreat by land and by stages on a route hereafter to be agreed on.

ARTICLE V.

Persons and properties in the above-mentioned places shall be placed under the protection of the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE VI.

This armistice shall last for six weeks, so as to afford time for the negotiations for peace, and when that term shall have expired, it shall be prolonged by common agreement, or notice of its expiration given eight days before the resumption of hostilities.

ARTICLE VII.

Commissioners shall be named by the respective Parties to provide for the most easy and amicable execution of the Articles above set forth.

(Signed) HESS.
SALASCO.
ROSSI.

No. 186.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 13, 1848.

A TELEGRAPHIC despatch was received here late yesterday evening, announcing the conclusion of an armistice for six weeks between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies.

This despatch has not yet been published, and no dates were mentioned in the extract which I have seen.

The conditions, however, were the surrender to the Austrians of the fortresses of Peschiera and Osopo, which the Piedmontese still held, and the withdrawal of the Sardinian troops from Venice and of their fleet from Trieste.

Orders have been sent to General Welden to withdraw immediately from the Roman States, and the various members of the Government here not only disapprove of his having entered the Papal territories, but say that he did so without any instruction from hence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 187.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston,—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 13, 1848.

M. DE LA COUR, the French Chargé d'Affaires, received this morning a courier from Paris, instructing him to offer, conjointly with Her Majesty's Ambassador, the mediation of France and England for the conclusion of peace between Austria and Piedmont and the settlement of the territorial question in Northern Italy.

M. de la Cour communicated to me the bases upon which he was instructed to offer this mediation, which are similar to those which your Lordship has sent to Lord Ponsonby.

He added that the French courier had travelled by the railroad as far as Cologne with the Queen's messenger who had been dispatched to Lord Ponsonby at Innspruck.

I informed M. de la Cour that Lord Ponsonby proposed leaving Innspruck on the 11th instant, and that I expected him here by the steam-boat from Linz on the evening of the 16th, and he proposes waiting his Excellency's arrival before he takes any steps in this matter. The Queen's messenger will probably overtake Lord Ponsonby between Innspruck and Linz.

M. de Wessenberg had written that he only waited the decision of the Emperor to leave Frankfort for Vienna; he will probably have learned on the 7th or 8th instant that decision, and he may consequently be expected here to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 188.

The Marquis Pareto to Count Revel.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Revel, August 19.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, le 14 Août, 1848.

LE Ministre d'Angleterre m'a adressé ce matin sa réponse à la protestation que je lui avait écrite hier au nom du Ministère, et dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous transmettre copie par ma précédente dépêche. Le Conseil des Ministres a décidé de lui adresser une nouvelle note, mais comme Mr. Abercromby vient de partir à l'instant, je n'ai pu effectuer cette communication. Cependant je m'empresse de vous faire part de sa réponse ainsi que du projet de note, afin que vous puissiez entretenir Lord Palmerston sur ce sujet et détourner de son esprit l'impression défavorable que pourrait produire le rapport que Mr. Abercromby lui a adressé par le courrier d'aujourd'hui.

Dans un entretien que ce Ministre vient d'avoir avec le Chevalier Berton il a confirmé sa ferme opinion de n'admettre aucune distinction entre les effets militaires et la partie politique de l'armistice signé par le Général Salasco: il ne veut pas admettre que le Ministère soit en droit de protester contre les stipulations qui ont dépassé le mandat de ce Général, et, au surplus, a ajouté qu'il agirait d'après les instructions qu'il en recevrait.

J'ai reçu ce matin votre dépêche du 9, ainsi que son annexe. En vous remerciant des notions intéressantes que j'y ai trouvées, je ne puis que vous engager à vous occuper avec le même zèle de l'importante affaire dont il s'agit.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé)

L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, August 14, 1848.

THE British Minister has this morning addressed to me his answer to the protest which I yesterday wrote to him in the name of Government, and a copy of which I had the honour to inclose to you in my previous despatch;

The Council of Ministers has decided on addressing a further note to him ; but as Mr. Abercromby has this very moment gone away, I have not been able to make that communication to him. However I hasten to communicate to you his answer, as well as the draft of our note, in order that you may be able to speak to Lord Palmerston on the subject, and to remove from his mind the unfavourable impression which the report that Mr. Abercromby has dispatched to him by this day's courier may create.

In a conversation which this Minister has just had with the Chevalier Berton, he has again asserted his firm opinion that no distinction is to be drawn between the military arrangements and the political portion of the armistice signed by General Salasco ; he will not allow that the Government is justified in protesting against those stipulations which exceed the powers entrusted to that General ; and he further added that he would act upon the instructions he should receive.

I received this morning your despatch of the 9th, with its inclosure. Whilst thanking you for the interesting particulars which I found therein, I have only to request that you will use the same zeal in the important matter now in question.

Receive, &c.

(Signed)

L. N. PARETO.

Inclosure in No. 188.

The Marquis Pareto to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, ce 14 Août, 1848.

PAR sa note en date du 13 de ce mois, le Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, a eu l'honneur de faire connaître à Mr. Abercromby, &c., que le Ministère croyait de son devoir de protester contre tout ce qu'il pourrait y avoir de politique dans l'armistice signé par M. le Général Salasco, et de déclarer qu'on ne pourra jamais le considérer comme un titre qui doive servir de base aux négociations. En répondant par sa lettre du même jour à cette communication, Mr. Abercromby a fait l'observation que cet acte ayant été inséré parmi les actes officiels du Gouvernement dans la partie officielle de la "Gazette," il ne pouvait ajouter aucun poids à la protestation qui lui avait été adressée par le Soussigné, et qu'il devait considérer cet armistice comme ayant été communiqué au public avec la sanction du Gouvernement par qui il a été officiellement publié.

Le Soussigné se croit en devoir de faire observer à son tour à Mr. Abercromby, que l'insertion de l'armistice dans la "Gazette Officielle" n'implique point contradiction avec la protestation et ne doit rien lui ôter de sa valeur : ce n'est point en effet comme convention militaire qu'on refuse de considérer l'armistice comme légal ; au contraire on a reconnu que sous ce rapport cet acte devait avoir tout son effet, et les dispositions sont données en conséquence.

Mais le Ministère ne peut reconnaître la validité de cet acte comme convention politique ; parceque s'il est reconnu qu'un Général peut conclure un armistice, il est également notoire et admis comme principe général du droit public Européen, qu'il ne peut faire, sans les pleins-pouvoirs nécessaires, un acte ou convention politique ; que si, outrepassant les limites dans lesquelles un Général doit se tenir pour le règlement des mesures militaires, il fait un acte qui peut avoir une signification politique, à raison d'expressions ou de clauses dont il n'a pas suffisamment apprécié la portée, cet acte est nul de plein droit quant à la partie politique. D'ailleurs un acte ou convention politique quelconque pour avoir de la valeur, ne doit-il pas, dans un pays régi par un système Constitutionnel, être revêtu de la signature d'un Ministre responsable ?

L'armistice dont il s'agit ne saurait donc être regardé comme un acte du Gouvernement, car si c'eût été un acte de cette nature il aurait été signé par un Ministre.

Si ces raisons ne suffisaient pas à elles-seules pour établir que l'acte dont il s'agit ne doit avoir aucune valeur quant à la partie politique, on pourrait s'assurer que telle a été en effet l'intention des Généraux Hess et Salasco

puisque dans le premier article des préliminaires qui ont précédé la conclusion de l'armistice, ils ont convenu qu'ils ne s'occuperaient dans cet arrangement militaire d'aucune condition qui aurait un caractère politique.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 14, 1848.

IN his note of the 13th of this month, the Undersigned, Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has had the honour to make known to Mr. Abercromby, &c., that the Government considered it its duty to protest against anything of a political character which might be contained in the armistice, signed by General Salasco, and to declare that that document can never be considered as forming a basis for negotiation. When replying in his letter of the same day to this communication, Mr. Abercromby has observed that that document having been inserted amongst the official notifications of Government in the official portion of the Gazette, he could not attach any weight to the protest addressed to him by the Undersigned, and that he must consider that armistice as having been communicated to the public with the sanction of the Government by whom it was officially published.

The Undersigned considers it his duty to point out in his turn to Mr. Abercromby that the insertion of the armistice in the "Official Gazette" implies no contradiction to the protest, and can in no wise detract from its weight: for in fact it is not in its character of a military convention that we refuse to consider the armistice as legal: on the contrary, we have acknowledged that in that respect this document should have its entire effect, and arrangements have been made accordingly.

But Government cannot recognize the validity of this act as a political convention; for if it be admitted that a General is at liberty to conclude an armistice, it is equally well known and allowed as a general principle of European international law, that he cannot without the necessary full powers, conclude a political instrument or convention: and if, exceeding the limit within which a General should remain with a view to the carrying on of military affairs, he enters into an arrangement which can have a political signification, by reason of expressions or clauses the bearing of which he may not sufficiently have understood, that arrangement is undoubtedly null as far as the political portion of it is concerned. Besides this, for a political document or convention to have any force, must it not, in a country under a Constitutional form of Government, bear the signature of a responsible Minister?

The armistice then which is now in question cannot be looked upon as an act of the Government, for had it been of that nature it would have been signed by a Minister.

If these reasons are not of themselves sufficient to prove that the document in question can have no importance, as far as the political portion of it is concerned, it may be asserted that such was in truth the intention of Generals Hess and Salasco, as in the first article of the preliminaries which preceded the conclusion of the armistice, they agreed that in that military arrangement, they would concern themselves with no condition which could have a political character.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) L. N. PARETO.

No. 189.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose despatches which I have received from Mr. Petre at Rome.

I must forward them to your Lordship without observation, not wishing to lose to-day's post; the contents of the despatches being of great interest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 189.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 7, 1848.

IN my despatch of August 4 I stated that the Council of Deputies had decreed a forced loan of 4 per cent. on all rents derived from mortgages.

It was so reported in the short accounts usually given in the "Epoca" and "Contemporaneo" journals of the 3rd instant of the proceedings of the Chambers.

But in the "Contemporaneo" of the 6th, and in the "Epoca" of the 7th, they report, without any mention of their former mis-statements, that the rate per cent. in the project of law proposed to the Council, was fixed at 40 per cent., and this is confirmed by the official report of the debates in a supplement to the "Gazzetta di Roma" of the 4th instant, published this evening.

I must observe that this forced loan of 40 per cent. will affect not only mortgages on land, but the interest arising from money lent on personal security and registered by a notary. The loan will affect those only who receive more than ten dollars yearly as interest on sums lent. The time to make inquiries will be long and the expense will be great.

By a subsequent decision of the Chamber, the loan has been reduced to 30 per cent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PÉTRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 189.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, August 8, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the President of the Council of Deputies yesterday communicated to the Chamber a letter addressed to him by the Cardinal Secretary of State, announcing the formation of the new Ministry, composed as follows:—

Cardinal Soglia *Secretary of State for Foreign, Secular, and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

Count Fabbri *Minister of the Interior.*

Professor de Rossi . . . *Grace and Justice.*

Signor Lauro Lauri . . . *Finances.*

Count Campello *Arms.*

Signor Perfetti *Police, provisionally.* This last gentleman has for some months acted as substitute of the Minister of Police.

Count Fabbri then rose and said that the Ministry would make every effort to form a political league; that His Holiness gave his consent to the projects voted for the defence of the country by the Councils; that all necessary steps had been taken to bring to a conclusion the negotiations with friendly Powers for the formation of a foreign legion; and that for the preservation of internal order they relied with confidence on the civic guards.

Signor Sterbini said in a written speech, that it was time to put an end to this farce, that he wished to know whether they were at war or at peace with Austria; that as the troops and volunteers under the Papal banners had entered Vicenza and Treviso, it was clear that they were at war, spite of the peaceful position of the Nuncio at Vienna, unless indeed this were by some secret treaty; let war then be declared, and he concluded by proposing the armed intervention of France in the affairs of Italy.

This motion, after some discussion, in which the Minister avoided as much as possible any explanation as to a formal declaration of war—a right appertaining solely to the Sovereign,—was carried unanimously, and it was resolved that an address should be presented, through the Ministry, to the French Ambassador to inform him of the vote of the Chamber.

Inclosure 3 in No. 189.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 8, 1848.

ON the arrival of a copy of a printed proclamation signed by the Austrian General, Marshal Welden, dated Bondono, August 3, 1848, to the inhabitants of the Legations, stating that he passed the Po for a second time in order to disperse the bands which ceased not to trouble peace and public order; that the Holy Father, their lord, inspired by his most holy office, had several times declared that he willed not war; that nevertheless the Papal troops and the Swiss in his pay had fought against Austria at Treviso and at Vicenza; that conquered, they had capitulated, obliging themselves not to retake up arms for three months; woe to those who should violate these conditions; that his movements were directed against the bands who called themselves Crusaders, and who by lies and sophisms endeavoured to deceive the good, and to instil an unjust and absurd hatred against a Power that had ever been friendly; that far from all idea of conquest, he came to protect the peaceful inhabitants, and preserve their Government against a faction; woe to those, who, deaf to his voice, should dare to make resistance; let them turn their looks upon the smoking heaps of Sermide which was destroyed, for the inhabitants had fired on his soldiers:—on the arrival of this proclamation the Cardinal Secretary of State published a notification dated 6th August, protesting against the entrance of an Austrian army into the States of the Church, in the name of His Holiness, who, equally adverse to war and to intestine disorder, had undertaken negotiations for a league amongst the Sovereigns of the Peninsula, as the only means of satisfying the desires of the inhabitants, without in the least either damaging the rights of Princes, or opposing the tendencies of the people towards a well-understood liberty; declaring that, placed in so hard a necessity, by external enemies and by the plots of internal ones, he placed himself in the hands of Divine Justice, who would bless the use of the means to be adopted as circumstances required, and that in the meantime he loudly protested, through his Cardinal Secretary of State, against such an act, and appealed to all friendly Powers to undertake the protection of his territory, the maintenance of its liberty and of its integrity, and above all of the independence of the Church.

On the same day, the 6th, the Minister of War, Count Campello, put forth an address to the soldiers and citizens, calling them to arms, if the thought of cities burnt and destroyed—wives and daughters contaminated—the old and the young murdered, could move them; to arms in the name of God who would not abandon them to the Vandal fury of a cruel enemy, when defending their rights and household gods; that having heard the will of His Holiness he ordered the civic legions and volunteers, returned from the Venetian provinces, to fill up their ranks with all those who were willing to belong to them, and that in all the cities and towns and villages of the State moveable columns should be formed, under proper officers, with a council of war in each for the punishment of offenders.

It appears that the style of this address was so displeasing to His Holiness that Count Campello was dismissed without the knowledge of the Ministers, who, ignorant of the cause, and not responsible for the act, declared, through the Minister de Rossi, this day in the Chamber, that they had intended offering their resignation, but had not done so, considering the critical state of affairs and the danger of leaving the country without a Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE

Inclosure 4 in No. 189.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 8, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, with reference to my despatch of this day's date, that a bulletin ("bollettino anticipato") of the "Gazetta di Roma" was published early to-day, containing a notice from the Council of Ministers, and a letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Cardinal Legate of Forli, of which the following are translations:

From the Council of Ministers, August 8, 1848.

"His Holiness is firmly resolved to defend the State against the Austrian invasion by all the means which the State and well-regulated enthusiasm of his people can supply. His Holiness loudly gives the lie (*'smentisce altamente'* in italics) to the words of Marshal Welden, protesting against whatever sinister interpretation might be given to the same, and declaring that the conduct of Sig. Welden (sic) himself is looked on by His Holiness as hostile to the Holy See and to our Lord, who cannot intend and does not intend to separate the cause of his people from his own, and considers every insult, every hurt brought on the people, as done to himself. And His Holiness has already declared this by solemn act and by all the authority of his supreme rank of Prince and Pontiff, as likewise appears by the following despatch.

(Signed)

G. CARD. SOGLIA,

President of the Council of Ministers.

P. EDOARDO FABBRI.

P. DE ROSSI.

L. LAURI.

P. GUARINI.

F. PERFETTI,

Assessor-General of Police, in the absence of the Minister."

"To His Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Marini, Legate of Forli."

"Most Reverend Eminence,

"Your Eminence well-knows how His Holiness our Lord has in every circumstance solemnly protested it to be his decided will to defend the integrity and independence of the States of the Church. The word of the Holy Father is sacred and cannot deceive. Hence it is, that contrary to all expectation, and with the greatest grief, he has learned that an Austrian army has dared to occupy the northern provinces of the Papal State, advancing in a hostile manner, exacting provisions for the maintenance of the troops, threatening punishments and burnings, which have moreover given motives for a conflict of parties, and for all those deplorable facts which are the consequence.

"For this reason His Holiness has ordered me to enjoin your Eminence that, on the receipt of this despatch, without any delay, in company with Prince Corsini, Senator of Rome, and Prince Limonetti, the former of the High Council, the latter of the Council of Deputies, your Eminence will proceed to the quarters of General Welden, and ask of him the motives which have led him to this violent step; furthermore, that in decided and firm language you command him to recede, and to leave the provinces free; intimating to him, in case of refusal, that His Holiness will make use of all those means which are in his power to repel an unjust occupation.

"Your Eminence's answer will be anxiously expected, to be sent by special estafette.

"Rome, August 8, 1848.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

G. CARD. SOGLIA."

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 190. X

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting that you had offered to mediate between the Austrians and the Tuscans, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the very proper steps you have taken in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 191. X

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,]

Foreign Office, August 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatches of the 7th and 9th of August, reporting the steps taken by you to prevent an invasion by the Austrian troops of the territory of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct on the occasion in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 192. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 13th instant, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the view taken by you of the various matters to which your despatch relates, and the course which you have pursued.

With regard to the armistice concluded between General Salasco and General Hess, the feeling which seems to prevail in Piedmont has also been expressed by Signor Ricci at Paris, and by Count Revel to me here. But I observed to Count Revel that it seemed to me impolitic and unnecessary for the Piedmontese Government to treat the armistice as a political transaction. It is a temporary military agreement between officers in command of troops for the suspension of hostilities between those troops for a limited time, and it cannot be deemed an acknowledgment on either side in regard to future territorial sovereignty.

No. 193. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 13th instant, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the answer which you returned to the Marquis Pareto's note of the 13th.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 194. >

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Peel.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 14th instant, reporting what passed between you and the President on the subject of the Italian refugees assembled in the Canton of Tessin, I have to inform you on that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued by you on the occasion in question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 195. >

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 21.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, August 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 11th instant and its inclosure, relating to the advance of part Austrian army of the Legations.

Although the news since received here, which will have reached your Lordship much more quickly tend to show that General Welden had returned within the frontier of Lombardy, I thought it as well to mention the subject to M. Heckscher, as I had not yet had an opportunity of conversing with him on the affairs of Italy.

I found M. Heckscher equally desirous to speak to me regarding the said affairs. With respect to that of Bologna, he said that he would see the Archduke directly on the subject, and that if it turned out that the Austrian troops had not been recalled, he thought that he could assure me that the good offices of the Central Power should be employed in order to put an end to the complication to which the longer presence of those troops in the Legations would undoubtedly give rise. He then said that he had been anxious to see me, in order to inform me that Baron d'Andrian would be instructed to state to your Lordship that if Austria accepted the mediation of England and France, the Central Government would wish to participate in the negotiations; that Germany was too much interested in the questions that would be discussed, not to have a right to do so; and that he hoped that neither England nor France would object to what he considered to be a reasonable claim on the part of the Central Power. He begged me to prepare your Lordship for this overture on the arrival of M. Andrian. Similar propositions would, he said, be made to the Austrian and French Cabinets. M. Heckscher added that the interference of the Central Power would be for the advantage of all parties, as it would only be exerted in a spirit of moderation and in the interests of peace.

I propose returning to the subject by the first safe opportunity.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 196.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 21.)

(Extract.)

Milan, August 14, 1848.

A PROCLAMATION was issued by His Majesty Charles Albert, dated the 7th instant, from Vigevano, but only published in the Milan Gazette of yesterday, in a paragraph of which there is the following assertion:—

"All the troops were brought by us under its walls (of Milan), ready to make a strong resistance, when we learnt that money, ammunition, and provisions were deficient, whilst ours had been consumed during the battle we gave there soon after our arrival."

I conceive it my duty, my Lord, to state that there was no want of money, as there were upwards of 2,000,000 current livres in the treasury, besides the

plate belonging to the churches and that of the richest families here, deposited at the mint ready for coining. There was no want of provisions, as for some time previous the Committee of Public Defence had taken the most energetic measures, and had laid in an abundant supply. There was no want of ammunition, as there was sufficient to defend the town for months. In different quarters of the city large quantities of ammunition were deposited. The principal deposits were the Engineers' department (Genio), the Church St. Carlo, the Church Campo Santo, and the Palace Borromeo.

I am given to understand by one of the highest Austrian military authorities here, that there is such an abundance of ammunition in this town, as to embarrass the army so much so, that they intend to throw large quantities of it into the canals.

No. 197.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 11, 1848.

PRINCE LICHTENSTEIN having occupied Modena with a brigade of the Austrian army, the Tuscan Government became alarmed lest he should likewise occupy Pontremoli, Massa, and Garfagnana, which form temporarily a part of the Grand Duchy, and have again requested my good offices to prevent an invasion of those territories, which would expose Tuscany to a complete disorganization.

My application to the Austrian Generals having hitherto met with so much success, I did not hesitate to comply with this request made to me, and I sent off a courier who had been placed at my disposal by the Grand Duke to Prince Lichtenstein, with a letter of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, which I trust your Lordship will approve of.

I also inclose a copy of a note I have received from Don Neri Corsini, gratefully acknowledging the services rendered to this State by Her Majesty's Government and by its Representative in Tuscany.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke has also been graciously pleased to call upon me in person, and reiterate his thanks for what he has been pleased to designate the salvation of Tuscany.

August 12.

I deferred sending this despatch, in order that I might furnish your Lordship with a copy of Prince Lichtenstein's answer to my letter, which I have now the honour to do, and to which I call your Lordship's most particular attention.

After giving an account of the triumphal march of the Austrian troops under his command, and the enthusiastic reception of the Duke of Modena in his hereditary dominions, he states that his forces had orders to concentrate themselves on the confines of Massa, Pontremoli, &c., and to restore those territories to their rightful owner; but in consequence of my representations, as Minister to the Queen of England, and in deference to my request, he had stopped all preparations for invading those countries. The Duke of Modena had consented to this arrangement, out of respect to Her Majesty; but under the understanding that his rights to the possession of his former dominions should in no wise be invalidated. Your Lordship will perceive that the political views of the Duke of Modena are embodied in Prince Lichtenstein's despatch to me, and of course intended to be communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

I inclose the Duke of Modena's proclamation to his people and the address of Prince Lichtenstein to the Modenese, in which he informs them that I have guaranteed to General Welden the faithful observance of the conditions imposed on Tuscany.

I likewise have the honour to inclose the copy of a letter which I have received this morning from General Welden, dated Padua. He accepts, with many flattering expressions towards Great Britain, the guarantees I have offered on the part of Tuscany for the faithful observance of the conditions which I had insisted on as a price of my mediation.

Inclosure 1 in No. 197.

Sir George Hamilton to Prince Lichtenstein.

Mon Prince,

Florence, 9 Août, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-jointes copies d'une correspondance qui a eu lieu entre M. le Lieutenant-Maréchal Général Welden et moi relativement à la Toscane et à l'offre que j'ai faite de médiation entre elle et l'Autriche, offre qui a été très-généreusement acceptée par le Général.

J'ose vous faire, M. le Général, les mêmes propositions que j'ai faites au Général Welden, et j'attends avec confiance le même heureux résultat.

En appelant votre attention à cette partie de ma lettre au Général Welden dans laquelle je le prie de respecter les nouvelles aussi bien que les anciennes frontières de la Toscane, j'appuie ma demande sur les circonstances qui ont amené l'annexion temporaire des territoires de Pontremoli, Massa, et Garfagnana au Grand Duché, et que j'ai expliquées au Général Welden. La Toscane a dû prendre sous sa protection ces provinces pour les soustraire à l'anarchie. Le sort ultérieur doit en être réglé par des conventions d'une manière plus satisfaisante.

Je n'hésite donc pas à vous prier, mon Prince, de sauver la Toscane du complet bouleversement auquel elle serait exposée si ces provinces venaient à être envahies dans ce moment.

Comme Ministre d'Angleterre accrédité auprès des Cours de Parme et de Modène aussi bien qu'à celle de Toscane, je ne veux pas plaider en faveur de la dernière aux dépens des autres, mais j'espère que votre Excellence envisagera ma demande comme dictée par un ardent désir pour le bien général de l'Italie.

J'ajoute une copie d'une lettre que j'ai reçue de Don Neri Corsini, qui me met à même de garantir l'observation des conditions que j'ai demandées à la Toscane comme prix de ma médiation.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé)

G. B. HAMILTON.

(Translation.)

Mon Prince,

Florence, August 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of a correspondence which has passed between Lieutenant-Marshal General Welden and myself, respecting Tuscany, and the offer which I have made to mediate between it and Austria, an offer which has been very generously accepted by the General.

I venture to make to you, M. le General, the same proposals which I made to General Welden, and I confidently expect the same happy result.

Whilst calling your attention to that part of my letter to General Welden in which I request him to respect the new as well as the ancient frontiers of Tuscany, I ground my request on the events which have produced the temporary annexation of the territories of Pontremoli, Massa, and Garfagnana to the Grand Duchy, and which I have explained to General Welden. Tuscany has been constrained to take those provinces under her protection in order to keep them from a state of anarchy. Their further condition must be arranged in a more satisfactory manner by means of conventions.

I have therefore, mon Prince, no hesitation in asking you to save Tuscany from that complete revolution to which it would be exposed were those provinces to be attacked at this moment.

As a British Minister accredited to the Courts of Parma and Modena as well as to that of Tuscany, I do not choose to plead in favour of the latter at the expense of the others, but I hope that your Excellency will consider my request as dictated by a warm desire for the general prosperity of Italy.

I add a copy of a letter which I have received from Don Neri Corsini, which enables me to guarantee the observance of the conditions which I have asked of Tuscany in return for my mediation.

Receive, &c.

(Signed)

G. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 197.

Don Neri Corsini to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 10 Août, 1848.

JE croirais manquer à mon devoir si je différais un instant à témoigner à votre Excellence les sentimens de ma gratitude pour l'empressement bienveillant qu'elle a mis à accueillir la demande que je fus dans le cas de lui adresser Mardi au soir. La continuation de vos bons offices en faveur de la Toscane ne sera au surplus, M. le Ministre, qu'un nouvel argument pour convaincre le Gouvernement du Grand Duc de toute la sympathie et de tout l'intérêt que celui de Sa Majesté Britannique et de son digne Représentant ont voués à notre pays.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) N. CORSINI.

(Translation.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, August 10, 1848.

I SHOULD consider myself wanting in my duty were I to delay for an instant expressing to your Excellency my feelings of gratitude for the friendly alacrity which you have shown in receiving the request which I had to make to you on Tuesday evening. The continuance of your good offices in favour of Tuscany, M. le Ministre, will serve only as a fresh argument to convince the Government of the Grand Duke of the complete sympathy and interest which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and its worthy representative entertain for our country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. CORSINI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 197.

Prince Lichtenstein to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Modène, le 11 Août, 1848.

J'AI reçu dans le courant de la journée d'hier la dépêche que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser. Les ordres que le Maréchal m'a donnés lorsqu'il me fit marcher sur Modène, m'imposaient de chasser l'ennemi partout où je le trouverais, et de rétablir dans tout le Duché de Modène le Gouvernement légitime. Je pourrais comparer ma marche jusqu'à Modène à une marche triomphale plutôt qu'à une marche contre l'ennemi; le peuple accourait de toutes parts avec des cris d'allégresse et des vivats pour Francesco V, pour l'armée Autrichienne, et pour le Maréchal qui la commande et qui venait de délivrer par mon entremise les habitans des campagnes de leurs oppresseurs, les Piémontais et les corps francs. Des milliers de paysans m'accompagnèrent jusqu'à Modène, et ce n'est qu'à force de persuasion de ma part et de celle de mes officiers, que je parvins à les empêcher de se jeter sur la Civica. J'ai rétabli la Régence nommée par Son Altesse Royale le Duc François V lors de son départ de Modène, comme le seul pouvoir légal avec lequel je pouvais traiter d'affaires. J'ai soumis depuis ce temps la ville de Reggio. Le point important de Brescello, avec une garnison de 700 Modenais, 80 canons, et un pont militaire, a arboré l'étendard Ducal. Plus de 1200 soldats Modenais, avec une grande partie de leurs officiers, m'accompagnent dans mes mouvemens, que j'aurais étendus ces jours-ci jusqu'à Pontremoli Massa et dans la Garfagnana.

Son Altesse Royale le Duc étant entré hier soir dans ses Etats pour reprendre les rênes du Gouvernement, je me rendis aussitôt auprès de lui pour lui montrer les dépêches que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser. Votre Excellence verra par la proclamation ci-jointe, que le Duc était bien décidé à ne point céder ce qui lui appartient de plein droit. Il veut toutefois avoir égard à l'intercession d'un Ministre de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, et guidé par l'amour de la paix, désirant la tranquillité, voulant éviter tout effusion de sang, regardant en outre l'annexion des territoires de Pontremoli, de Massa, et de Garfagnana, comme

purement temporaire, annexion (comme vous le dites dans votre lettre) amenée par le simple désir de sauver ces provinces de l'anarchie; voulant enfin sauver la Toscane d'un soulèvement général, il a renoncé à me faire prendre possession des provinces sus-mentionnées, et respectera les anciennes frontières ainsi que celles que cette occupation temporaire a données à la Toscane.

Son Altesse Royale persiste cependant sur son bon droit, et demande tôt ou tard, ou la restitution entière de ses provinces, ou que par une convention ratifiée par lui-même, justice lui soit faite. Il proteste donc contre toute usurpation ultérieure de la part du Gouvernement Toscan, invoque de la manière la plus solennelle l'appui des Puissances ses alliées, et compte en première ligne sur la puissante médiation de Sa Majesté Britannique.

D'après les termes de la Convention d'Armistice conclue le 9 Août à Milan entre les armées Sardes et Autrichiennes (Convention ci-annexée), je m'oppose à toute démonstration hostile de la part des troupes Toscanes que Son Altesse Impériale le Grand Duc pourrait envoyer sur ces frontières. La rare modération dont le Duc de Modène vient de donner des preuves si éclatantes, en m'empêchant d'occuper les frontières de ses Etats tombés entre les mains de la Toscane, me fait espérer que votre Excellence saura faire maintenir au Gouvernement de Florence les conditions proposées et garanties par le même. Le moindre manque de foi me forcerait contre mon gré d'envahir immédiatement Pontremoli, Massa, et la Garfagnana.

J'espère, M. le Ministre, que le contenu de cette lettre vous prouvera combien j'ai à cœur d'entrer dans vos vues et dans celle de Sa Majesté la Reine, l'ancienne alliée de mon auguste maître.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé)

LE PRINCE FRANCOIS DE LICHTENSTEIN,
*Général commandant les Troupes de Sa Majesté Impériale
et Royale à Modène.*

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Modena, August 11, 1848.

I RECEIVED in the course of yesterday the despatch which your Excellency has had the goodness to address to me. The orders given to me by the Marshal when he directed me to march upon Modena, directed me to drive back the enemy wherever I should find him, and to re-establish the legitimate Government throughout the whole of the Duchy of Modena. I might rather compare my march to Modena to a triumphal march than to a march against an enemy. The people assembled from all directions with shouts of joy and vivats for Francis V, for the Austrian army, and for the Marshal who commands it, and who by my means had just freed the country-people from their oppressors the Piedmontese and free corps. Thousands of peasants accompanied me as far as Modena, and it was only at the persuasion of myself and of my officers that I prevented them from falling on the Civic guard. I have restored the regency nominated by His Royal Highness Duke Francis V on his departure from Modena, as being the only legal power with whom I could transact business. Since that time I have brought the town of Reggio to submission. The important post of Brescello, with a garrison of 700 Modenese, eighty cannons, and a military bridge, has hoisted the Ducal colours. More than 1200 Modenese soldiers, with a large number of the officers, accompany my movements, which might have extended during these last days as far as Pontremoli, Massa, and Garfagnana.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke having last night entered his territories in order to resume the reins of Government, I immediately waited upon him to show him the despatches which you have been so good as to address to me. Your Excellency will see by the annexed proclamation, that the Duke was firmly determined not to give up that to which he has a full right. He is at the same time anxious to attend to the intercession of the Ministers of Her Majesty the Queen of England; and, guided by a love of peace, wishing for tranquillity, desiring to avoid bloodshed, and considering also the annexion of the territories of Pontremoli, of Massa, and of Garfagnana, as merely a temporary annexion (as you state in your letter), produced only by the wish to preserve those provinces from a state

of anarchy; and lastly, being desirous of saving Tuscany from a general insurrection, he has refrained from instructing me to take possession of the provinces above referred to, and he will respect the ancient frontiers as well as those which this temporary occupation has given to Tuscany.

His Royal Highness, however, insists upon his rights, and demands sooner or later either the complete restoration of his provinces, or that justice should be done to him by a convention to be ratified by himself. He therefore protests against any further usurpation on the part of the Tuscan Government, calls in the most solemn manner for the support of the Powers allied to him, and counts especially upon the powerful mediation of Her Britannic Majesty.

According to the terms of the Convention of Armistice concluded on the 9th of August at Milan, between the Sardinian and Austrian armies (the Convention hereunto annexed), I am opposed to any hostile demonstration on the part of any Tuscan troops whom His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke may send to the frontiers. The rare moderation of which the Duke of Modena has just given such brilliant evidence, by preventing me from occupying the frontiers of his territories which have fallen into the hands of Tuscany, causes me to hope that your Excellency will know how to cause the Government of Florence to observe conditions proposed and guaranteed by itself. The least breach of faith would force me, contrary to my inclinations, immediately to attack Pontremoli, Massa, and Garfagnana.

I hope, M. le Ministre, that the contents of this letter will prove to you how anxious I am to meet your views and those of Her Majesty the Queen, the ancient ally of my august master.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) PRINCE FRANÇOIS DE LICHTENSTEIN.

Inclosure 4 in No. 197.

Proclamation of the Duke of Modena.

Francesco V, &c.

DOPO vicende diverse la Provvidenza Divina ci permise di seguir l'impulso del nostro cuore e del dovere, riavvicinandoci ai nostri amatissimi sudditi ed alla patria. Fra poco saremo in mezzo a voi per riprendere l'esercizio della sovranità e per travagliare a tutta possa a rimarginare le piaghe che le passate agitazioni asperso nel vostro seno.

Benchè ci rincresca, pur dobbiamo rammentarvi come una minorità turbolenta giovò alle mire ambiziose di alcuno dei Governi vicini, ed ebbe parte alla distruzione di uno Stato indipendente.

Riconosciamo per nemici quelli che s'impadronirono de' nostri Stati, ed anche ciò soltanto finchè essi abbiano restituito tutto quanto ci compete dell'eredità de' nostri maggiori, ed in forza dei trattati che da parte nostra abbiamo in ogni tempo scrupolosamente osservati.

Confidiamo che la gran maggioranza dei sudditi rimastici fedeli coopererà secondo le sue forze al ristabilimento del suo legittimo Sovrano e dell'ordine pubblico.

Accordiamo un' amnistia generale, eccettuando quei pochi capi o promotori, ai quali lasciamo il tempo di allontanarsi dallo Stato, ed eccettuato pure chi siasi macchiato di delitto comune.

Ci lusinghiamo che niuno fra gli amatissimi nostri sudditi si unirà più oltre ai nostri attuali nemici, giacchè d'oggi in poi chi volontariamente presterà loro aiuto, e di propria scelta andrà a combattere nelle loro file, sarà colpevole di ribellione e di aver contribuito a prolungare lo stato di guerra e di agitazione nella propria patria.

L'appello che abbiamo fatto di sopra ai nostri sudditi, che non si dimenticarono di noi e della nostra famiglia, riguarda in ispecie le truppe state loro malgrado forzate dalle circostanze a combattere per una causa che non era la loro.

Chi adunque servi già nelle onorate truppe Estensi e nelle milizie, chi fra la popolazione a noi affezionata si sente in grado di portare le armi, si presenti

alle autorità militari, onde cooperare al mantenimento dell' ordine e della pubblica tranquillità.

Le valorose truppe Imperiali sono nel vostro paese quali amiche, all' intento anch' esse di ridonarvi la tanto desiderata quiete, e di liberarvi dalle orde indisciplinate di avventurieri, dalle quali siete stati tiranneggiati.

Più unanime e più pronta sarà la vostra dimostrazione, più presto cesserà lo stato di guerra.

Non mancheremo di occuparci senza indugio delle concessioni che eravamo disposti a farvi, onde, calmato il presente stato di agitazione, possiate godere di quelle istituzioni che sono richieste dai tempi e che si accordino con quelle degli Stati circonvicini.

Dato in Mantova, li 8 Agosto, 1848.

FRANCESCO.

(Translation.)

Francis V, &c.

Mantua, August 8, 1848.

AFTER many vicissitudes, Divine Providence has permitted us to follow the impulse of our heart and of our duty, in returning to our most beloved subjects and to our country. We shall in a short time be amongst you, in order to resume the exercise of sovereignty, and to labour to the utmost extent at closing the wounds which the late disorders have opened in your bosom.

Though we regret it, we must however remind you that a turbulent minority served the ambitious views of one of the neighbouring Powers, and took part in the destruction of an independent State.

We acknowledge as enemies those who have made themselves masters of our States, but only till they have restored all that appertains to us by inheritance from our ancestors, or by the force of treaties, which we on our side have always scrupulously observed.

We trust that the great majority of our subjects who have remained faithful to us will co-operate, each according to his strength, in the restoration of his legitimate Sovereign and of public order.

We grant a general amnesty, excepting only those few chiefs and promoters to whom we give time to quit the States, and those who have stained themselves with some common crime.

We flatter ourselves that no one of our most beloved subjects will henceforth join our present enemies, for whosoever from this day forward voluntarily lends them assistance, and of his own choice goes and fights in their ranks, will be guilty of rebellion and of having contributed in prolonging the state of war and of agitation in his own country.

The appeal which we have made above to our subjects who have not forgotten us or our family, is particularly addressed to the troops which were forced by circumstances to fight for a cause which was not theirs.

Whoever, therefore, has served in the honourable Modenese troops, or in the militia, whoever amongst the population attached to us feels himself capable of bearing arms, let him present himself to the military authorities, in order to co-operate in the maintenance of order and of public tranquillity.

The brave Imperial troops are in your country as friends, with the intention also of giving you back the peace so much desired, and of delivering you from the undisciplined hordes of adventurers by whom you have been tyrannized.

The more unanimous and speedy your demonstration, the sooner the state of war will cease in your country.

We shall not fail to apply ourselves without delay to the concessions which we were disposed to make to you, in order that the present state of agitation being calmed, you may enjoy those institutions which are demanded by the times and which are in harmony with those of neighbouring States.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

Inclosure 5 in No. 197.

Address of the Prince of Lichtenstein to the Modenese.

INFORMATO il Sottoscritto che 700 soldati Estensi con 21 ufficiali erano racchiusi nei forti di Brescello, e che certo Santa Rosa, Commissario Straordinario del Governo Piemontese, avea mandato jeri l'altro da Reggio l'ordine positivo a quel presidio di difendersi contro gli Austriaci sino agli estremi, mentre egli stesso fuggiva in fretta verso il Piemonte, di cui le prove scritte sono in nostra mano, il Sottoscritto mandava tosto un colonnello del suo stato maggiore a Brescello onde notificare alle truppe Estensi il vicinissimo ritorno a Modena di Sua Altezza Reale Francesco V, loro legittimo Sovrano.

Penetrato nei forti ed adempiuta la sua missione il prefato colonnello ebbe la vivissima soddisfazione di vedere inalberato immediatamente il vessillo Estense, ripigliate a gara dai soldati le coccarde già date loro da Sua Altezza Reale e di udire gli evviva senza fine e le grida di gioja di quelle fedeli truppe.

Colla restituzione dei forti di Brescello si conservano allo Stato 51 pezzi d'artiglieria ed un magnifico ponte militare.

Mentre ciò succedeva, un corpo delle mie truppe avanzavasi verso Reggio. Veniva ad incontrarlo una deputazione della città ansiosa di protestare la sua profonda devozione alla venerata persona di Sua Altezza Reale Francesco V, e di dichiarare la sommissione illimitata della città: chiedeva in compenso quei riguardi che i buoni sentimenti dei cittadini loro assicuravano.

Le truppe Imperiali Reali hanno occupato Reggio questa mane. I Piemontesi retrocedevano verso Parma, i Toscani seguivano la via militare che mena a Fivizzano.

Il Tenente-Maresciallo Barone Welden, volendo provare che non è entrato da nemico negli Stati Pontificii, ma bensì col solo intento di scacciarne i Crociati, il dì 7 Agosto ha ratificato in Bologna una Convenzione colle autorità locali Pontificie nella quale esse assumono l'obbligo d'astenersi ovunque da ogni dimostrazione ostile. Il Tenente-Maresciallo promette da lato suo di fare sgombrare alle truppe da lui dipendenti il suolo Pontificio tosto che verrà garantita da Roma la quiete pubblica, e saranno rannodate le primitive relazioni amichevoli coll' Impero Austriaco.

Da parte del Governo Toscano il Tenente-Maresciallo Barone Welden ha ricevuto, colla mediazione del Ministro d'Inghilterra residente in Firenze, che si fa mallevadore dell' esatto adempimento delle seguenti promesse, la certezza che nella Toscana verrà mantenuto con ogni vigore l'ordine interno, che saranno vietate le leve in massa ed impedito le scorrerie armate al di là dei proprii confini, purchè il corpo d'armata capitanato dal Barone Welden rispetti i limiti della Toscana.

Il Ministro d'Inghilterra esprime a nome di Sua Altezza Imperiale il Granduca i sensi suoi di gratitudine per il modo generoso ed indulgente col quale il prefato Tenente-Maresciallo si propone di operare verso la Toscana.

Il Sottoscritto, forte dell' ajuto delle prodi truppe Estensi, si lusinga di scacciare fra pochi dì dallo Stato le truppe nemiche che tuttora stanziano nelle montagne collo scopo di continuare l'usurpazione del potere legittimo, e spera di restituire in cotal modo a questi paesi quella quiete sì necessaria al pubblico bene.

Modena, 10 Agosto, 1848.

*Il Generale comandante le Truppe Imperiali Reali nel
Ducato di Modena,*

PRINCIPE DI LICHTENSTEIN.

(Translation.)

Modena, August 10, 1848.

THE Undersigned, having been informed that 700 Modenese soldiers, with 21 officers, were shut up in the fortress of Brescello, and that a certain Santa Rosa, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Piedmontese Government, had sent, the day before yesterday, from Reggio, positive orders to the garrison to defend

itself against the Austrians to the last extremity, whilst he himself fled in haste towards Piedmont, written proofs of which are in our hands, the Undersigned immediately sent a colonel of his staff to Brescello, to notify to the Modenese troops the speedy return to Modena of His Royal Highness Francis V, the legitimate Sovereign.

Having penetrated into the forts and accomplished his mission, the aforesaid colonel had the very great satisfaction of seeing immediately the Modenese flag hoisted, the cockades given to them before by His Royal Highness resumed with eagerness by the soldiers, and of hearing the "vivas" without end, and the cries of joy uttered by those faithful troops.

By the surrender of the forts of Brescello, fifty-one pieces of artillery and a splendid military bridge are preserved to the State.

Whilst this was taking place a body of my troops was advancing towards Reggio. A deputation from the city came out to meet them, desirous of proclaiming their deep devotion to the honoured person of His Royal Highness Francis V, and to offer the surrender of the town without restriction; in consideration of which they requested those regards which the good sentiments of the inhabitants assured to them.

The Imperial and Royal troops this morning have occupied Reggio. The Piedmontese were retreating towards Parma, and the Tuscans pursuing the military road that leads to Fivizzano.

Lieutenant-Marshal Baron Welden, wishing to prove that he has entered the Pontifical States not as an enemy, but really with the intention of expelling the Crusaders, has on the 7th of August ratified at Bologna, a convention with the Pontifical local authorities, in which they bind themselves everywhere to abstain from any hostile demonstration. The Lieutenant-Marshal, on his side, promises to withdraw from the Papal State the troops under his command, as soon as he sees public peace guaranteed by Rome, and the former friendly relations renewed with the Austrian Empire.

From the Tuscan Government, with the mediation of the British Minister residing at Florence, who guarantees the strict execution of the following promises, Lieutenant-Marshal Baron Welden has received the assurance that in Tuscany internal order shall be maintained by all means, levies *en masse* prohibited, and armed incursions beyond the frontiers prevented, in order that the body of troops under the orders of Baron Welden should respect the limits of Tuscany.

The British Minister expresses, in the name of His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke, his sense of gratitude for the generous and indulgent manner in which the Lieutenant-Marshal intends to act towards Tuscany.

The Undersigned, strengthened by the assistance of the brave Modenese troops, flatters himself he will in a few days free the State from the hostile troops which at present occupy the mountains, with the design of continuing to usurp the legitimate power, and hopes thus to restore to this country that tranquillity so necessary to the public good.

(Signed) PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN.

Inclosure 6 in No. 197.

General Welden to Sir George Hamilton.

Excellence,

Padoue, 9 Août, 1848.

EN accusant la réception de votre lettre, Monsieur, du 7 Août, arrivée cette nuit, dans laquelle je vois avec plaisir et reconnaissance la puissante coopération de l'Angleterre pour une prochaine pacification de l'Italie, je ne puis m'empêcher d'exprimer mon vif désir et espoir qu'elle persistera, avec l'impartialité qui caractérise cette grande nation dans ses démarches à ce projet, et ne méconnaîtra, tout en favorisant la régénération des peuples, le bon droit et les intérêts d'une alliée toujours fidèle à la Grande Bretagne.

Le proclame de sa Sainteté qui j'ai l'honneur de joindre ci-inclus, comme la copie d'une Convention temporaire avec le Gouvernement de Bologne, et la clause qu'il y a ajoutée, vous prouveront, Monsieur, qu'il y a malheureusement

des Puissances qui, loin de contribuer à ce but, ne répondent à nos avances les plus amicales que par de nouvelles excitations, et leur peu d'empressement et de sollicitude à recevoir et correspondre à nos offres les plus loyaux.

Si donc l'Autriche a recours aux armes pour assurer la tranquillité dans ses Etats et l'inviolabilité de ses frontières, veuillez bien croire, Monsieur, que c'est la nécessité qui l'y oblige, ainsi que l'infructuosité de toute autre mesure, et en juger par la promptitude avec laquelle j'ai accédé aux propositions et accepté la garantie que vous avez daigné m'offrir.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) WELDEN.

(Translation:)

Excellency,

Padua, August 9, 1848.

IN acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 7th of August, which arrived this night, and from which I see with pleasure and gratitude the powerful co-operation of England towards a speedy pacification in Italy, I cannot refrain from expressing my lively desire and hope that England will persevere, with the impartiality which is the characteristic of that great nation, in the steps which it has taken in this matter, and will not lose sight of the full rights and interests of an ally ever faithful to Great Britain.

His Holiness' proclamation which I have the honour to annex hereunto together with a copy of a temporary convention with the Government of Bologna, and the clause added thereto, will show you, Sir, that there are unfortunately Powers who, far from contributing towards this result, only respond to our most friendly advances by fresh irritation, and also how little zeal and anxiety they feel to receive and meet our most honest offers.

If therefore Austria has recourse to arms in order to secure the tranquillity of her States and the inviolability of her frontiers, be so good, Sir, as to believe that it is necessity which forces her to do so, as well as the fruitlessness of any other step, and to form your opinion from the promptness with which I have agreed to the proposals and accepted the guarantee which you have condescended to offer me.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) WELDEN.

No. 198.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

Naples, August 14, 1848.

THE Minister of Tuscany having communicated to me an instruction from his Government expressing a marked desire for the presence of a British ship of war at Leghorn, I addressed the accompanying letter to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, who immediately dispatched Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Porcupine," for the purpose of communicating with Sir George Hamilton.

Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," of 36 guns, has also sailed under orders to station herself at the port above mentioned, in conformity with the wishes of the Grand Duke.

By the last intelligence from Bologna, we are informed of a desperate resistance offered by the people of that city to the Austrians, and of the temporary retreat of the latter from its gates. Should any aggressive acts of hostility be manifested on the part of the Tuscan population; should incursions across the Roman frontier take place, or generally symptoms of a national insurrection against the Imperial forces be disclosed; it cannot be doubted that General Welden would invade the Grand Duchy; and in such a contingency, I trust remote, Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," which is at present merely intended to protect the interests of Her Majesty's subjects, might be useful to the Grand Duke, in case he should be compelled to abandon his capital.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure in No. 198.

Lord Napier to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.

Sir.

Naples, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the Minister of Tuscany at this Court has shown me an instruction from his Government, in which there is expressed a marked desire that one of Her Majesty's ships of war be dispatched to Leghorn, where its presence might help to allay the agitation which will probably be caused by the approach of the Imperial forces.

The turbulent nature of that port might be thought to render such a step not unimportant to the welfare of the British residents; and your Excellency might perhaps consider that the possible, though I trust remote, contingency of the removal of the Grand Duke and his family from Florence ought not to be disregarded.

Under these circumstances, the request of the Tuscan Minister would, in my humble opinion, merit your Excellency's favourable consideration, could it be satisfied with a due regard to Her Majesty's service and the duties of the squadron under your command.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 199.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Naples, August 14, 1848.

THE intelligence of the late disasters in the north of Italy has not failed to produce a profound sensation at Naples.

The Liberal party, which embraces the greater portion of honest and educated persons in the upper and middle classes, has been thrown into consternation by a catastrophe so unforeseen. They seem to have lost their last support and pretension to a permanent share in the conduct of public affairs.

In the triumph of the Sardinian arms and the consolidation of the Representative form of government in the other States of Italy, the moderate Liberals of Naples beheld a collateral security against the complete ruin of their hopes and destruction of their rights, which have been scarcely exercised.

Your Lordship may then conceive the dismay with which this party have learned that the Germans have found again their ancient strength, and have shattered in a week the fabric of Italian independence.

No. 200.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 16, 1848.

M. DE REISET and myself returned this morning to Turin from Alexandria.

We had yesterday the honour to be admitted at Alexandria to an audience of His Sardinian Majesty, in the presence of Count de Revel (Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Finance, and on service at His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters), for the purpose of offering to His Sardinian Majesty the mediation of our two Governments for the settlement of a final peace between Sardinia and Austria, upon the basis already agreed upon by the Cabinets of London and Paris.

We stated to His Majesty that our respective Governments, from a sincere desire to arrest the war in Northern Italy and to contribute to restore peace and

tranquillity, had instructed us to offer to His Sardinian Majesty the mediation of Great Britain and of France for a settlement of the differences existing between Sardinia and Austria, and that we were authorized to propose for the acceptance of His Sardinian Majesty and of his Government, certain conditions which in the opinion of the Cabinets of London and of Paris might form the basis of negotiations for a peace alike honourable and satisfactory to both parties concerned.

We added, that the bases which we had to propose were inserted in a joint note of my French colleague and myself, which with His Majesty's permission we would then place in Count de Revel's hands, in order that the Count might read them to him, to which His Majesty was graciously pleased to consent.

We then gave our note to his Excellency Count de Revel, copy of which I have now the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information.

The inclosure, being copy of M. de Hummelauer's memorandum of the 24th May, 1848, addressed to your Lordship by that gentleman, I do not send.

In a former despatch I stated to your Lordship the reasons which induced both M. de Reiset and myself to decline to meddle with the armistice signed at Milan on the 9th instant, and your Lordship will observe that in our note we remark that our instructions as to the first Article of the proposed bases—that which refers to our obtaining an armistice—are no longer practicable, the armistice of the 9th of August having forestalled the intentions of our Governments upon this point.

Both His Sardinian Majesty and his Minister made some observations as to the necessity of securing the future destinies of Venice, and of preventing it from being said that Sardinia, having made satisfactory conditions for herself, had neglected both the cause of Italy and the interests of the Venetians.

In reply, I observed that I hoped it was not necessary at the present moment for me to assert the sympathy felt for Italy in England; that for the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government and of the public of Great Britain upon this point, I could answer; and that I was confident I could appeal to M. de Reiset for a similar assurance as regarded France; that where such feelings existed, it was idle to suppose that the two Cabinets, acting as impartial mediators between Sardinia and Austria, would consent to propose any bases which did not fully guard His Sardinian Majesty's honour and the just interests of his country, and give a fair consideration to the claims of the Italian cause as well as to the interests of Austria; and that I felt satisfied that upon His Majesty and his Minister impartially weighing the various points connected with the liberties and privileges proposed to be secured to the Venetians by the bases offered for His Majesty's acceptance, they would discover that no really well-founded cause of complaint existed on the part of the Venetians, nor could it be for one instant thought that, by the bases now proposed, if accepted, His Majesty had been unmindful of the welfare of any portion of the Italian family.

I should be unjust to His Sardinian Majesty, did I not admit that His Majesty agreed to the truth of my observations.

One point connected with the condition of Venice seemed to be more particularly objected to, as marking a state of subjection to Austria that would be productive of much ill-will in Italy. The point I allude to is that which stipulates that at all times a contingent from the army of Venice shall be sent to do garrison duty at Vienna.

I do not know what view your Lordship may take of this question, but where I see large and important concessions granted for the real liberties of the Venetian States, I cannot think that the sending a detachment of troops to Vienna, as is done by Hungary, Bohemia, and the other States of the Austrian Empire, can be a matter of vital consequence.

M. de Revel also made some remarks with regard to the financial questions involved in these bases, but I observed to him that the instructions with which M. de Reiset and myself were furnished did not permit of our admitting any additions or modifications of them, and that I must therefore request him to understand that we required an unconditional acceptance or refusal of them.

I added, however, that the conditions now offered were simply the bases upon which negotiations might with honour be commenced; that they fixed no details, which would have to be considered and decided upon during the progress of the negotiations themselves; and what was now submitted to their consider-

ation was only an outline, the details of which would require to be hereafter filled in.

I likewise observed that it would be perfectly open both to Sardinia and to Austria to furnish the mediating Powers with such information as they might deem necessary to ensure a just estimation of the claims and pretensions of each party, but that I was decidedly of opinion that to attempt to clog the acceptance of the offer of mediation of England and of France, by tacking conditions to the present bases, would be an act of the greatest impolicy, and could not, moreover, succeed in obtaining for Sardinia the objects she might have in view, as neither my French colleague nor myself could accept them.

These remarks had the effect of deciding the question under discussion, and His Sardinian Majesty and M. de Revel, by their manner, gave us to understand that a favourable answer would be returned to us.

His Sardinian Majesty closed our audience by expressing in the warmest terms his sense of the great obligations under which he feels himself placed by the friendly interest which the Cabinets of London and of Paris have shown towards him under existing circumstances; and he requested us to convey the assurance of these sentiments on his part to our respective Governments.

The same evening we separately received from Count de Revel notice of the formal acceptance by the Sardinian Government of the mediation of the Cabinets of London and of Paris, and of the bases which they have proposed, by means of a note, identical in its terms, copy of which I herewith transmit for your Lordship's information.

I likewise add copy of a despatch inclosing copy of our note to Count de Revel and of its inclosure, as well as of the answer made to it by that gentleman, which I have addressed to his Excellency Lord Ponsonby, and which was forwarded by a French Cabinet messenger at midnight last night from Alexandria, direct to Innsprück.

Inclosure 1 in No. 200.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Reiset to Count Revel.

Alexandrie, le 15 Août, 1848.

LES Gouvernemens de la France et de la Grande Bretagne, mûs par un sentiment d'humanité et par un vif désir de voir terminer la guerre qui depuis plus de quatre mois désole les plaines de la Haute Italie, sont convenus d'offrir conjointement leur médiation à Sa Majesté Sarde et à Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale l'Empereur d'Autriche, afin d'arriver à une paix définitive et honorable pour les deux parties.

Dans ce but les deux Gouvernemens, après s'être mutuellement consultés, sont tombés d'accord sur les conditions qui dans leur opinion pourraient servir comme bases des négociations à entâmer pour la conclusion d'une paix définitive entre la Sardaigne et l'Autriche, et les Soussignés s'empressent de remplir les instructions qu'ils viennent de recevoir de leurs Gouvernemens respectifs, de communiquer au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde les dispositions bienveillantes et amicales dont les Cabinets de Londres et de Paris sont animés envers la Sardaigne, et de lui offrir la médiation commune de leurs deux Gouvernemens.

Les Soussignés agissent de même selon leurs instructions en soumettant à la considération du Gouvernement Sarde, les Articles suivans (sauf le premier, qui n'est plus applicable par suite de l'Armistice déjà signé à Milan le 9 courant, entre les Généraux Salasco et Hess), qui sont ceux que les Cabinets de Londres et de Paris croient propres à servir comme bases pour les négociations de paix.

Art. 1. La conclusion immédiate d'un armistice entre les armées Autrichienne et Italienne, les troupes retenant pendant ce temps de chaque côté les positions que l'on pourra des deux côtés adopter de plein gré au moyen des bons offices des agens des deux Puissances médiatrices; la durée de cet armistice sera assez longue pour donner tout le temps nécessaire à des négociations pour un arrangement permanent.

2. L'offre aux deux parties belligérantes d'un arrangement permanent conforme aux bases proposées dans le mémorandum de M. de Hummelauer du 24 Mai, 1848, suivant lesquelles l'Autriche renoncerait à ses prétentions sur la Lombardie, et la laisserait libre de s'unir au Piémont, à condition que la Lombardie prendrait sur elle la portion de la totalité de la dette de l'Empire Autrichien qui semblerait suivant une juste proportion devoir équitablement lui revenir, en la séparant du reste de cet empire; pendant que l'Autriche, en retenant la souveraineté de la Province Vénitienne, s'engagerait à donner à cette province des institutions et une administration nationales comme celles qui sont décrites dans le mémorandum ci-dessus mentionné.

La propriété particulière et personnelle en Lombardie et dans la Province Vénitienne serait respectée, et toute propriété de cette nature qui aurait été séquestrée ou confisquée serait rendue, et une pleine amnistie serait donnée des deux côtés au sujet de tous les actes politiques des derniers événements.

3. Que la ligne de frontière entre la Lombardie et la Province Vénitienne serait autant que possible celle qui divisait ces provinces pendant qu'elles formaient part de l'Empire Autrichien; c'est-à-dire, que ce serait une ligne qui, tirée de Lazise sur la rive sud-est du Lac de Garda, un peu au nord de Peschiera, et passant entre Vérone et Villafranca, irait de là rencontrer le Po sur sa rive nord à Bergantino, entre Mellara et Massa, et suivrait de là le milieu du courant de cette rivière jusqu'à l'embouchure du Tanaro, laissant Peschiera et Mantoue à la Lombardie, et Vérone et Legnago à la Province Vénitienne.

4. Que cet arrangement comprendrait, il est bien entendu, des dispositions relatives à Parme et à Modène, de la nature de celles qui sont indiquées dans le mémorandum de M. de Hummelauer.

Les Soussignés ont l'honneur en même temps de prier le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde de vouloir bien leur communiquer au plus tôt la décision qui sera prise à l'égard de l'offre qu'ils viennent de faire au nom des deux Cabinets de Londres et de Paris, afin qu'ils puissent la transmettre à la connaissance de M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et de M. le Ministre de France à Innsprück, qui de leur côté doivent avoir adressé au Gouvernement Autrichien les mêmes propositions et la même offre que les Soussignés ont eu l'honneur de faire au Gouvernement Sarde.

Les Soussignes, &c.

(Signé)

G. DE REISET.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Alexandria, August 15, 1848.

THE Governments of France and Great Britain animated by sentiments of humanity and by a lively desire to see an end put to the war which for more than four months has desolated Northern Italy, have agreed conjointly to offer their mediation to His Sardinian Majesty and to His Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of Austria, with the view of establishing a definitive peace and one honourable for both parties.

With this object the two Governments, after mutual consultation, have agreed upon the conditions which in their opinion might serve for bases of the negotiations to be opened for the conclusion of a definitive peace between Sardinia and Austria; and the Undersigned hasten to fulfil the instructions which they have received from their respective Governments, to communicate to the Sardinian Government the friendly and kindly feelings by which they are animated towards Sardinia, and to offer her the common mediation of their two Governments.

The Undersigned are also obeying their instructions in submitting to the Sardinian Government the following Articles (except the first, which is no longer applicable, in consequence of the armistice already signed at Milan on the 9th instant, between Generals Salasco and Hess), which are such as the Cabinets of London and Paris consider calculated to serve as bases for the negotiations for peace.

Art. 1. The immediate conclusion of an armistice between the Austrian and Italian armies, the troops on either side retaining during that period the positions which they may mutually and voluntarily fix upon, through the medium of

the agents of the two mediating Powers. The duration of this armistice shall be sufficiently long to afford all the time requisite for the negotiations for a permanent settlement.

2. The offer to the two belligerent parties of a permanent arrangement in conformity with the bases proposed in M. de Hummelauer's memorandum of the 24th of May, 1848, according to which Austria would renounce her pretensions to Lombardy, and leave her free to unite herself with Piedmont, on condition that Lombardy should take upon herself such part of the entire debt of the Austrian Empire as might appear by an equitable apportionment fairly to belong to her, on her separation from the rest of the empire; whilst Austria, retaining her sovereignty over the Venetian State, would engage to give to that province a national administration and institutions such as are described in the above-named memorandum.

Private and personal property in Lombardy and in the Venetian Province would be respected; and all property of that description which might have been sequestered or confiscated would be restored, and a complete amnesty would be granted on either side on account of the political acts of the late events.

3. That the line of frontier between Lombardy and the Venetian Province would be as much as possible the same as that which divided those provinces while they formed part of the Austrian Empire; that is to say, would be a line which, drawn from Lazise on the south-east bank of the Lake of Garda, a little to the north of Peschiera, and passing between Verona and Villafranca, should thence be continued so as to meet the Po on its northern bank at Bergantino, between Mellara and Massa, and from thence should follow the course of that river as far as the mouth of the Tanaro, thus leaving Peschiera and Mantua to Lombardy, and Verona and Legnago to the Venetian Province.

4. It is well understood that this arrangement would comprise stipulations relative to Parma and to Modena, of the nature indicated in M. de Hummelauer's memorandum.

The Undersigned have the honour at the same time to beg His Sardinian Majesty's Government to be good enough to communicate to them as soon as possible the decision which it may take with regard to the offer which they now make in the name of the Cabinets of London and of Paris, in order that they may announce such decision to the Ambassador of England and to the Minister of France at Innspruck, who on their part will have addressed to the Austrian Government the same proposals and the same offer which the Undersigned have had the honour to make to the Sardinian Government.

The Undersigned, &c.,
(Signed)

G. DE REISET. RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 200.

Count Revel to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Alexandrie, le 15 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Finances, actuellement de service auprès de Sa Majesté le Roi en son quartier-général d'Alexandrie, a reçu la note en date de ce jour que son Excellence Mr. Abercromby, &c., et M. de Reiset, &c., lui ont fait l'honneur de lui remettre aujourd'hui même en présence de Sa Majesté le Roi, et à laquelle était annexé un mémorandum de M. Hummelauer en date de Londres du 24 Mai dernier, contenant les bases d'un arrangement pour mettre fin à la guerre existante entre la Sardaigne et l'Autriche.

L'offre de médiation que sur ces bases et conjointement les Cabinets de Londres et de Paris ont fait par la note précitée dans le but d'arriver à une paix définitive et honorable pour les parties belligérantes, atteste le bienveillant intérêt qu'ils portent au Gouvernement du Roi et leur vif désir d'assurer par leur concours le bonheur et la condition politique future de cette portion de la Péninsule Italienne en faveur de laquelle la guerre a été entreprise, et qui en grande partie a déjà librement joint ses destinées à celles des Etats Sardes.

En conséquence le Gouvernement du Roi ne peut à moins que d'exprimer ici les sentimens de la plus sincère gratitude dont il est pénétré pour cette intervention amicale des deux Grandes Puissances, au moyen de laquelle on a l'espoir de voir réglée une question qui sans cela pourrait devenir Européenne.

Le Soussigné a dès-lors pris connaissance des conditions contenues dans le mémorandum précité, comme devant servir de base aux négociations à entamer, et puisque l'armistice uniquement militaire conclu le 9 du courant à Milan entre les Généraux Salasco et Hess, rend quant à présent sans effet la proposition d'un armistice qui était énoncée en premier lieu, le Soussigné est autorisé à déclarer que le Gouvernement du Roi de Sardaigne accepte comme bases des négociations à entamer par les hautes Puissances médiatrices, les conditions contenues dans le mémorandum susdit de M. Hummelauer, ne doutant aucunement que dans le cours des négociations et dans le développement des conditions précitées, l'Angleterre et la France, appréciant à sa juste valeur la situation morale et politique de la Haute Italie, conduiront les choses de manière à ce que l'arrangement qui interviendra présente des conditions de convenance telles que la paix soit à jamais cimentée.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

DE REVEL.

(Translation.)

Alexandria, August 15, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Minister Secretary of State of Finance, now in attendance on His Majesty the King, at his head-quarters in Alexandria, has received the note, dated to-day, which his Excellency Mr. Abercromby, &c., and M. de Reiset, &c., did him the honour of delivering to him in presence of His Majesty the King, and to which was annexed a memorandum by M. de Hummelauer, dated the 24th of last May, containing the basis of an arrangement for putting an end to the war between Sardinia and Austria.

The offer of mediation which the Cabinets of London and of Paris have conjointly and on these bases, made in the above-mentioned note with the view of establishing a definitive and honourable peace between the belligerent parties, evinces the friendly feeling they entertain for the King's Government, and their anxious desire to secure by their co-operation the welfare and future political condition of that portion of the Italian Peninsula in favour of which the war was undertaken, and a great part of which has already freely united its destinies to those of the Sardinian States.

The King's Government cannot consequently do less than herein express the feelings of most sincere gratitude which it entertains for this friendly intervention of the two Great Powers, by whose means it is hoped that a question may be settled which otherwise might become European.

The Undersigned made himself at once acquainted with the conditions contained in the above-named memorandum, as constituting the basis of the negotiations to be opened; and as the purely military armistice concluded at Milan on the 9th instant, between Generals Salasco and Hess, renders the proposal for an armistice which is set forth in the 1st Article, inapplicable under present circumstances, the Undersigned is authorized to declare that the Government of the King of Sardinia accepts as bases of the negotiations to be entered upon by the high mediating Powers, the conditions contained in the aforementioned memorandum by M. de Hummelauer, not doubting but that in the course of the negotiations and in the development of the fore-named conditions, England and France, correctly appreciating the moral and political situation of Upper Italy, will so conduct matters that the arrangement which shall ensue will involve such suitable conditions as may be calculated for ever to establish peace.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

DE REVEL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 200.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Alexandria, August 15, 1848.

BY a despatch which I have received from his Excellency the Marquis of Normanby, I learn that your Excellency has likewise been instructed to make, in concert with the French Minister at Innspruck, a similar offer to the Austrian Government of the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France for the negotiation of a definitive peace, which the French Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, M. de Reiset, and myself, have been instructed to make to the Government of His Sardinian Majesty.

M. de Reiset and I have this day executed our instructions, by offering to His Sardinian Majesty in an audience granted to us for that purpose, the joint mediation of our two Governments for the purpose of terminating a war that has desolated for four months the plains of Northern Italy.

We at the same time and in the presence of His Sardinian Majesty placed in the hands of his Excellency Count de Revel, who this day re-entered office as Minister of Finance, the inclosed note, together with its inclosure; the one containing the bases proposed by Lord Palmerston for the acceptance of the French Government in his despatch to his Excellency the Marquis of Normanby of August 5, the other being the memorandum of M. de Hummelauer of the 24th May, 1848, and which is referred to in Article 4 of the bases for negotiation.

I have now the honour to forward herewith to your Excellency copy of the reply I have received from M. de Revel, by which you will perceive that His Sardinian Majesty gratefully accepts the mediation of the Cabinets of London and of Paris on the bases we had proposed.

I trust that your Excellency on your side will have been able to induce the Cabinet of Vienna to make a similar declaration, and that the efforts of the two Governments of Great Britain and France in contributing to bring about a permanent and honourable peace between Sardinia and Austria may thus be crowned with success.

Immediately on my return to Turin I shall dispatch a messenger to Paris and to London with a copy of the acceptance by Sardinia of the joint mediation of Great Britain and France.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 201.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to herewith to your Lordship copy of a note I have received from the Marquis Pareto, together with the answer I have returned to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 201

*The Marquis Pareto to the Hon. R. Abercromby.**Turin, ce 14 Août, 1848.*

PAR sa note en date du 13 de ce mois, le Soussigné, &c., a eu l'honneur de faire connaître à Mr. Abercromby, &c., que le Ministère croyait de son devoir de protester contre tout ce qu'il pourrait y avoir de politique dans l'armistice signé

PART 3.

2 E

par M. le Général Salasco, et de déclarer qu'on ne pourra jamais le considérer comme un titre qui doit servir de base aux négociations. En répondant par sa lettre du même jour à cette communication, Mr. Abercromby a fait l'observation que cet acte ayant été inséré parmi les actes officiels du Gouvernement dans la partie officielle de la Gazette, il ne pourrait mettre aucun poids à la protestation qui lui avait été adressée par le Soussigné, et qu'il devait considérer cet armistice comme ayant été communiqué au public avec la sanction du Gouvernement par lequel il a été officiellement publié.

Le Soussigné se croit en devoir de faire à son tour observer à Mr. Abercromby que l'insertion de l'armistice dans la Gazette officielle n'implique point contradiction avec la protestation qu'il a faite au nom du Ministère, et ne lui ôte rien de sa valeur. Ce n'est point en effet comme convention militaire qu'on refuse de considérer l'armistice comme légal; au contraire, on a reconnu que sous ce rapport il devait avoir tout son effet, et les dispositions sont données en conséquence. Mais le Ministère ne peut reconnaître la validité de cet acte comme convention politique, parceque s'il est reconnu qu'un Général peut conclure un armistice, il est également notoire et admis comme principe du droit public Européen, qu'il ne peut faire, sans les pleins-pouvoirs nécessaires, un acte ou convention politique; que si, outrepassant les limites dans lesquelles un général doit se tenir pour le règlement des mesures militaires, il fait un acte qui peut avoir une signification politique, à raison d'expressions ou de clauses dont il n'a pas suffisamment apprécié la portée, cet acte est nul de plein droit quant à la partie politique.

D'ailleurs un acte ou convention politique quelconque pour avoir de la valeur, ne doit-il pas, dans un pays régi par le système Constitutionnel, être revêtu de la signature d'un Ministre responsable?

L'armistice dont il s'agit ne saurait donc être regardé comme un acte du Gouvernement, car si c'eût été un acte de cette nature il aurait été signé par un Ministre.

Si ces raisons ne suffisaient pas déjà à elles-seules pour établir que l'acte dont il s'agit ne doit avoir aucune valeur pour sa partie politique, on pourrait s'assurer que telle a été en effet l'intention des Généraux Hess et Salasco, puisque le premier article des préliminaires qui ont précédé la conclusion de l'armistice, est conçu dans les termes suivans: "La négociation à entreprendre entre nous n'aura aucun caractère politique."

En présentant ces observations à Mr. Abercromby, au nom du Conseil des Ministres, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

L. N. PARETO.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 14, 1848.

IN his note dated the 13th instant, the Undersigned, &c., has had the honour to make known to Mr. Abercromby, &c., that the Government considered it its duty to protest against any political matter which might be contained in the armistice signed by General Salasco, and to declare that that armistice can never be considered as a document to serve as the basis for negotiations. In replying in his letter of the same day to that communication, Mr. Abercromby has observed that that document having been inserted amongst the official notifications of Government in the official portion of the "Gazette," he could not attach any weight to the protest addressed to him by the Undersigned; and that he must consider that armistice as having been communicated to the public with the sanction of the Government by whom it had been officially published.

The Undersigned on his side considers it his duty to point out to Mr. Abercromby, that the insertion of the armistice in the official "Gazette," implies no contradiction to the protest which he has made in the name of the Government, and in no wise takes away from the weight attaching thereto. For, in fact, it is not in its character of a military convention that it is refused to consider the armistice as legal; on the contrary, it had been admitted that in this light it should take full effect, and arrangements have been made accordingly. But the Government cannot recognize the validity of that document as a political convention; for if it be allowed that a General has it in his power to conclude

an armistice, it is equally well known and admitted as a principle of European international law, that he cannot without the necessary full powers, make a political agreement or convention; and if, exceeding the limits within which a General should confine himself in the management of military affairs, he makes an engagement which can have a political signification by reason of expressions or clauses, the full meaning of which he has not sufficiently comprehended, that engagement is of full right null in its political sense.

Further than this, must not an agreement or political convention of any sort, in order to have weight in a country under a Constitutional Government, bear the signature of a responsible Minister?

The armistice in question cannot therefore be considered as an act of the Government; for were it one of that character, it would have been signed by a Minister.

If these reasons were not of themselves sufficient to prove that the agreement in question has no value as far as its political portion is concerned, it could be proved that such was in fact the intention of Generals Hess and Salasco, inasmuch as the 1st Article of the preliminaries which preceded the conclusion of the armistice is worded as follows:—"The negotiation to be commenced between us shall have no political character."

Whilst offering these observations to Mr. Abercromby in the name of the Council of Ministers, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) L. N. PARETO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 201.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Marquis Pareto.

Turin, August 16, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Marquis Pareto has addressed to him, dated 14th August, 1848.

The Undersigned, maintaining the view he has expressed in a former note upon this subject, will add copy of this communication to those which he has already forwarded to his Government.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 202.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 17, 1848.

I REGRET to have to report to your Lordship that General Garibaldi, with some free corps under his command, has, in defiance of the Armistice of the 9th instant, attacked the Austrians in the neighbourhood of the Lago Maggiore.

General Garibaldi having however been opposed by a superior Austrian force, was driven back, and I believe with loss.

The fortress of Peschiera has been bombarded for some hours by the besieging Austrian force, but it appears that the fire ceased immediately upon the Armistice being known, and the fortress was about to be evacuated by the Piedmontese.

General Durando, who held the fort of Rocca d'Anfò with a free corps, has acknowledged the Armistice, and is retreating with the troops under his command, as provided for by the articles of the Armistice.

The Piedmontese officer dispatched to order the return of the Piedmontese land forces from Venice, and to carry similar orders to the Sardinian squadron, was stopped on reaching the outposts of the troops defending Venice, was con-

ducted under military escort before Signor Manin, who informed him that Venice had again declared itself a Republic, and that, as head of the Government, he could not permit him to hold communication with any person or to transmit the orders of which he was the bearer to Admiral Albini.

The officer was afterwards re-escorted back to the outposts, from whence he proceeded to the head-quarters of General Welden at Padua, and reported to him the impossibility under which he was placed of executing the orders of his Government and the stipulations of the Armistice.

General Welden asked the Sardinian officer whether he had any objection to make him a report of the circumstances that had occurred, he replied, none whatever, as he had presented himself at the Austrian head-quarters for the precise purpose of explaining the reasons which had prevented the Sardinian Government from fulfilling the terms of the Armistice as far as regarded Venice, and he has accordingly made a report in writing to General Welden upon the subject.

The General then requested the officer to wait twenty-four hours, and see what might in the interval occur; and when the last accounts from the Sardinian officer were sent off, he was waiting for that period at General Welden's head-quarters.

These events are unfortunate, tending to keep up the excitement which the evil-disposed are endeavouring to increase, and rendering negotiations for peace more difficult.

No. 203.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 22, 1848.

M. BASTIDE announced to me yesterday that in consequence of the resistance of Venice to the Austrian arms, and the withdrawal of the Sardinian fleet, which might lead to a blockade by the Austrian ships, it was the intention of the French Government to send the two frigates which he had mentioned as about to cruize in the Adriatic, into that neighbourhood, in order to protect, if necessary, the lives and property of the French subjects; but the orders would be to take no step which might be construed into a breach of neutrality between the parties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 204.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 9, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy and translation of a note which I received last night from the Extraordinary Commissioners of the King of Sardinia, informing me that they have taken possession of the city and province of Venice in the name of His said Majesty, and that the Provisional Government of Venice had ceased to exist.

The proclamation referred to in the inclosed notes are the same as those which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 7th instant.*

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

* See No. 173.

Inclosure in No. 204.

The Sardinian Commissioners to Consul-General Dawkins.

Signor Console,

Venezia, 8 Agosto, 1848.

ABBIAMO l'onore d'informarla che a norma della legge di fusione di questa provincia e città colla Lombardia e Piemonte, sancita dalla Camera dei Deputati, dal Senato, e da Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardagna, i sottoscritti, Commissarii Regii Straordinarii, hanno jeri, giorno 7 corrente, preso possesso a nome della suddetta Maestà Sua, della città e provincia de Venezia, venendo così a cessare il reggimento del Governo Provvisorio.

Tanto si ha l'onore di comunicarle, Signor Console, per sua notizia unendole copia dei relativa proclami divulgati anco nella Gazzetta ufficialmente.

Gradisca, &c.

(Firmato)

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
J. CASTELLI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Venice, August 8, 1848.

WE have the honour to inform you that in conformity with the law for the fusion of this province and city with Lombardy and Piedmont, sanctioned by the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, the undersigned, Royal Commissioners Extraordinary, yesterday, the 7th instant, took possession of the city and province of Venice in the name of His said Majesty, when the authority of the Provisional Government terminated.

In making this announcement to you, Sir, we transmit also copies of the proclamations thereto relating which have been issued, and are published this day in the Gazette officially.

Receive, &c

(Signed)

COLLI.
CIBRARIO.
J. CASTELLI.

No. 205.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 11, 1848.

THE Neapolitan regular troops who arrived here with General Pepe have for some time shown a desire to return to Naples, and many among them have openly stated that they had been deceived as to the object of their march hither.

A few days ago these troops expressed their determination no longer to fight in the cause of King Charles Albert, and demanded to be sent home, and with this demand the Government thought it prudent to comply.

A body of 700 of these men were yesterday embarked here for Naples. There are still here between 400 and 500, chiefly artillery and train, with their guns and horses, but measures are also being taken for their speedy embarkation.

Of the Neapolitan auxiliary force that arrived in Venice, there will thus remain only the volunteers, who are far from numerous, and a very few of the regulars, who do not wish to return to Naples.

I am informed that several of the Roman troops have likewise expressed a desire to return home, and that measures are being taken to provide for their departure.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Venice, August 12, 1848.

THE news of the success of the Austrian arms in Lombardy reached the local authorities here on the morning of the 8th, but every precaution was taken, by publishing false bulletins, to keep the truth from the people. By this means, and from their unwillingness to give credit to unfavourable reports, a great portion of the population were persuaded until yesterday that the intelligence of the surrender of Milan, and of the evacuation of Lombardy by King Charles Albert was false; and as all communication by post with Milan has been interrupted since four days, nothing arrived to dispel the illusion.

Yesterday, however, the intelligence having been in the meantime confirmed by arrivals from Trieste, people assembled in the evening in great numbers in the Square of St. Mark before the Palace of the Government, and demanded to know the news.

Hereupon, General Colli, one of the Extraordinary Commissioners of the King of Piedmont, presented himself at the window and stated that he had learnt, but that the intelligence had not reached him officially, that King Charles Albert had concluded a convention with Austria for the evacuation of the Lombardo-Venetian territory by the Piedmontese troops.

This announcement was received with shouts of disapprobation and cries of "We have been deceived and sold by the traitor Charles Albert!" and in the midst of this confusion the crowd demanded to know what was to happen to the Sardinian fleet, which, in conjunction with the Venetian vessels, is watching Trieste. To this General Colli replied that he had no official information, but that the Venetian vessels at all events would continue to be Venetian. From this declaration it was inferred that the Sardinian fleet had received orders to withdraw, and the uproar was redoubled, with cries of "Down with the Government! the traitor Charles Albert!" &c.

The uproar continued for some time and serious disorders were apprehended, when Signor Manin (who was President of the late Republican Government, and who since the union of Venice with Piedmont has taken no part in public affairs, presented himself at a window of the Palace, and addressed the crowd to the following effect:—

"In the present condition of the country the Sardinian Commissioners declare that they withdraw from the Government.

"The day after to-morrow the Assembly for the city and province of Venice will be convoked.

"During the eight-and-forty hours which intervene, I govern."

This harangue, which at least has the merit of boldness, was received with applause by the Republican party, and in silence by the others.

At a later hour of the night, the crowd still continuing clamorous, Signor Manin presented himself a second time and exhorted them to retire, saying that he was labouring in their behalf, and that he should not delay in appealing to the assistance of a Power which would probably show more readiness to interfere in behalf of a people, than in behalf of a King.

I am informed that at a very early hour this morning, Signor Tommaseo, who likewise formed part of the late Republican Government, departed for Ravenna, which is the nearest port from whence he can proceed unmolested by the Austrians, charged with despatches for Paris from Signor Manin and from the French Consul here, setting forth the state of affairs and imploring the succour of France.

Great excitement prevails in the town. The Austrian party, though very numerous, does not yet venture to show itself.

The proceeding of Signor Manin in coming boldly forward and assuming the government of the town, filled as it is with volunteers and undisciplined troops, is most fortunate for the sake of order.

No. 207.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 19, 1848.

THERE is a report, and it is believed, that a Lombard deputation is starting for Petersburg to offer the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Leuchtenberg.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 208.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 19, 1848.

I INCLOSE herewith to your Lordship printed copy, together with its translation, of a manifesto signed by the members of the Pareto Cabinet, and inserted in the official part of the Gazette of Piedmont of last night.

Last night a demonstration was made to those whose names appear at the foot of this manifesto, approving of their conduct and of the principles which they have advanced; and I am informed that the Abbé Gioberti in the answer which he made to the people assembled under his windows, assured them that the present state of tranquillity was purely momentary, and that very shortly they would be again led against the enemy.

The crowd before the hotel where the Abbé Gioberti is living was by no means considerable, and at present I see no great disposition amongst the mass of the population to take part in the excitement which the Revolutionary faction is endeavouring to raise.

Inclosure in No. 208.

Manifesto of the Pareto Cabinet.

IL Consiglio dei Ministri sottoscritti, rispettando severamente le convenienze e i riguardi imposti dal loro grado, si astenne sinora di partecipare al pubblico tutte cose fatte nel corso del loro reggimento. Ma ora deposto il carico, e sottentrati nuovi rettori, egli si crede in obbligo di dare un cenno delle sue operazioni; riserbandosi di porgere, giusta la consuetudine dei paesi liberi, al Parlamento Nazionale quelle ampie e minute spiegazioni che gli saranno richieste. Imperocchè egli non intende di sottrarsi a nessuna parte della responsabilità ministeriale; è pronto a dar ragione di tutti i suoi atti, e a mostrare che per quanto fu in poter suo non fallì a nessuno degli obblighi impostigli dalle dure condizioni del paese e dei tempi.

Anche dopo di aver rassegnata la sua carica nelle mani del Principe, esso non pretermise in quei pochi giorni che conservò il maneggio degli affari, di adoperarsi con sollecitudine per tutelare i principii e gl' interessi di quella nazionalità Italiana, la cui idea governò sempre i suoi atti e consacrò le sue origini.

Conseguentemente esso

1. Diede tutti i provvedimenti accomodati a riordinare l'esercito, accrescerlo di tutte le forze disponibili, e mobilitare la guardia nazionale, onde all' entrare del prossimo Settembre le nostre schiere siano non solo rifornite e rifatte, ma più numerose e meglio disciplinate che non fossero in addietro;

2. Prese le determinazioni opportune acciocchè la finanza possa supplire alle spese gravissime richieste dall' onor nazionale, senza che il carico delle pesi troppi sui contribuenti;

3. Protestò presso tutti i Governi liberi contro l'illegalità e la nullità politica della Convenzione di Milano dei 9 Agosto, sottoscritta dal Conte Salasco;

4. Richiese formalmente un' inquisizione giuridica sulla condotta dei capi militari che ebbero la parte principale negli ultimi infortunii;

5. Deliberò di chiedere il sussidio esterno di un esercito a giusti e onorevoli patti, e sotto condizioni atte a mettere in salvo le nostre istituzioni contro i pericoli di una propaganda politica; e si rivolse per tal effetto alla Francia, generosa nazione, e memore de' suoi fratelli d'arme Italiani, che divisero seco gli allori del campo sotto l'insegna gloriosa di Napoleone;

6. Perseverò nella domanda fatta del sussidio Francese, anche quando la diplomazia estera ci ebbe sostituito l'idea della mediazione;

7. Diede a tutti i nostri agenti diplomatici istruzioni conformi al diritto pubblico interno, agli obblighi contratti, alla dignità del paese; e adoperò la diplomazia stessa, per quanto la brevità del tempo glielo permise, a rivolgere in pro della causa Italiana le forze di tutta la Penisola.

Benchè non gli sia stato dato di compiere la maggior parte delle operazioni incominciate, e tampoco di vederne gli effetti, esso porta la ferma persuasione che la buona fortuna non mancherà all' Italia, purchè l'Italia non manchi a sè stessa, e imiti il coraggio del Principe che nel punto del maggiore infortunio gridava: "La causa Italiana non essere perduta."

Sarebbe cosa indegna il deporre per dieci giorni di fortuiti disastri, una fiducia concepita per quattro mesi di prosperi ed eroici successi; e cosa imprudentissima il credere che una pace vergognosa sia più atta di una guerra onorevole ad assicurare gl'interessi materiali e l'onore del Piemonte, la stabilità della monarchia costituzionale, l'integrità e l'indipendenza del territorio Italiano, la concordia e la pace di tutta Europa.

CASATI.

VINCENZO RICCI.

G. COLLEGNO.

LORENZO PARETO.

PLEZZA.

GIUSEPPE DURINI.

P. GIOIA.

P. PALEOCAPA.

VINCENZO GIOBERTI.

U. RATAZZI.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Members of the Council of Ministers, with strict regard to the duties and obligations imposed upon them in virtue of their office, have hitherto abstained from making known to the public the transactions which took place during their ministry. But having now resigned their offices, and a new Administration being about to be formed, they feel themselves obliged to give an outline of their political acts; reserving to themselves to lay before the National Parliament, according to the custom of free countries, such ample and minute explanations as might be demanded from them. As they do not intend in the slightest degree to shrink from ministerial responsibility, they are ready to explain all their acts, and to show that none of them, so far as has been in their power, have ever failed in the fulfilment of any of the duties imposed upon them by the difficult circumstances of the country and of the times.

Even after resigning their charge into the hands of the Sovereign, they have not ceased for the few days during which they kept the management of affairs, to use their best endeavours in favour of the principles and interests of Italian nationality, an idea which has directed their whole policy and presided over the formation of their Cabinet.

They have therefore—

1st. Taken all the measures necessary for the re-organization of the army, by sending to it all the disposable forces, and mobilizing the national guard, in order that our troops may at the beginning of September next, be not only re-armed and reposed, but more numerous and better disciplined than hitherto.

2nd. Taken measures in order that the finances of the State may suffice for the heavy expenses required by the honour of the nation, without at the same time pressing too heavily upon those who contribute to them.

3rd. Protested to all free Governments against the illegality and political nullity of the Convention signed at Milan on the 9th August by Count Salasco.

4th. Formally requested a judicial inquest on the conduct of the military chiefs who had the greatest share in the late disasters.

5th. Deliberated upon the subject of asking the foreign assistance of an army on fair and honourable conditions, so as to protect our institutions against the dangers of a political propaganda; for which purpose they applied to France, a generous nation, and bearing in mind her Italian brothers in arms, who shared with her the laurels of her campaigns under the glorious standards of Napoleon.

6th. Persevered in their demands for French assistance, even after foreign diplomacy had substituted to it the idea of mediation.

7th. Given to all our diplomatic agents instructions in conformity with our internal public law, the obligations contracted by us, and the dignity of the country; and employed the same diplomacy, as far as time would allow it, in endeavouring to bring to the support of the Italian cause the forces of the whole Peninsula.

Although they have not been able to complete, and still less to see the effects of what they had begun, they have the firm conviction that good fortune will not fail Italy, so long as Italy is true to herself, and imitates the courage of that prince who at the worst moment said "The Italian cause is not lost."

It would be unworthy of us to lay down, after ten days' accidental reverses, a confidence acquired during four months of prosperous and heroic successes; and it would be most imprudent to believe that a disgraceful peace is fitter than an honourable war to secure the material interests and the honour of Piedmont, the stability of constitutional monarchy, the integrity and independence of the Italian territory, and the union and peace of all Europe.

CASATI.

VINCENZO RICCI.

G. COLLEGNO.

LORENZO PARETO.

PLEZZA.

GIUSEPPE DURINI.

P. GIOIA.

P. PALEOCAPA.

VINCENZO GIOBERTI.

U. RATAZZI.

No. 209.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, August 21, 1848.

I MENTIONED in my despatch of the 17th instant, the wish entertained by the Central Government to participate in the negotiations which would probably be shortly opened under the mediation of England and France for the settlement of the North of Italy. M. Heckscher, in speaking to me on the subject, seemed to attach great importance to the success of his demand. It would appear that there is a strong feeling in favour of it among the members of the National Assembly, and that the Government does not find itself strong enough to oppose it.

I am persuaded that the sentiment which is at the bottom of this claim is, that the new Power cannot endure that the first great question which has arisen since its creation should be settled without its participation; that question being one that concerns intimately one of its most influential component parts. I am led to form this opinion, partly from the fact that during the time that hostilities were carrying on between the Austrians and Italians, the Central Power put forward no claim of the kind, although it might then perhaps have interfered with advantage, while now that a fair prospect of settling the question has arisen, it asserts its right to be heard in virtue of German interests.

But as M. Heckscher has opened his mind to me in the sense I have described, I conceived that I had a right to ask him categorically whether, if he were admitted into the negotiations, he was prepared to support the propositions

of England and France for a settlement of the question. I explained to him at the same time what they were, and I used such arguments in support of them as I thought likely to weigh with the central Government. M. Heckscher's reply was not re-assuring. He appeared determined to support the line of the Mincio, but after further consideration, agreed to consult the Council.

On going to him to-day, on his invitation, he said that the Council would wait before it came to any decision; that they wished first of all to hear what was the feeling at Vienna; that they had determined, therefore, to send an agent to Vienna, who should intimate to the Austrian Government their desire to be admitted to any negotiations that might be opened for the settlement of the Italian question. M. Heckscher added that he could assure me that the advice tendered by the Central Government would be that of moderation and peace.

No. 210.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 24.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 17, 1848.

I ARRIVED here yesterday in time to gather some information relating to the state of affairs; I will defer entering fully upon the subject, till I have had the means of comparing statements and opinions of various persons, in order that I may be able to lay before your Lordship the best intelligence I can obtain.

I will now, as the matter is pressing, take the liberty to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact, with which already you are acquainted, viz., that the King of Sardinia has proposed to make peace with the Imperial Government, and I am of opinion that His Majesty is desirous to escape the mediation of any Power whatever.

It is I think likely that the proposal may be accepted, and that peace may be made between them.

I have also heard that the King has made very great advances to Marshal Radetzky for the establishment of a cordial union between the Austrians and himself. I will go more fully into this matter in a day or two, limiting myself at present to one observation, that should the proposition which I have alluded to have been made, and be accepted by the Austrians, it may prove to be a strong exciting motive to French intervention; because the union will be the result of the peace between the King and the Austrians, and therefore the Milanese will be absolutely without support from the Piedmontese, and there will remain no reason why the Austrians shall not resume the sovereignty of Lombardy, excepting the reasons derived from the sounder policy of avoiding the embarrassments which may arise from the possession of that country by Austria.

If, then, Austria being countenanced by the King of Sardinia, shall resume the sovereignty of Lombardy, and if (as is more than probable), there shall continue to be a very strong party in Milan bent upon maintaining the absolute independence of Lombardy, and the creation of such a government and constitution as shall be in accordance with their particular opinions, and that they shall invoke the aid of those who in France are devoted to the triumph of those opinions, it may be doubted if the French Government will have the inclination to reject the entreaties of the Milanese party, or, if having the inclination, the French Government will have the power to resist any strong feeling in France created by such causes.

I do not know if M. de la Cour has the same information respecting the desire attributed to the King of Sardinia as I have had. M. de la Cour is very intimate with those Ministers who constitute the Liberal portion of the Administration, and M. de la Cour has told me that he was convinced they would accede to the propositions contained in his instructions (which he read to me), as the basis upon which the proposed mediation should act for the conclusion of a treaty.

Your Lordship will observe that a treaty between the Sardinian Government and the Austrian may be already agreed upon in Turin and in Milan, and it may also be possible that the Austrian Ministers may not be able to prevent the acceptance of the treaty so formed.

I am afraid that the affair between Hungary and the Croats goes ill; it was reported that Kossuth had resigned his office, but I believe the report is untrue. The consequence of determined hostilities between Hungary and the Croats (should hostilities unfortunately take place), are likely to be extremely serious, particularly for the Hungarians, and possibly may reach others in a degree to be regretted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 211.

Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.—(Received from Admiralty August 24.)

Sir,

"Hibernia," Castellamare, August 14, 1848.

THE Tuscan Minister at the Court of Naples came on board the "Hibernia" on the afternoon of the 12th instant to inform me of the occupation of Bologna by the Austrians and the retirement of the allied army under the King of Sardinia to Milan, with the consequent anxiety felt by the Tuscan Government for the presence of one of Her Majesty's ships at Leghorn, to which I immediately assented.

In the course of the evening I received from Lord Napier a letter on this subject, of which the inclosed is a copy,* and the "Porcupine" and "Thetis" were both detached yesterday to Leghorn Roads, the former in advance to apprise his Excellency Sir George Hamilton of the approach of the "Thetis," and that the "Hecate" might be expected in a few days from Malta with the Hereditary Prince of Parma, to receive the Princess and the rest of their family for conveyance to England.

I inclose for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a copy of the instructions which I have given to Captain Codrington, having in view the possible removal of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and his family, as well as the protection of British subjects and their commercial interests which I hope will be in accordance with their Lordships' wishes.

I have since learnt that Milan has capitulated to the Austrians, but that it is supposed the Imperial forces will not enter the Tuscan territory.

The Duke of Genoa is said to be with the Sardinian army unwell, and doubts are consequently entertained whether he will now accept the proffered Crown of Sicily,

It is understood that the French squadron has been disappointed in receiving part of the supplies which they expected would be sent from Toulon to Cagliari, and that they are gone to Tunis or Algiers.

As the late successes of the Austrians will probably involve the abandonment of the blockade of Trieste by the Italian allies and the resumption of the Imperial authority at Venice, I have deemed it expedient that the "Terrible" should remain in the Adriatic pending this crisis, and have accordingly transmitted instructions to Captain Ramsay, of which a copy is sent for the information and I hope also the approbation of their Lordships.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. PARKER.

No. 212.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 25.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 13, 1848.

THE Sardinian fleet arrived yesterday evening off this port, where it now remains at anchor.

It was supposed that this fleet had come over here for the purpose of embarking the Piedmontese troops who, according to the Convention between King Charles Albert and Marshal Radetzky (a copy of which I have the honour to

* See Inclosure in No. 198.

inclose as published in the Venetian paper), are to be withdrawn. But the Sardinian Admiral Albini has published the inclosed letter, dated yesterday, stating that he had, up to that moment, received no orders whatever from his Government to retire from these waters, and that until such orders reached him, he should continue to act for the defence of Venice, and share with her the perils of the war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 212.

Convention of Armistice between the Austrian and Sardinian Armies.

[See Inclosure in No. 180.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 212.

Rear-Admiral Albini to Rear-Admiral Graziani.

IL Signor Capitano di fregata "Tiozzo," comandante la divisione Veneta, mi ha dato originale comunicazione del foglio di vostra Eccellenza a lui diretto, col quale gli ordinava di rendersi in Venezia con essa divisione nel caso che nella capitolazione di Milano fosse stato anche inserito l'Articolo che la Squadra Sarda e la guarnigione Piemontese esistente a Venezia avessero a ritirarsi.

Tale comunicazione mi venne data sopra le acque di Caorle nel mentre che prevenendo i desiderii di codesto Governo e popolazione io era in navigazione con tutta la flotta diretto per la Venezia a fine di prestare ad essa tutta la maggiore assistenza ed ajuto nelle attuali vicissitudini politiche.

Io assicuro l'Eccellenza vostra sulla mia parola d'onore che io non ho ricevuto dal mio Governo sino a questo momento, ordini di ritirarmi nè di abbandonare queste acque. Sino a che tale disposizione non mi pervenga (sopra di cui non ho alcun particolare sentore) la prego Signor Ammiraglio di voler esser certo, e di assicurare la popolazione Veneta, che la squadra di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna che ho l'onore di comandare, è ferma (siccome sempre lo fu) di dividere con essa tutte le pene, tutt' i disagi della sua difesa.

Ho l'onore, &c.

*Il Contr' Ammiraglio comandante la Squadra di S. M.
il Rè di Sardegna,
(Firmato) ALBINI.*

(Translation.)

THE captain of the frigate "Tiozzo," commanding the Venetian division, has communicated to me the original letter of your Excellency addressed to him, by which you order him to proceed to Venice with the said division, in case that in the capitulation of Milan there should also be inserted the article that the Sardinian squadron and the Piedmontese garrison actually at Venice should have to retire.

This communication was made to me on the waters of Caorle, whilst forestalling the desires of that Government and people, I was proceeding with all the fleet directed to Venice, in order to afford to it all extra assistance and succour in its actual political vicissitudes.

I assure your Excellency, on my word of honour, that I have not received, up to this moment from my Government, orders to retire nor to abandon these waters.

Until such orders reach me (and of such I have not heard anything whatever), I beg you, Sir, to be assured, and to assure the population of Venice, that the squadron of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, which I have the honour to command, is resolved (as it has ever been) to partake in all its labours, all its troubles, for its defence.

I have, &c.

The Rear-Admiral commanding the squadron of His
Majesty the King of Sardinia,
(Signed) ALBINI.

No. 213.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 25.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 13, 1848.

THE National Assembly of the city and province of Venice met this morning in the Ducal Palace and offered to continue Signor Manin in the office which he held since the evening of the 11th, of sole Governor or Dictator.

This offer was refused by Signor Manin, but he said that if the Assembly would give him two colleagues to assist him in military and other details, of which he was ignorant, he would accept office; adding, however, the condition, that the Assembly should pledge itself to support the measures which he should think necessary to adopt.

This was agreed to, and a Provisional Government appointed, consisting of Signor Manin, Admiral Graziani, the Commander-in-chief of the Venetian navy, and Signor Cavedalis, who was Minister of War under the late Provisional Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 214.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 25.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 24, 1848.

GENERAL CAVAIGNAC requested to see me late yesterday afternoon, and I found that he had just received a deputation from Venice requesting immediate protection from France against the attack which was about to be made upon their independence.

It appeared that upon the resignation of their powers by the Sardinian Commissioners, consequent upon the notification of the Armistice, the Republic had been re-established in Venice, and renewed preparations made for determined resistance.

The General was very impatient at the non-arrival of any answer from Vienna as to the acceptance of the mediation which might cut short this collateral question.

It appeared also that he had received an application from Rome for a general officer to command the Roman forces, and also for 4000 French auxiliary troops; but it seemed that the last request was rather as a protection from disorders amongst the Pope's own subjects than to resist hostile invasion.

General Cavaignac had at once declined to send these troops at present, saying that the whole of the affairs of Italy were necessarily connected together, and, therefore, as he hoped to be engaged in a mediation for the settlement of some of them, he could not furnish an armed force to any part of Italy, which, whatever might be its professed object, must have the appearance of taking an active military part.

The General, however, remarked that he had as yet no intelligence of the withdrawal of the Austrians from the Legations, and that he must announce that he could not begin to negotiate till that had taken place.

He then continued to state that this incident with respect to Venice was very unpleasant in connexion with the delay in the acceptance of the mediation.

The General assured me, and in this he was confirmed by M. Bastide, that they had forced public opinion upon these subjects as far as it would go, anxious as all were to preserve the peace; and if they permitted the Austrians to remain in the Legations, and at the same time refused the assistance asked by the Venetians, their power for good would soon be at an end.

I had more than once, in the course of these observations of the General, remarked that I had little doubt the delay in the receipt of an answer to the offer of mediation had had an accidental cause of no political signification, namely, the absence of Baron Wessenberg, the Foreign Minister, from Vienna at the time of its reception.

The General reverted with evident uneasiness to the possibility of Venice being taken by the Austrians after this appeal for assistance, and whilst his

hands were tied by the proposal of mediation, and deprecated the effect this would have on public opinion in France. He proposed to send off at once to Vienna, requiring within a certain given time a final answer whether the mediation was accepted, and said that would be the best reply to give to the Venetians.

It is no doubt most earnestly to be desired, not only for the sake of humanity, but for the satisfactory conclusion of a permanent settlement, that Venice, as she has determined to resist, should remain in her present state until the close of the negotiations. But the question is rather complicated by the re-establishment for the time of a separate government at Venice. We have undertaken to mediate between Sardinia and Austria: it is between these two Powers that the armistice has been signed:—by that armistice Sardinia undertakes to withdraw her military and naval forces from the protection of Venice, which, by the creation of a separate government, stands in a different position towards the mediation from the rest of the north of Italy. One must hope that Austria will at once feel how important it is for her future relations with these States, that the re-establishment of her authority should not be marked by an unnecessary effusion of blood.

No. 215.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 25.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 20, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the new Sardinian Cabinet is composed as follows:

President of the Council	-	Marquis Alfieri.
Foreign Affairs -	-	General Baron Perrone.
War -	-	General Franzini.
Public Instruction	-	M. Merlo.
Finance -	-	Count de Revel.
Interior -	-	Chevalier Pinelli.
Public Works -	-	Chevalier Santa Rosa.

Two departments remain still by the present arrangement to be filled up, and negotiations are going on with individuals for that purpose.

Count de Revel was at the last moment disappointed in obtaining the services of an influential and talented Genoese, by the refusal of Signor de Ferrari to accept of the office of Keeper of the Seals; but I believe there is yet a chance that a Genoese will have a seat in the Cabinet, an object which Count de Revel is extremely anxious to accomplish.

Signor Gori will I believe be named Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

Although as a native of Voghera he is a natural born subject of His Sardinian Majesty, his professional and political careers have been, I believe, entirely Milanese, and he is taken into the present Cabinet expressly to represent Lombard interests and connexions, as well as on account of his own personal qualification for official employment.

The Marquis Colli, whose eldest son, a highly promising officer, was one of the first victims of the present war, will, I have reason to believe, be named a member of the Cabinet without department; but he will reside as the responsible Minister of the Crown at His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters.

The names which this list presents to the country ought to carry weight with them, and offer at the same time solid guarantees for the constitutional character of the members of the new Cabinet, and of the policy which they will follow.

Those individuals of the new Administration with whom I have as yet had intercourse, are all sincerely determined upon carrying out thoroughly and honestly the Constitutional and Representative system of Government; and they see too clearly the dangers which would inevitably arise to their country and to the monarchy, were they for a moment to give way to any attempt to get rid of the constitution as granted by the King.

I mention this fact for fear your Lordship should be told from other quarters

that the present Government did not deserve the support of public opinion, from the belief that it would not act honestly and fairly by the constitution.

I inclose herewith to your Lordship a printed copy in Italian, together with a translation into English, of a manifesto published by the new Government in the "Piedmontese Gazette" of last night, in which your Lordship will find explained in detail the principles which are to guide the policy of the present Administration.

I think you will be of opinion that they afford a fair chance of securing the true interests of this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 215.

Programme of the Sardinian Ministry.

NELLE gravi circostanze in cui si trova la patria non è lieve impresa quella di assumere l'esercizio del Governo; quindi non è a maravigliarsi se l'attuale Ministero durò fatica o comporsi: ora però si presenta con fiducia alla nazione forte delle prove di sincero amore della patria e delle libere istituzioni che diedero gli uomini che ne fanno parte, e forte della coscienza di non potere essere superato da alcuno nell'affetto alla causa Italiana.

Il Ministero che si ritira trovossi presente all'avvenimento degli ultimi tristi casi: non se ne sgomentò e fece appello all'energia del paese. Quello che gli succede intende seguirlo con pari e se fosse possibile maggior ardore nei suoi provvedimenti per ricomporre l'esercito ed armare la nazione.

Egli deve rispettare l'armistizio come fatto militare: ma non può riconoscere in quello un atto di politica transazione che distrugga i fatti compiuti e che segni le basi di ulteriori negoziazioni.

Però due grandi nazioni amiche che proclamano il rispetto delle nazionalità e secondano lo sviluppo della libertà dei popoli, avendo offerto la loro mediazione onde porre termine ad una guerra che potrebbe diventare Europea, e promuovere una pace onorevole, il Ministero accolse con riconoscenza il disinteressato ed amichevole ufficio delle Potenti mediatrici.

Persuasato che esse, che conoscono e rendono omaggio alla forza della opinione pubblica ed all'autonomia delle nazioni, apprezzando giustamente le attuali politiche condizioni dell'Italia e le cause che mossero la guerra, sapranno condurre a tali accordi che siano onorevolmente accettabili e durevoli, ed evitino la necessità di una guerra che l'onore e l'ardore della nazione ed il generoso aiuto dei nostri potenti vicini renderebbero di esito non dubbio.

A questo scopo e ad ogni evento il Ministero provocherà con ogni alacrità l'effettuazione della Lega Doganale e Politica degli Stati Italiani.

Il regolare ordinamento della guardia nazionale e l'attivazione del suo compiuto armamento chiameranno i più pronti ed efficaci provvedimenti del Governo: e se per la definitiva costituzione del municipio e della provincia ragion vuole di attendere la riforma dello Statuto fondamentale, non tarderà intanto ad attivare quelle modificazioni che pongono tali ordini in migliore armonia col sistema costituzionale.

Persuasato che l'ordine e la libertà procedono di pari passo e sono l'uno all'altra indispensabili, attenderà al riordinamento della polizia, separando le attribuzioni della forza militare dall'azione civile, e provvedendo in modo che la legalità nulla tolga alla prontezza ed alla fermezza del Governo, e queste in nulla pregiudichino a quella.

Fedele al principio dell'uguaglianza di tutti i cittadini in faccia alla legge, il Ministero promuoverà l'applicazione del dritto comune a tutti i casi, a tutte le classi di persone.

Il vincolo indissolubile che stringe la civiltà alla religione gl'impone l'obbligo di rispettarne i diritti e tutelarne le istituzioni; ugualmente lontano da una cieca superstizione che da una avversione pregiudicata, adoprerà in modo che trovino favore quelli istituti che a codesta alleanza cospirino; riforma quelli che se ne siano allontanati; ferma e decisa resistenza quelli che vi avversano.

Questi sono i principii del nuovo Ministero, a questi conformerà i suoi atti, assumendone la responsabilità davanti al Parlamento Nazionale; e confida che,

col concorso di questo e di tutti quelli che amano sinceramente la patria giungerà a mantenere intatto l'onore della nazione, a confermare le libere nostre istituzioni, ed a stabilire quell'ordine legale senza cui non possono ricevere un ragionevole sviluppo.

(Translation.)

IN the serious circumstances in which the country is now placed, it is no slight task to assume the exercise of Government; it is not therefore to be wondered at if a certain time elapse before the new Ministry could form itself; but it now presents itself with confidence to the nation, relying upon the proofs of sincere love of their country and of free institutions which have been given by the men who compose it, and strong with the consciousness that it cannot be surpassed by any other Administration in its attachment to the Italian cause.

The retiring Ministry found themselves in office at the beginning of the late disasters; they were not cast down by them, and made an appeal to the energy of the country. Their successors intend to provide with equal, and if possible, greater efforts for the reorganization of the army, and for the arming of the nation.

They will respect the Armistice as a military act, but they cannot recognize it as an act of political transaction, annulling accomplished facts, and laying the bases of ulterior negotiations.

Two great and friendly nations, proclaiming their respect for nationality, and assisting the development of the liberty of nations, having offered their mediation to put an end to a war which might become European, and to promote an honourable peace, the Ministry have accepted thankfully the disinterested and friendly offices of these powerful mediators.

They are persuaded that these nations, understanding and doing homage to the force of public opinion and to the right of nations to govern themselves, and justly appreciating the actual political state of Italy and the cause of the war, will know how to come to an arrangement which may be honourably accepted and lasting, so as to avoid the necessity of a war which the honour and eagerness of the nation and the generous assistance of our powerful neighbours, would bring to a successful termination.

To this end and at all events the Ministry will promote with its best endeavours the conclusion of the Customs and Political League of the Italian States.

The regular organization of the national guard, and measures for completing its equipment, will be the object of speedy and efficacious provisions on the part of Government; and although it is advisable before settling the definitive constitution of towns and provinces, to wait for the revision of the fundamental statute, they will in the meantime lose no time in bringing into operation those modifications which may place these administrations in greater harmony with the Constitutional system.

Persuaded that order and liberty advance with equal steps, and are necessary to each other, they will attend to the reorganization of the police, by separating the attributions of military force from those of civil jurisdiction, and taking measures in order that legality may not impair the speediness and firmness of the Government, and that the latter may not in any way prejudice the former.

Faithful to the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law, the Ministry will promote the application of the common law to all cases and to all classes.

The indissoluble ties which bind civil to religious institutions oblige the Ministry to preserve the latter and to respect the rights of the Church; they will steer such a course, equally distant from blind superstition, and from prejudiced aversion, that those institutions which follow this principle, may find favour; those which have deviated from it, reform; and those which are in opposition to it, firm and decided resistance.

Such are the principles of the new Ministry, to which they will conform their acts, assuming the responsibility of them before the national Parliament, with the co-operation of whom and of all those who sincerely love their country, they trust that they will be able to maintain unsullied the honour of the nation, to consolidate our free institutions, and to establish legal order, without which they cannot attain their full extension.

No. 216.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 26.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 20, 1848.

BARON WESSENBERG is not yet come. He may arrive this evening; but it is more likely that he will not be here before to-morrow evening.

Your Lordship will have had intelligence to show you whether or not the rumours we have here are true, respecting a peace between Austria and Sardinia having been agreed upon by His Majesty the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky.

So far as I have been able to obtain information, I have reason to suppose that the prevailing, almost the universal feeling here is, that the Austrians must keep Lombardy.

In my despatch of the 17th instant I reported the information I had received respecting the opinion of the Austrian Ministers being in favour of the terms stated in the French project for peace to be the grounds for the proposed mediation. I do not affirm the truth of either of the above-mentioned points, namely, the feeling in favour of the retention of Lombardy, or the opinion of the Minister in favour of the terms of the basis for mediation.

I hope to be able to speak upon these points immediately with more confidence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 217.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 17, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, in which I informed your Lordship that a collective note had been signed by most of the foreign Ministers resident in Florence, and forwarded to the Austrian General Welden, remonstrating against the bombardment of Bologna, I have now the honour to forward to your Lordship a copy of the General's answer, which was received yesterday.

I think it is clearly proved by Marshal General Welden's statement, that the deplorable events at Bologna had occurred without his knowledge, and at the very moment that he had sent an amicable proposition to the Government of Bologna, and that dispositions were made for the retreat of his troops, at that very moment several Austrian officers and soldiers were treacherously assassinated in Bologna, and the Austrian troops outside the town commenced firing to revenge the murder of their countrymen.

The foreign Ministers here have thought it better not to answer General Welden's letter, in which opinion I entirely concurred.

Four hundred of the Papal Swiss troops have escaped into the mountains with the military chest of their corps containing 12,000 dollars; and 1500 Piedmontese troops are now in Lucca, having brought with them a very large sum of the public money of Modena, which sum, they say, they are going to take to King Carlo Alberto.

Inclosure in No. 217.

General Welden to the Representatives of England, Prussia, Denmark, of Sweden, Sicily, and of the Holy See, at Florence.

Padoue, 12 Août, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser la réception de la note collective que Messieurs les Représentans ont bien voulu m'adresser en date du 9 Août, et suis en droit à supposer que ma réponse à une note de M. le Ministre d'Angleterre à Florence, expédiée par courrier particulier encore avant que j'aie eu connaissance des tristes événemens de Bologne, aura donné la preuve la plus irrécusable que cette rencontre, provoquée par une bande d'assassins que les autorités n'ont pu contenir, n'a aucun rapport avec mes opérations militaires, que j'ai d'abord suspendues dès que les autorités de Bologne eurent consenti, quoique très équivoquement, à l'accord et aux garanties que je leur proposais, et dont je me suis empressé de joindre une copie à la suscitée réponse à la Légation Anglaise.

J'ajoute encore ci-inclus un exposé communiqué alors au Gouvernement de Bologne, ainsi que les dispositions de retraite pour mes troupes, qui devait avoir lieu le jour et presque à l'heure même que plusieurs officiers et soldats Autrichiens furent traitreusement assassinés; et j'espère que MM. les Ministres voudront bien reconnaître, guidés par leur juste sentiment de douleur à la nouvelle de ces événemens que je partage sincèrement, que la responsabilité en pèse sur un parti de traîtres mal-intentionnés, et non pas sur mon entreprise, qui n'avait en vue que le rétablissement de l'ordre et de la tranquillité, et que Bologne, foyer perturbateur et révolutionnaire, minait et troublait sans relâche par les plus méchans moyens jusque dans les Etats de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale.

Ces explications, j'ose le croire, satisferont les désirs de MM. les Représentans, et ma demande ne peut être ici déplacée de vouloir bien s'entremettre auprès du Ministère Papal pour obtenir des Légations, en faveur de l'Autriche, ces garanties d'ordre et de tranquillité qui lui sont indispensables pour la sûreté de ses provinces, et répandre les bienfaits d'une paix qui aurait le moins dû être rompu par le Gouvernement de Sa Sainteté.

Si, en conclusion, MM. les Représentans daignent accorder à un vieux militaire, qui a toujours manié l'épée et jamais la plume, de faire une remarque, j'ajouterai qu'un aveugle et enragé fanatisme a ébranlé les Etats de Sa Majesté Impériale jusque dans les fondemens, et menacé de destruction; des troupes et bandes Piémontaises, Napolitaines, Toscanes et Papales, les ont envahis contre tout droit des gens, et y ont porté une guerre de ravage, sans que la juste cause ait trouvé intercession et soutien; maintenant que les victoires de notre armée ont assuré l'intégrité de la monarchie, les ennemis, un instant repoussés, en trouvent de tout côté, même dans les alliés les plus anciens et les plus désintéressés et contre les prétentions les plus légitimes.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) WELDEN.

(Translation.)

Padua, August 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the collective note which the Representatives have had the goodness to address to me dated the 9th of August, and I am warranted in supposing that my answer to a note from the British Minister at Florence, forwarded by private courier even before I received intelligence of the lamentable events at Bologna, will have given a most incontrovertible proof that that conflict, provoked by a band of assassins whom the authorities were unable to control, was in no ways connected with my military operations, which I had first suspended so soon as the Bolognese authorities had consented, though in a very equivocal manner, to the agreement and guarantees which I had proposed to them, and of which I annexed a copy to the above-mentioned note to the British Legation.

I further add hereunto a statement then communicated to the Government of Bologna, as well as the arrangements made for the retreat of my troops which

was to have taken place on the day and almost at the very hour when several Austrian officers and soldiers were traitorously assassinated; and I trust that the Ministers will be so good as to acknowledge, under the influence of their just feeling of pain at hearing the news of these events in which I sincerely share, that the responsibility rests with a party of evil-disposed traitors, and not with my undertaking, which had only in view the re-establishment of order and tranquillity; and that Bologna, a centre of disturbance and of revolution, was conspiring against and ceaselessly troubling by the most wicked means the very His territories of His Imperial and Royal Majesty.

These explanations, I venture to hope, will satisfy the wishes of the Representatives, and my request cannot be misplaced here that they will be so good as to interpose with the Papal Government in order to obtain from the Legations in favour of Austria, guarantees of order and peace, which are indispensable to her for the safety of her provinces, and to shed abroad benefits of a peace which ought least of all to have been disturbed by the Government of Holiness.

Lastly, if the Representatives will condescend to allow an old soldier who has always handled the sword and never the pen, to make a remark, I would add that a blind and furious fanaticism has shaken the territories of His Imperial Majesty to their very foundations and has threatened them with destruction. Troops and bands of Piedmontese, Neapolitans, Tuscans, and Papal subjects have attacked them contrary to every law of nations, and have carried thither a war of destruction, while the just cause has met with no intervention or support; now that the victories of our armies have secured the integrity of the monarchy, our enemies, checked for a moment, receive both, even from the most ancient and disinterested of our allies and in opposition to the most just demands.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) WELDEN.

No. 218.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 17, 1848.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER has sent the "Porcupine" steam-vessel from Naples with a despatch, informing me of his intention to send the "Thetis" frigate to Leghorn, with instructions to her commander, Captain Codrington, to act in accordance with my wishes in the event of any emergency which might oblige me to require her services.

He likewise informs me that the "Hecate" steam-vessel has been ordered by the Admiralty to convey the Hereditary Prince and Princess of Parma to England, and that she may be expected to arrive at Leghorn about the 22nd instant.

I find, from Sir William Parker, that he has sent the "Thetis" to Leghorn, in consequence of a direct application to him from the Tuscan Minister at Naples earnestly requesting him, on the part of the Tuscan Government, to send a British ship of war to Leghorn, in the event of her services being required by the Grand Duke.

No. 219.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 12th instant, agreeably to the Convention for an Armistice, the fortress of Peschiera was evacuated by the Piedmontese and occupied by the Austrians. On the 13th instant,

the town of Bergamo, and on the 15th instant, the town of Brescia surrendered to the Austrians.

The free corps which guarded the Passes of the Caffaro and Rocca d'Anfo, commanded by General Giacomo Durando, consisting of the columns under Manara and Thanberg, amounting to about 5000 men, have retired into Piedmont by Sesto Calende.

The corps commanded by General Griffini, appointed latterly to defend Brescia, composed of volunteers and part of the Lombard mobilized national guard, amounting to about 7000 men, have retired by the Pass of Aprica, to Roschiavo in Switzerland, to proceed from thence to Piedmont.

The free corps under General Garibaldi, amounting to 3000 men, have retired into Piedmont, crossing the Lake Maggiore at Luino.

No information as yet has reached this city respecting the free corps under General d'Apice, which defended the Pass of the Stelvio.

Of the regular Lombard army, originally amounting to 18,000 men, commanded by General Perrone, it is said he has collected 12,000 of them in Switzerland.

The city of Milan still remains in a state of siege, and is perfectly tranquil. The only letter post communication open is by the way of Switzerland.

On the 13th instant a proclamation was issued here, ordering throughout Lombardy a forced loan of 2,800,000 Austrian livres, or about 93,000 pounds sterling, to bear an interest of 5 per cent.

Emigration still goes on to a great extent.

I regret that I cannot give your Lordship fuller details of what is happening in Lombardy, as very few letters and newspapers are given out, and scarcely any official accounts are published. We are kept greatly in the dark as to the state of affairs in the other parts of Italy. It was only to-day that the news of the defence of Bologna on the 8th instant by its inhabitants against the attack of the army under General Welden was communicated to myself and some few other individuals here. As your Lordship must have received long ere now a detailed statement of this important affair from his Excellency Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Tuscany, I therefore abstain from entering into any particulars respecting it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 220.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 21, 1848.

GENERAL the Baron de Perrone having yesterday entered upon the duties of his office as His Sardinian Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, I called upon him at the Foreign Office.

It was with satisfaction that I received from the General a complete confirmation of all that I had already reported to your Lordship, as being, as far as I had then been able to learn, the intended policy of the new Government, namely, that it is their intention, while they protect and respect the prerogatives of the Crown, to administer the affairs of this country in strict conformity with the constitution granted to it by His Sardinian Majesty in the month of February last; that with regard to those points of the Statuto, which require alteration or extension to be in unison with the feelings and necessities of the country, they are disposed to do all that is compatible with a due regard for the preservation and security of the constitutional monarchy; that it is their fixed determination to uphold the supremacy of the law, and to enforce obedience to the institutions of the country; and by firmness of purpose, unity of object, and a close adherence to the principles and rules of a Constitutional form of Government to control the turbulent, and rally round themselves the loyal and well-disposed of His Sardinian Majesty's subjects.

As regards the foreign policy of the new Cabinet, that has already been

declared by their acceptance of the offered mediation of Great Britain and of France.

The new Sardinian Cabinet will no doubt endeavour during the course of the present armistice, to replace the army upon as effective a footing as possible; but it relies at the same time with perfect confidence upon the efficacious mediation of Great Britain and of France to obtain for this country a peace that shall be honourable in its conditions as regards the interests of Sardinia, and which shall also be sufficient for those of the Italian cause.

No. 221.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 21, 1848.

I THIS morning received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul the inclosed address from the British merchants established at Genoa.

I immediately saw General Perrone upon the subject, and I arranged with him that I should request my colleagues at this Court to unite with me in an effort to obtain from Field Marshal Radetzky the re-establishment of letter-post communications between this country, Lombardy, and the Duchies.

I then called upon my French colleague, who had been at my request already warned by M. de Reiset of my intention to apply to him to co-operate with me upon this point so soon as I received the expected address from Genoa.

I found M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte quite ready to act with me, and we decided to call together the Representatives of all the neutral Courts resident at Turin, to join with us in an application to the Austrian Field-Marshal.

The meeting took place this day, and a letter was drawn up and signed by myself and seven of my colleagues for the object in question; which has since been forwarded to the Marshal's head-quarters through the medium of the Sardinian Government.

I inclose for your Lordship's information copies of the above-mentioned letter, as well as a copy of the instructions I have addressed with reference to it to Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan.

The French Consul-General at Milan will receive orders from the French Minister at this Court to act in this affair in concert with Mr. Campbell.

My French colleague and myself have considered it best to confine the application in question to the Representatives of neutral Courts.

Inclosure 1 in No. 221.

The British Merchants at Genoa to Consul Brown.

WE the Undersigned, English merchants resident in Genoa, respectfully request you will communicate to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Turin, that in consequence of the political movements in the north of Italy, we are deprived of our usual correspondence from the States of Lombardy and the Duchies, which is a source of considerable injury to us, and beg that he will kindly recommend to the authorities the renewal of the regular transmission of letters from those parts.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS BUTLERK.

THOS. CURRY.

WM. GOMERSALE.

H. WEIGHT.

GRANT BALFOUR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 221.

*Collective Note to Marshal Radetzky.**Turin, le 21 Août, 1848.*

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires et Chargés d'Affaires résidant à Turin, considérant combien l'interruption du service de la correspondance entre la Lombardie et le Piémont est regrettable pour leurs intérêts diplomatiques comme pour ceux du commerce de leurs nationaux, ont l'honneur d'adresser collectivement la présente note à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, pour le prier de faire rétablir le plus tôt possible les relations postales entre les deux pays et les Duchés.

Les correspondances diplomatiques ne pouvant plus avoir lieu avec les Cours du Nord ni avec les Agens Consulaires qui résident dans les pays occupés par l'armée Autrichienne, toutes les relations officielles sont gravement compromises.

Quant au commerce, les négocians étant privés de nouvelles et de moyens de transport, l'échéance des traites en cours ayant lieu avant d'être présentées, et toute transaction étant interrompue, il en résulte une perturbation immense dans les transactions déjà opérées, et l'impossibilité de les renouer.

Les Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires et Chargés d'Affaires, sont persuadés que son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky comprendra tous les inconvénients d'un pareil état de choses, et voudra bien prendre tous les moyens nécessaires pour les faire cesser.

Dans cette attente, &c.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY, *Ministre d'Angleterre.*

SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE, *Ministre de France.*

H. VILAIN XIV, *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Belgique.*

J. NEBIET, *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Catholique.*

J. A. LOBO DE MOIRA, *Chargé d'Affaires de Portugal.*

N. NILES, *Chargé d'Affaires des Etats-Unis.*

P. CARVALHO DE MORAES, *Chargé d'Affaires du Brésil.*

BARON DE WERTHER, *Chargé d'Affaires de Prusse.*

(Translation.)

Turin, August 21, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary and Chargés d'Affaires resident at Turin, considering how much the interruption of the letter-post communication between Lombardy and Piedmont is to be regretted as concerns their diplomatic interests as well as the interest of the trade of their countrymen, have the honour collectively to address the present note to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, to request him to cause as soon as possible letter-post relations to be re-established between the two countries and the Duchies.

It being no longer possible to carry on diplomatic correspondence with the Northern Courts or with the Consular Agents who are resident in the countries occupied by the Austrian army, all official relations are seriously compromised.

As regards trade, the merchants being deprived of intelligence and of means of transport, the term of bills having expired before they can be presented, and all business being interrupted, there results an immense disturbance of all transactions already entered upon, and the impossibility of resuming them.

The Undersigned, &c., are persuaded that his Excellency Marshal Radetzky will understand all the inconvenience of such a state of things, and will have the goodness to take all steps necessary to bring it to an end.

With this expectation, &c.

(Signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 221.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Vice-Consul Campbell.

Sir,

Turin, August 21, 1848.

I HEREWITH inclose to you a despatch addressed by the Representatives of neutral countries residing at the Court of His Sardinian Majesty to Field-Marshal Radetzky, inviting his Excellency to re-open the letter-post communications between Lombardy and the Duchies with Genoa and the hereditary States of His Sardinian Majesty.

The embarrassments occasioned to the commercial interests of the various Powers whose Representatives have signed the inclosed despatch, and the heavy and serious losses to which the commercial operations of their countrymen may possibly be exposed, in consequence of the interruption of their mercantile correspondence with Lombardy and the Duchies, have rendered it necessary for the Representatives of the various Courts concerned, to address a formal application to Field-Marshal Radetzky upon this subject, for the object of obtaining the immediate re-establishment of letter-post communication between this country, Lombardy, and the Duchies; and I have now therefore to instruct you to seek an interview with the Field-Marshal, to deliver to him the accompanying despatch, and on receiving his written answer thereto, to transmit it to me forthwith in order that I may communicate its contents to my colleagues at this Court.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 222.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 22, 1848.

A PARTIAL change has occurred in the Sardinian Cabinet, by the resignation of General Franzini of the office of Minister of War.

General Dabormida has been appointed to succeed General Franzini.

The nomination of General Dabormida will be agreeable to the army, whose confidence he possesses, and his entrance into office will add another firm and decided member to the present Cabinet.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 223.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 28.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 21, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose in original and translation, Field-Marshal Baron Welden's account of the retreat of the division under the command of Field-Marshal Baron Perglas, from Bologna, and of the necessity under which Baron Perglas was placed of covering that retreat by a heavy fire of artillery.

The whole of Baron Welden's division has now recrossed the Po and has evacuated the Papal States.

From a statement made by the Minister of War, Count Latour, in a sitting of the Reichstag, in reply to a question put to the Count by a member of that Assembly, it appears that Field-Marshal Baron Welden entered the Papal States without having received orders to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

P.S.—Your Lordship may remember the fact that I stated of the Imperial Government having disavowed Baron Welden's intention to make any attack upon the Papal territories, and having given an explanation of the affair.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Report from General Welden.

(Translation.)

THE Minister of War has received the following report from Field-Marshal Baron Welden from Padua of the 10th.

According to this report the said Field-Marshal had on the 7th retired from Bologna to Padua, having left Field-Marshal Baron Perglas the orders to withdraw the troops on the 8th. At the moment when the latter was preparing to retire with the troops, he was, contrary to the Convention concluded on the preceding day with the authorities, attacked by armed bands; three officers and several soldiers were assassinated, and many acts of violence committed against individuals.

Field-Marshal Perglas found himself obliged to repel the attack thus made upon the rear-guard, at the moment when he was on the point of faithfully carrying out the previously-made agreements.

After a contest of several hours of the rear-guard, which he was obliged to support with a heavy fire of artillery, he was able to effect his backward march towards the Po in an orderly way, and on that day reached Ponte di Reno, on the 9th Corticetto and St. Giorgio, and on the 10th Cento.

Our loss in this fight, which the blind rage of the people and their utter defiance of the commands of the lawful authorities rendered an act of necessity on the part of Field-Marshal Perglas, consists of 5 dead, of whom 2 are officers; 63 wounded, of whom 2 are staff and 6 superior officers; 1 officer and 83 men missing.

The loss of the enemy, as far as is known, consists of between 60 and 70 killed. The number of wounded is unknown.

No. 224.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 28.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, August 21, 1848.

THIS morning early I received Mr. Abercromby's despatch dated Alessandria, August 15, informing me that His Majesty the King of Sardinia had accepted the mediation of England and France, for a peace to be negotiated upon the terms specified in the French and English instructions to M. de la Cour, to Mr. Abercromby, and to myself.

I immediately waited on M. de la Cour, who had received the same communication from Turin.

M. de la Cour and I hope to see Baron Wessenberg to-morrow. The Baron is to arrive in Vienna this evening.

No. 225.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 28, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 21st instant, reporting the steps taken by you, in conjunction with your colleagues, to induce Field-Marshal Radetzky to permit letter post communications to be reestablished, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the course pursued by you on the occasion in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 226.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 22, 1848.

M. DE BOIS-LE-COMTE communicated to me the inclosed document, which he has received from a Venetian.

My French colleague having transmitted copy of it to Paris, I think it right to forward it also to your Lordship, for your information.

I have not made any observations to M. de Bois-le-Comte with regard to the contents of this paper.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

 Inclosure in No. 226.
Memorandum on the Condition of Venice.

Août 1848.

DANS l'Armistice du 9 Août Venise a été traitée comme une ville qui eut exclusivement appartenu à l'Autriche, et qui n'eut été que momentanément occupée par les troupes Piémontaises ; ce qui n'est pas moins faux qu'illégal. Venise insurgée avait recouvré sa liberté en éloignant les Autrichiens, et stipulant avec eux une convention régulière. Ensuite elle avait fait sa fusion avec le Piémont, fusion qui avait été acceptée par les Chambres et par le Roi, et convertie en loi, précisément comme pour Milan, après quoi on avait envoyé à Venise des Commissaires pour gouverner la ville au nom de Sa Majesté.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cet oubli de tout égard à la vérité et au droit, il est évident que Sa Majesté par ce déplorable Armistice, abandonnant Venise sans aucune espèce de capitulation, en la regardant simplement comme l'ayant momentanément occupée ; ne faisant qu'en retirer ses propres troupes ; ne donnant la moindre pensée à celles qui y étaient lorsque la fusion fut faite, ni à la Marine Vénitienne qui avait joué le rôle principal dans la révolution, et qui se regardait désormais comme Piémontaise ; il est évident, dis-je, que le Roi remettait Venise dans ses droits, comme si la fusion n'eut jamais été faite. Les Commissaires du Roi l'ont reconnu eux-mêmes, et en résignant leur pouvoir le jour 11 courant, ont déclaré qu'ils n'auraient jamais pû se prêter à un acte qui répugnait trop à leurs sentimens, tel qu'eût été celui de consigner Venise aux Autrichiens ; que leur mandat en conséquence de l'armistice cessait, et que Venise se trouvait rétablie dans la condition politique dans laquelle elle se trouvait au moment où la fusion avait été faite.

Au milieu de l'exaspération produite par ce déplorable Armistice, le Gouvernement Provisoire s'est donc rétabli, et le peuple ne voulant pas livrer la ville aux Autrichiens, il a décidé de la défendre. Mais les conditions dans lesquelles se trouve Venise sont bien tristes et difficiles ; du moment principalement qu'on va retirer la flotte Sarde. L'énergie du désespoir la soutiendra, d'autant plus qu'outre les citoyens sans nombre qui doivent s'attendre à la vengeance toujours inexorable de l'Autriche, il y a à Venise plus de 17,000 hommes de troupes, Romaines, Napolitaines, gardes nationales, mobilisées, volontaires, corps francs de tous les pays d'Italie, qui ne savent où se réfugier, et la marine Vénitienne, qui, déjà opprimée par le joug le plus dur pendant le Gouvernement Autrichien déchu, qui voulait la convertir en marine totalement Allemande, s'attendrait à présent aux traitemens les plus cruels et désespérans.

Si donc Venise est attaquée pendant l'Armistice qui procure à Radetzky la bonne occasion de rassembler contre elle tous les moyens dont il dispose, Venise succombera, et succombera après avoir essuyé toutes les horreurs de la guerre, de l'anarchie, et de la vengeance d'un pouvoir militaire le plus despotique et le plus cruel qui ait jamais existé. L'horrible manière dont a été traitée Vicence, parcequ'elle s'est défendue, et la continuation de toute espèce de vexation dont cette ville est toujours opprimée, sont un échantillon de ce que doit attendre Venise si elle se rend aux Autrichiens sous condition de se confier à la magnanimité de Sa Majesté l'Empereur. Qu'on pense à ce qui arrivera si elle est prise de vive force.

Pour sauver Venise il est nécessaire d'exiger que l'Armistice soit respecté aussi devant elle. Et cela n'est pas seulement conforme à l'humanité mais juste et de droit.

La France et l'Angleterre auraient spontanément exigé des Autrichiens un armistice en faveur de toute l'Italie, dont on dit vouloir la pacification. Le Roi en a fait malheureusement un d'avance. Cet Armistice, quant à la partie militaire, exige pour Venise la retraite des forces Sardes ; mais quant à la partie politique il est si éminemment injuste et illégal, qu'il devait nécessairement et de plein droit faire rétablir le Gouvernement Provisoire qui existait avant la fusion, détruite par cet acte. Il est donc juste que ce Gouvernement Provisoire ne soit pas abandonné par les Puissances qui interviennent. Sauf à décider de la question permanente du Royaume Lombard-Vénitien, on doit en attendant faire accorder à Venise aussi le bénéfice de l'Armistice, sans quoi son sort sera tel qu'il fera frémir l'Europe de compassion, et sera une honte éternelle pour des nations, qui, pendant qu'elles disent prendre tant d'intérêt pour l'Italie, commencent par tolérer la ruine d'une de ses plus belles villes et la désolation de ses habitants.

(Translation.)

August 1848.

IN the Armistice of the 9th of August Venice was treated as a city which belonged exclusively to Austria, and which had been only occupied for the moment by the Piedmontese troops. This is no less false than illegal.

Insurgent Venice had recovered her liberty by the removal of the Austrians, and by entering into a regular convention with them. After that she united herself with Piedmont ; an union which was accepted by the Chambers and by the King, and was converted into a law precisely as in the case of Milan ; after which Commissioners were sent to Venice to govern the town in His Majesty's name.

However it may be as regards this forgetfulness of all that is due to truth and right, it is clear that His Majesty, by this deplorable Armistice—abandoning Venice without any sort of capitulation, by considering it as having been only temporarily occupied—doing nothing except withdrawing his troops from thence—not giving the slightest thought to those troops which were there when the union took place, nor to the Venetian fleet which played a principal part in the revolution, and which considered itself thenceforward as Piedmontese—it is clear, I say, that the King re-established Venice in its rights, as if the union had never taken place. The King's Commissioners acknowledged this themselves, and when resigning their command on the 11th instant, declared that they could never have consented to become the instruments of an act so repugnant to their feelings as the cession of Venice to the Austrians ; that their charge was at an end in consequence of the Armistice, and that Venice was now restored to the position in which she was placed at the time when the union took place.

In the midst of the exasperation produced by this lamentable Armistice, the Provisional Government has therefore re-established itself ; and as the people do not choose that the city should be surrendered to the Austrians, it has determined to defend the city. But the posture of things in which Venice is placed is sad and difficult, particularly from the moment when the Sardinian fleet is about to be removed. The energy of despair will support her ; and so much the more, because, in addition to the countless number of citizens who must prepare themselves for the always implacable vengeance of Austria, there are in Venice more than 17,000 troops, Romans, Neapolitans, national guards rendered moveable, volunteers, free corps, from all parts of Italy, who know not where to go for refuge ; and the Venetian fleet, which, already weighed down under the heaviest yoke during the time of the extinct Austrian Government, which desired to convert it into an entirely German fleet, would now look for most cruel and disheartening treatment.

If, therefore, Venice should be attacked during the Armistice which is giving Radetzky a good opportunity for collecting against her all the means at his disposal, Venice will yield, and will yield after having experienced all the horrors of war, of anarchy, and of the vengeance of the most despotic and cruel military Power which has ever existed. The horrible manner in which Vicenza has been treated, because she defended herself, and the continuance of every species of

annoyance to which this city has always been subjected, are a sample of what Venice must expect if she surrenders to the Austrians on condition of her trusting to the mercy of His Majesty the Emperor. Imagine, therefore, what she would have to suffer if she were taken by force.

In order to save Venice, it is necessary to require that the Armistice should be respected before her. And that is not only in conformity with humanity, but it is just and right.

France and England would of their own accord have required from the Austrians an armistice in favour of the whole of Italy, the pacification of which is said to be desired. Unfortunately, the King has made one beforehand. This Armistice, in the military portion, requires, in favour of Venice, that the Sardinian forces should be withdrawn; but in the political portion it is so supereminently unjust and illegal, that it ought of necessity and by right to have caused the re-establishment of the Provisional Government which existed before the union, which that act destroys. It is therefore just that the Provisional Government should not be abandoned by the Powers who have intervened.

Reserving a decision on the questions of a permanent character concerning the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, steps should in the meanwhile be taken to secure for Venice the benefit of the Armistice, without which her lot will be such as to make all Europe shudder with compassion, and will be an eternal disgrace to nations who, whilst they say that they take an interest in Italy, commence by tolerating the ruin of one of its finest cities and the destruction of its inhabitants.

No. 227.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 29, 1848.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 24th instant, giving an account of an interview which you had had with General Cavaignac, respecting a deputation which the General had received from Venice, requesting immediate protection from France against the attack which was about to be made upon its independence; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of the language which you held to General Cavaignac upon this occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 228.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 23, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 20th instant General d'Aspice retired with the free corps under his command, amounting to about 2,500 men, into Switzerland, to proceed from thence into Piedmont. The free corps and other armed bodies that have proceeded into Piedmont have been disarmed by the Swiss in passing through their country. By the retreat of General d'Aspice, all the mountain passes leading from the Tyrol into Upper Italy are now in possession of the Austrians.

General Garibaldi, who with his free corps had retired into Piedmont, after remaining only a few days there, suddenly seized upon the two steam-vessels on the Lake Maggiore, together with all the large row-boats, embarked in them upwards of 2000 of his men, and landed at Luino in the Austrian territory. At that place he surprised and cut to pieces a small body of Croats; then, proceeding to Varese, a rich provincial town, he remained there some days, and levied a contribution on the inhabitants to the amount of 80,000 Austrian livres, or about 2,700*l.* sterling. On his discovering that two battalions of Austrian troops with several pieces of cannon were approaching to act against him, he left

Varese for Laveno on the Lake Maggiore, where he and his men embarked for Magadino in Switzerland.

The day before yesterday, the small town of Monza was thrown into consternation, in consequence of Marshal Radetzky having threatened to levy on it a contribution of 100,000 Austrian livres, or about 3,400*l.* sterling, and to quarter there two battalions of troops, as a punishment on the inhabitants for having allowed some Austrian officers to be insulted by the rabble. At the instance of the Podestà of that town, however, the Marshal was pleased to pardon this offence, on the promise of greater vigilance by the people in the event of any future attempt being made to break the peace.

I have just learned that some disturbance has this day taken place at Lecco, in consequence of a contribution having been raised on that town by the Austrian Commandant.

Milan is still in a state of siege and is quite tranquil. Many families of the middling and poorer classes have returned, but none of the rich. The number of persons who continue to leave Milan is immense, far exceeding the number of those who return.

Yesterday the letter-post communications were all opened; but the greater of the letters and newspapers are still detained at the post office.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 229.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 29, 1848.

THE French messenger having arrived from Vienna with despatches from M. de la Cour, and one for me from Lord Ponsonby, containing a copy of his Excellency's despatch of the 27th instant to your Lordship, General Cavaignac expressed a wish to see me immediately, and I found him and M. Bastide both much annoyed at the unfavourable reception which had been given to the joint mediation by the Austrian Minister.

I could not differ from them in thinking that the most discouraging part of the reply was the ground upon which the difficulty was raised.

The separate negotiations with Charles Albert could hardly have been gravely stated as an impediment, when Count Revel's letter accepting the mediation was actually before them.

I said I concluded of course he would wait till he received the decisive answer, which he had a few days since demanded within a short given time.

The General said of course he would wait for that.

No. 230.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 20, 1848.

A NEW Ministry has at length been formed at Florence, every attempt to form one having failed for the last three weeks.

The Marquis Gino Capponi, long known in Florence for his patriotism, is President of the Council; the Chevalier Somminiatielli, Minister of the Interior; Mazzei, of Grace and Justice; the Advocate Marzucchi, of Public Justice; Belluomini, of War; the Senator Landucci, of Finance; and the Chevalier Giorgini, Minister for Foreign Affairs ad interim.

The Marquis Capponi, who is at the head of it, is much respected and esteemed. He is a man of enlarged understanding.

The new Ministry have put forth a declaration of their principles, which contains nothing remarkable, except that in the event of the present negotiations for peace failing, every means will be resorted to for prosecuting the war with vigour.

No. 231.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 22, 1848.

THE Marquis Cosimo Ridolfi called on me yesterday evening to inform me that His Royal Highness the Grand Duke was about to send him to London on a special mission relative to the affairs of Italy. He was about to leave Florence this morning and to pass through Turin and Paris, and after staying a day or two at each of those places, he hoped to reach London by the 3rd or 4th of September.

Your Lordship will find in the Marquis Ridolfi a person of distinguished talent and ability, on whose judgment the Grand Duke places great reliance, and who is animated with a sincere desire for the good of his country.

No. 232.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 22, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter from Count de Volo, Minister ad interim for Foreign Affairs at Modena, notifying the return of His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena to his dominions, and inclosing a copy of the Duke's address to his subjects, which I have already forwarded to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 232.

Count de Volo to Sir George Hamilton.

Illustrissimo Signor Cavaliere,

Modena, 12 Agosto, 1848.

SUA Altezza Reale l'Augusto mio Sovrano fece jeri l'altro ritorno in questa capitale, ricevuto dalle acclamazioni de fedeli suoi sudditi.

Da pochè giorni lo aveva qui preceduto un distaccamento dell' Imperiale armata Autriaca, il quale lungè dall' incontrare il menomo ostacolo nel di lui ingresso, venne anzi dovunque festeggiato nel modo il più confidente e sincero.

Nel partecipare a lei, Signor Cavaliere, un avvenimento così fausto chè riempire deve di consolazione quanti amano e sostengono il buon diritto e l'ordine, la prego a portarlo a cognizione della sua Corte; e se compiego altresì copia del venerato benigno proclama che l'Altezza Sua Reale fece precedere al suo reingresso nei proprj Stati.

(Firmato)

CTE. J. DE VOLO.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Modena, August 12, 1848.

HIS Royal Highness my august Sovereign returned the day before yesterday to this capital, received by the acclamations of his faithful subjects. A few days previous a detachment of the Imperial Austrian army had preceded him here, and so far from meeting with the least obstacle on its entry, it was everywhere welcomed in the most confiding and sincere manner possible.

Informing you, Sir, of an event so propitious, which should fill with satisfaction all who love and maintain true right and order, I have to beg you will bring it to the knowledge of your Court; and I inclose further a copy of the venerated and benign proclamation which His Royal Highness caused to precede his re-entering his own States.

(Signed)

CTE. J. DE VOLO.

M. de Beaumont to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 31.)

My Lord,

Londres, Vendredi soir, 29 Août, 1848.

J'AI reçu ce matin de mon Gouvernement une dépêche importante dont j'aurais voulu pouvoir vous entretenir immédiatement de vive voix. Ne vous ayant point rencontré à Carlton Gardens, je crois devoir vous communiquer dès à présent par écrit l'objet de cette dépêche, en attendant le rendezvous que j'ai sollicité de votre Excellence.

Venise, sacrifiée par l'Armistice conclu entre le Roi de Sardaigne et les Autrichiens, a pris la courageuse détermination de se défendre elle-même, comme votre Excellence le sait. Elle s'est de nouveau déclarée République, a institué un Gouvernement National, et elle demande itérativement l'intervention de la France. M. Mengaldo est arrivé à Paris, porteur d'une résolution votée le 13 de ce mois par l'Assemblée du peuple, pour réclamer cette assistance que M. Tomaseo était déjà venu solliciter. C'est là, dans les affaires de l'Italie, une phase nouvelle et importante dont il était absolument impossible que le Gouvernement de la République ne tînt pas grand compte. S'il naît de là quelque complication nouvelle, il en résulte aussi tout d'abord un fait utile à la médiation. La résistance de Venise et la révolution qui s'y est opérée sont un contrepoids aux événemens de la Lombardie et aux tristes conséquences de l'Armistice Piémontais. La médiation peut y trouver un point d'appui. Aussi le Gouvernement Français a-t-il pensé que l'attitude toute patriotique de Venise devait être encouragée ; et c'est dans cet esprit qu'il a répondu à cette démarche, sans s'engager néanmoins au-delà de ce qu'il pouvait lui convenir d'aller.

En même temps il a prescrit au Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française à Vienne de mettre le Gouvernement Autrichien en demeure de suspendre, dans un bref délai, les hostilités, et de répondre à son offre de médiation. Au moment où l'Autriche se voit dans une position qui peut la rendre moins disposée à préférer les voies de la conciliation, il est urgent que nous sachions à quoi nous en tenir.

Il eut été extrêmement désirable que Lord Normanby, à qui le vœu en a été exprimé par le Gouvernement Français, se fût associée à la démarche de celui-ci, en écrivant à son collègue de Vienne dans le même sens que le Ministre de la République Française écrivait à M. de la Cour. Malheureusement, Lord Normanby n'a pas cru pouvoir le faire ; le Gouvernement Français le regrette vivement. Il est à craindre que recevant cette demande de la France seule, l'Autriche voyant qu'il y a sur ce point dissentiment entre l'Angleterre et nous, n'y accède pas ; ou, ce qui reviendrait au même, s'engage dans des atermoiemens, en présence desquels nous devrions agir aussitôt.

Il est certain que la France ne peut se dispenser de porter sur-le-champ du secours à Venise, qu'en se rattachant à la médiation pacifique conçue dans l'esprit de sa politique, et dont elle a, de concert avec l'Angleterre, adopté les bases premières. Mais pour cela il faut absolument que par la vertu même de cette médiation, acceptée sans délai par l'Autriche, toutes hostilités contre Venise soient suspendues. Il faut que cette suspension soit immédiate ; s'il y a des lenteurs, Venise tombe ; et alors le Gouvernement Français se trouve dans cette situation douloureuse, et pour lui inacceptable, d'avoir refusé à Venise une assistance militaire et de n'avoir pas su lui assurer le secours efficace de sa médiation pacifique. La suspension des hostilités contre Venise ne préjugera du reste rien au fond. Les négociations dont la médiation est le point de départ suivront naturellement leur cours pacifique. Mais la première condition pour que ces négociations commencent, c'est que les hostilités soient suspendues à Venise comme partout ailleurs. C'est le moins que puisse demander le Gouvernement Français, qui apporte dans sa conduite une modération si grande.

Lorsque le Gouvernement Français rendra compte à l'Assemblée Nationale de la demande de Venise, il faut qu'il puisse déclarer l'une de ces deux choses : ou bien que la suspension des hostilités contre Venise a été accordée sur notre demande, ou bien que le rejet de la médiation rend à la République toute liberté d'action.

Le Gouvernement Français conserve ainsi une attitude digne ; il n'en pouvait prendre une plus modérée. Mais plus cette attitude est pacifique, plus

il est assuré de provoquer toute la sympathie nationale le jour où il croira que d'honneur du pays lui commande d'y faire appel.

Dans cet état de choses, l'acceptation par Vienne de la suspension d'armes proposée étant la condition première de toute médiation ultérieure, il importerait beaucoup que le Cabinet de Londres prescrivît sans retard à Lord Ponsonby d'agir en commun avec M. de la Cour, afin d'obtenir par une démarche péremptoire auprès du Gouvernement Autrichien, une réponse immédiate et catégorique. C'est, my Lord, ce que je suis chargé par mon Gouvernement de demander à votre Excellence de vouloir bien faire.

Avec des intentions aussi droites que celles dont est animé le Gouvernement Français, il serait vraiment bien triste d'avoir à craindre que faute d'une complète uniformité de vues et d'action entre l'Angleterre et nous, le résultat pacifique de la médiation puisse être compromis.

Je n'ai pas besoin, my Lord, de faire remarquer à votre Excellence combien la marche des événemens qui se précipitent, et la nécessité d'une réponse instantanée de l'Autriche, rendent urgente toute résolution.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) G. BEAUMONT.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

London, Friday evening, August 29, 1848.

I HAVE received this morning from my Government an important despatch, respecting which I wished to converse with you immediately. Not having found you in Carlton Gardens, I think it my duty at once to communicate to you in writing the purport of this despatch, in expectation of the interview which I have requested of your Excellency.

Venice, sacrificed by the Armistice concluded between the King of Sardinia and the Austrians, has, as your Excellency is aware, adopted the bold resolution of defending itself. It has again declared itself a Republic, has established a national Government, and it has again requested the intervention of France. M. Mengaldo has arrived at Paris, the bearer of a resolution voted on the 13th instant by the Assembly of the people, in order to request that assistance which M. Tomaseo had already applied for. This is a new and important epoch in the affairs of Italy, which it was impossible for the Government of the Republic not to take into account. If some new complication arises from it, there results also from it at the outset a circumstance advantageous to the mediation. The resistance of Venice, and the revolution which has taken place there, are a counterpoise to the events of Lombardy and to the sad results of the Piedmontese Armistice. The mediation may derive support from it. Accordingly, the Government of the Republic has imagined that the patriotic attitude assumed by Venice should be encouraged; and it has replied in this spirit to the overture thus made to it, without however pledging itself to go further than might suit its purposes.

At the same time it has enjoined the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic at Vienna to urge the Austrian Government speedily to suspend hostilities, and to reply to its offer of mediation. At the time that Austria sees herself in a position which may render her less disposed to prefer measures of conciliation, it is important that we should know on what we have to reckon.

It would have been extremely desirable that Lord Normanby, to whom the wish of the French Government in that respect was expressed, should have joined in the step taken by it, and have written to his colleague at Vienna in the same sense that the Minister of the French Republic was writing to M. de la Cour. Unfortunately, Lord Normanby did not think that he could do so; the French Government regrets it extremely. It is to be apprehended that Austria, receiving this demand from France alone, observing that there is a divergence of opinion between England and ourselves, will not acquiesce in it; or, what would come to the same thing, have recourse to delays, in which case we should be compelled at once to proceed to action.

It is certain that France can abstain from immediately affording succour to Venice only by adhering to the pacific mediation devised in conformity with the spirit of her policy, and whereof she, in concert with England, has adopted the first bases. But for this purpose it is absolutely requisite that, as a necessary consequence of that mediation being accepted without delay by

Austria, all hostility against Venice should be suspended. It is necessary that this suspension should be immediate. If there is any delay, Venice falls; and then the French Government is in the painful position, and one which it cannot brook, of having refused military assistance to Venice, and of having failed in securing to it the effectual succour of its pacific mediation. Moreover, the suspension of hostilities against Venice will not have the effect of a definitive decision. The negotiations arising out of the mediation will naturally follow their peaceful course. But the primary condition for the commencement of these negotiations, is that hostilities should be suspended at Venice as everywhere else. It is the least that can be required by the French Government, which evinces in its conduct so much moderation.

When the French Government shall render an account to the National Assembly of the application from Venice, it must necessarily declare one of two things: either that the suspension of hostilities against Venice has been granted on its demand, or that the refusal of the mediation restores to the Republic its entire freedom of action.

The French Government thus maintains a becoming attitude: it could not assume a more moderate one. But the more peaceful this attitude is, the more certain is the Government to call forth the sympathy of the entire nation when it shall conceive that the honour of the country requires it to appeal to it.

In this state of things the acceptance at Vienna of the proposed suspension of arms being the primary condition of all further mediation, it would be of great importance that the Cabinet of London should without delay instruct Lord Ponsonby to co-operate with M. de la Cour, in order to obtain, by a peremptory application to the Austrian Government, an immediate and categorical answer. It is this, my Lord, that I am instructed by my Government to request your Excellency to have the goodness to do.

With intentions so upright as those by which the French Government is animated, it would indeed be very sad to have cause for apprehending that from a want of complete uniformity between England and ourselves, the peaceable result of the mediation should be put in jeopardy.

I have no occasion, my Lord, to observe to your Excellency how much the rapid progress of events, and the necessity of an immediate answer from Austria, render it urgent to take a decision.

Be pleased, &c.
(Signed) G. BEAUMONT.

No. 234.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 31.)

My Lord,

Berne, August 26, 1848.

IN my despatch of the 14th instant, which I had the honour to address your Lordship, reference was made to a conversation I had with the President upon the extraordinary influx of Italian refugees into the Cantons of Tessin and Grisons, upon the necessity of disarming them, and thus avoiding giving any pretext to the Austrians for violating the Swiss territory.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Directory have deemed it advisable to send Federal Commissioners to these States, to place their contingents, hitherto on a cantonal, upon a federal footing, and otherwise enforce the strictest neutrality; a principle perhaps not equally shared by the local Government.

These refugees are in great numbers also in Lucerne, Bâle Country, and Berne, from the Government of which, when proved to be in a state of destitution, they generously have received a daily allowance.

Such a state of things, however, could not continue, from the incredible numbers which presented themselves for relief; for it is stated by the Federal Commissioners in their reports, that in the Grisons alone as many as 15,000 overawed the very population of the canton; and that such was the treatment they had been taught to expect from the hands of Radetzky, that nothing could induce them, mostly conscripts, to return to Lombardy; while on the other hand they showed the greatest repugnance to enter Piedmont, believing themselves to have been treacherously dealt with by Charles Albert.

The Directory has addressed the Austrian Minister in Switzerland, praying that his good offices might be directed to obtain from his Government the faculty of returning to their own country to these poor refugees, without danger of persecution, by the proclamation of an amnesty ; and they have also addressed the French Minister, begging that the Legation would not refuse passports to those desirous of entering France, as had been the case with some unprovided with the necessary documents, at St. Louis, near Bâle, on the French frontier.

I am unaware of the result of the application to the Baron de Kaisersfeld, but General Thiard has received instructions of a nature such as the Directory was desirous he should receive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT PEEL.

No. 235. X

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 31, 1848.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 21st instant, reporting the wish entertained by the Central Power of Germany to participate in the negotiations for the settlement of the affairs of the north of Italy, I have to inform you that Baron d'Andrian has in conversation with me intimated the same wish on the part of the Central Power, but I gave him no answer, treating the matter as a subject for future consideration.

I should fear there might be some practical difficulty and some practical inconvenience in adopting the course proposed by M. Heckscher. A mediation to be carried on by more than one party is always a cumbrous operation, because the object of mediation being to bring about, by negotiation, an understanding between two contending parties, it is essential that at each step of the process the mediator should know his own mind, and have an opinion as to the proposal which is to be discussed. This is not always easy where the mediating party is one, it is more difficult where the mediators are two, and becomes much more so when the number is increased, and when, besides the increase of number, the new party or parties brought in, bring with them interests and views differing essentially from those of their colleagues in the mediation. The mediator, moreover, ought, in order to be impartial, not to be too closely connected with either of the contending parties ; and one of the grounds on which the Central Power wishes to take part in the mediation is, that Austria and the Central Power are in some respects one and the same.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 236. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 31, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency for your own information, the copy* of a letter which has been addressed to me by M. de Beaumont, the French Minister at this Court, requesting on behalf of the French Government the co-operation of the Government of Her Majesty in support of an application which the French Minister at Vienna has been instructed to make for a suspension of any hostile attack by the Austrian forces, naval and military, against the city of Venice.

Her Majesty's Government entirely share the anxious desire expressed by the French Government that the armistice which has been established between the Austrians and the Italians in other parts of Northern Italy, should be considered as extending to the city of Venice ; and undoubtedly the spirit of the agreement ought to be understood to be, that all hostilities should everywhere in Italy cease between the Austrians and the Italians, with a view to the commencement of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all the questions at issue.

The armistice which the British and French Government proposed was

* See No. 233.

meant to include the whole of Northern Italy, and to embrace Venice as well as all other places in those parts, and if it had been concluded each party would probably have remained in possession of the districts which it then occupied, and as no Austrian force was in possession of Venice, that city would no doubt have remained free from Austrian occupation during the continuation of the negotiations. Her Majesty's Government do not think that the accidental circumstance that an agreement for a suspension of hostilities had been concluded between the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky, a few days before the formal proposition of the two Powers was received at Turin, ought to take the city of Venice out of the scope of the suspension of hostilities.

Your Excellency is therefore instructed to state to the Austrian Government, that the Government of Her Majesty concurs entirely with the Government of France in earnestly hoping that the armistice which has been concluded in Northern Italy between the Austrians and the Italians will be considered by the Austrian Government as applying to the city of Venice, and that no hostilities may be undertaken against that city, inasmuch as such hostilities would necessarily tend to complicate inconveniently the difficulties which already exist, and to add unnecessarily to the embarrassments in which some of the parties concerned in these transactions are unavoidably placed.

Your Excellency will of course confine your official communication to a statement to this effect, which you are at liberty, if the Austrian Government should wish you to do so, to deliver in writing. But in any confidential conversation which you may have on these matters with Baron Wessenberg, you will not fail to make use of the substance of M. de Beaumont's letter, and you will urge Baron Wessenberg seriously to consider the very difficult position in which the French Government is placed in regard to these Italian affairs. That Government is, as Her Majesty's Government are firmly convinced, sincerely desirous of maintaining peace, and disinclined to interfere in the affairs of Italy by force of arms. But it would be a most fatal mistake for the Austrian Government to imagine that France is unable so to interfere if she was resolved to do so. Troops France has in abundance for such a purpose, after providing an ample force for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in her interior. Money, France will always find the means of raising for the purpose of beginning a war to rescue Italy from the domination of Austria; and though public opinion now supports the Government in its avowed determination to employ negotiation in preference to an appeal to arms, yet if the French Government were to change its tone, and were to declare that negotiation had failed and that military interference had become necessary for the rescue of Italy and for the honour of France, there cannot be the slightest doubt that such an appeal to the popular passions would be answered by acclamation, and that the Government which is now supported by the sober reason of the French nation in its present course, would be backed enthusiastically by popular applause in such an altered determination.

You will say, then, that Her Majesty's Government have deeply at heart the maintenance of peace, and entertain this desire, not only upon general principles applicable to all the States of Europe, but more especially from their regard for Austria, to whom peace appears at present to be of great importance, in order to enable her to surmount her internal difficulties and to settle in a safe and satisfactory manner her internal arrangements; and that Her Majesty's Government, therefore, entreat Baron Wessenberg to give them the benefit of his powerful influence and of his active co-operation in overcoming the difficulties, if any there be, which may stand in the way of the accomplishment of so honourable a purpose.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 237.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 31.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 25, 1848.

THE Ministers here having been inspired with courage to act, have adopted measures which have produced the dissolution of the Committee of Public Safety; this has given ground for hope that the march of the Executive Government may be beneficial, and that tranquillity will be maintained.

I have not yet heard from Baron Wessenberg anything more than what I reported in my despatch of the 17th instant, relating to the mediation, but your Lordship will know if the statement here be true, that the Piedmontese Ministry have disavowed the Armistice of the 10th of August, signed by order of King Charles Albert.

I shall have the honour in a day or two to write fully to your Lordship upon these matters, and I will now only say that I do not think that the Austrians will give up Lombardy, but I do believe that they will give to that country full and free enjoyment of Constitutional Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 238.

Sir G. Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Her Majesty's steam sloop "Hecate" arrived off Leghorn from Malta on the morning of the 20th instant, with His Royal Highness the Prince of Parma on board; and a notice of her arrival having been immediately forwarded to me, the Princess of Parma with her family and suite prepared to leave Florence without loss of time.

Having been conveyed by a special train at midnight to Leghorn, they embarked on board the "Hecate" at 4 o'clock on Monday morning.

The Grand Duke as well as the Princess having requested me to allow my brother to accompany the Princess to Leghorn and on board the "Hecate," I complied with their request, and the "Hecate" sailed for England early yesterday morning.

Before leaving Leghorn Her Royal Highness determined on issuing the address to the Parmese, of which I have the honour to inclose a translated copy to your Lordship.

Sir William Parker informs me that the King of Naples invited the Prince of Parma to land at Naples and received him with much kindness.

I have not yet heard whether the Duke of Parma has left Germany with the intention of repairing to his duchy.

Inclosure in No. 238.

Proclamation of the Hereditary Princess of Parma.

(Translation.)

To the People of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza and of the Country of Pontremoli.

COMPELLED to quit Parma, and afterwards Modena, by a combination of circumstances to which it is unnecessary more particularly to refer, I accepted the generous offer of His Royal and Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and sought a temporary refuge in his dominions, engaging not to remain longer than the state of my health and the peculiar nature of my situation required.

The affectionate kindness with which I was received and treated by the Grand Duke and his august family, and the consideration and sympathy shown to me by all classes of his subjects, call upon me to trespass no longer than is necessary on the hospitality so spontaneously and cordially afforded me.

I therefore avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by Her Britannic Majesty to proceed to England in a ship of war which Her Majesty has graciously placed at my disposal.

People of Parma, of Piacenza, and of Lunigiana: in quitting Italy when I have given birth to a son, I make a sacrifice which nothing but a feeling of honour and gratitude would induce me to submit to. Born in Italy, the first wish of my maternal heart is that my son, while succeeding in right of his birth to the Parma States, should inherit also those sentiments of nationality and patriotism and love for the liberties of his country which animate his parents.

The temporary absence now imposed upon me by the circumstances which I have referred to, will not separate me from you in spirit; and should the course of events allow of the return of my family, I shall neglect nothing which may be in my power calculated to promote the welfare of my adopted country.

(Signed) LUISA.

No. 239.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 23, 1848.

THE proclamation of Lieutenant-Marshal Count Thurn of which I have the honour to inclose copies in original, has been published at Parma, establishing a Provisional Military Government, during the absence of the legitimate Sovereign Duke, Charles Louis of Bourbon.

Count Degenfeld-Schonburg has been nominated Governor of the Duchy of Parma.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 239.

Proclamation of Marshal Thurn.

Parma, 18 Agosto, 1848.

ESSENDOSI occupato con una parte del quarto corpo d'armata la città ed il Ducato di Parma, il Governo finora esistente cessa dalle sue funzioni. E di conformità agli ordini di sua Eccellenza il Signor Maresciallo Conte Radetzky, viene istituito un Governo Provvisorio Militare.

E nominato Governatore del detto Ducato il Signor Generale Conte di Degenfeld-Schonburg.

In conseguenza tutte le autorità amministrative e giudiziarie dipenderanno da lui ed eseguiranno le loro incombenze sotto la di lui direzione.

Il Governatore si varrà dell' opera de' magistrati, de' funzionarj e degl' impiegati in attuale esercizio i quali sono confermati e rimarranno ne' rispettivi uffizj, sintantochè giustificheranno colla loro sincera divozione al bene pubblico ed il loro zelo la confidenza ad essi dimostrata.

Gli atti del Governo saranno eseguiti in nome del Governo Provvisorio Militare.

Ancora le sentenze de' tribunali e gli atti notarii saranno intitolati in nome del governo predetto.

Insino a nuova disposizione si mantengono le leggi ed i regolamenti amministrativi emanati dal Governo autorizzato da Sua Altezza Reale Carlo Lodovico di Borbone.

Abitanti del Ducato di Parma! abbiate piena confidenza in questi provvedimenti, i quali altro scopo non hanno che di assicurare la tranquillità ed il buon ordine nel ducato, senza introdurre cambiamenti nè quanto al modo dell' amministrazione nè quanto alle persone da cui si debbe esercitarla.

Si spera che tutti concorreranno ad agevolare il buon andamento del Governo, e che non provocheranno misure le quali, contro la sua aspettativa e contro i suoi desiderj, dovrebbero assumere il carattere di severità.

Il Tenente-Maresciallo Comandante il 4 Corpo dell'

I. R. Armata Austriaca,

(Firmato)

CONTE DI THURN.

Dichiarazione.

Parma, 18 Agosto, 1848.

Essendomi pervenuto a notizia che i termini del proclama pubblicato oggi hanno dato luogo a qualche incertezza circa al modo onde fossero da considerarsi i diritti di Sua Altezza Reale il Duca Carlo Lodovico di Borbone, io

dichiaro, non potere essere dubbio veruno intorno a' diritti di Sua Altezza Reale sopra il Ducato di Parma, essendone egli il legittimo Sovrano, in virtù degli anteriori trattati Europei.

Il Tenente-Maresciallo,
(Firmato) CONTE THURN.

(Translation.)

Parma, August 18, 1848.

THE town and Duchy of Parma, being occupied by a portion of the 4th corps of the Austrian army, the Government hitherto existing is now relieved from its functions; and in conformity with the orders of his Excellency Marshal Count Radetzky, a Military Provisional Government has been established.

General Count Degenfeld-Schonburg is appointed Governor of the duchy.

Therefore all administrative and judicial authorities will depend of him, and will execute their duties under his direction.

The Governor will take advantage of the labours of the magistrates, functionaries, and of those actually in office, who are confirmed, and shall remain in their respective employments as long as they justify, by their sincere devotion to the public good and their zeal, the confidence shown to them.

The acts of the Government shall be executed in the name of the Military Provisional Government.

Also the sentences of the tribunals and the acts of notaries, are to be in the name of the aforesaid Government.

Until further orders, the laws and administrative arrangements emanating from the Government approved of by His Royal Highness Charles Louis of Bourbon, shall be maintained.

Inhabitants of the Duchy of Parma, put your full confidence in these measures, which have no other end than that of securing tranquillity and good order in the duchy, without introducing changes either as to the mode of administration or as to the persons who are to exercise it.

It is hoped that all will concur to facilitate the action of Government, and not provoke measures which would, contrary to its expectation and desires, assume the character of severity.

(Signed) CONTE DI THURN.

Declaration.

Parma, August 18, 1848.

IT having come to my knowledge that the terms of the proclamation published to-day have given rise to some uncertainty in regard to the manner in which the rights of His Royal Highness Duke Charles Louis de Bourbon were to be considered, I declare that there can be no doubt in regard to the rights of His Royal Highness over the Duchy of Parma, he being the legitimate Sovereign in virtue of former European treaties.

(Signed) CONTE THURN.

No. 240.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 31, 1848.

I HAD occasion last night to see many of the German members of the Corps Diplomatique at present at Paris, and heard from them severally the details of their correspondence as to the grounds of the rejection of the mediation by Austria on the affairs of Italy, which rejection was universally understood to be decided upon, though not formally announced.

They all concurred in saying that the actuating motive of the Austrian Cabinet in this change of policy had been, that England was not earnest or sincere in her desire for the acceptance of the mediation; that the public feeling in

England was more Austrian than Italian; and that though this offer had been made to gain time, its rejection was expected.

Strange as it must appear to us that the conduct of a great Power should be influenced by such indirect report, it is equally impossible satisfactorily to account for the step upon which it is understood the Austrian Government has resolved, upon any other consideration.

It is true, circumstances have changed, as Baron Wessenberg told Lord Ponsonby, but only so far changed as to take from their own proposal, which was no doubt the result of a deliberate concession to a political necessity, the disadvantageous appearance of owing its origin to a military panic. It is not credible that the arrangement proposed by M. Hummelaur arose from fear which the armies of such a Power as Austria entertained of the issue of a protracted contest with Charles Albert. They must in common justice to the Austrian Cabinet be traced to the conviction that it was not for the permanent interest of the empire to attempt to maintain in these days a dominion which had become so odious to all classes of the people. Their own recent experience had shown them that whatever the material force of a Government might be, a protracted resistance to deliberate public opinion could only end in defeat and anarchy. They knew that their army had retreated from a capital behind whose barricades had been crowded in hostility to them all ranks of civilians, and they felt they could only return as they have done to empty streets and deserted houses. On such considerations one is bound to believe the deliberate proposal of the Austrian Government was founded.

I feel it my duty to call your Lordship's attention to the fact which has come to my knowledge from so many sources worthy of credit, because whilst deprecating on every account, as earnestly as any one could, that England should take any step which should commit her to that awful alternative of war to which this Government has almost committed itself, still it is most important to our relations here, that something should speedily be done to convince the Austrian Government of the importance we attach to the settlement proposed by us.

It is of course principally in reference to our relations here that I venture to press this part of the subject on your Lordship's attention. The straightforward and honourable course which Her Majesty's Government have observed towards the French nation in all their difficulties of the last few months, has, I may confidently assert, done much towards extirpating anti-English feeling in all parties. For those who are opposed to Republican institutions do as much justice to the attitude we have assumed, as those who are at present in power.

The English alliance was never so generally popular, for it is believed to be the best guarantee of peace and order. But your Lordship is well aware how easily public feeling is turned by a sudden impression. If that which, erroneously taken as a fact, has had its share in the decision at Vienna, and is at this moment the subject-matter of diplomatic correspondence throughout Germany—if that should be brought by some able orator to the French tribune—if it should be there asserted that the rejection of Austria had been produced by our indifference, and if it should even be intimated that it was not without our connivance; if we should appear to take no further interest in the matter, and the French Government could not answer these attacks by substantial facts, our position here would be at once changed. The French nation, forced at a disadvantage into an unwilling war, would lay the blame on us, and our influence for good would at once be as much destroyed as if we had ceased all diplomatic relations on the morrow of the Revolution.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 241.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 31, 1848.

SINCE I wrote my other despatch of this date, I have had a visit from M. Thom, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, to communicate to me Baron Wessenberg's answer to the French Government, which is probably the same as your Lordship must have already received from the Austrian Minister in London.

It is not necessary to report to your Lordship in detail, what passed between M. Thom and me, as it was principally confined to my endeavouring to convince him of the surprise and regret with which the news of the decision of the Austrian Cabinet would be received in London.

I endeavoured in vain to find out from M. Thom what was the nature of those separate negotiations with Charles Albert which Baron Wessenberg had stated to Lord Ponsonby as a reason for not accepting the mediation.

M. Thom believed that at the time of the Armistice it was understood that that should be taken as a basis of a separate negotiation.

I remarked that it seemed hardly possible that Baron Wessenberg should have seriously treated as negotiations in progress, an understanding not even embodied in an armistice which had been executed by a military officer, since disgraced, and to which both the King and two successive Ministries had denied any political signification whatever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 242. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 1, 1848.

BARON KOLLER read to me to-day, but declined to give me a copy of it, a despatch which he has received from Baron Wessenberg upon the subject of the proposed mediation of Great Britain and France about the affairs of Northern Italy. The sum and substance of the despatch is, that Austria has two matters to settle: the one is the war with the King of Sardinia, the other the questions pending between the Austrian Government and its Italian subjects. With regard to the first Baron Wessenberg says that the King of Sardinia, in proposing the armistice which has been concluded, represented it as a preliminary to negotiations for peace; and that accordingly the Austrian Government intend to open negotiations for that purpose with the Sardinian Government direct. That with regard to the Italian subjects of the Emperor, as the Austrian troops are now in occupation of the Italian provinces, the Imperial Government is able itself to make proposals to its subjects, and that it intends to offer to them administrative and constitutional arrangements, which it thinks will be satisfactory and acceptable to them; that for the present, therefore, it does not stand in need of the friendly aid of Great Britain and France, but that if it should fail in its own endeavours, it will then have recourse to the good offices of the two Powers.

I had only time to make a hasty perusal of this despatch, just as I was going down to the House of Commons, and I am not able to inform your Excellency of the opinion which Her Majesty's Government may, upon full consideration, be led to form upon the communication which it conveys. But it is to be observed that this communication is not a refusal of the mediation, though on the other hand it is not an acceptance of it; and that it amounts only to the expression of an intention on the part of Austria to try to settle her affairs herself; but to accept mediation, if she should find herself unable to conclude her arrangements by direct negotiation.

I had not time to go into much discussion with Baron Koller, but I did not fail to point out to him that the King of Sardinia having accepted the good offices of the two Powers, would probably decline any direct negotiation with Austria, and that as far as the arrangement to be concluded with him is concerned, the Austrian Government will most likely be thrown back at once upon the mediation.

And I also said, that although without knowing what the arrangement may be which Austria may be prepared to offer to her Italian subjects, it is impossible to foretell what may be the result of the communication to be opened with them; yet it must be plain to every person who has attended to the course of events during the last few months, that unless the terms involve a practical separation from Austria they are not likely to be accepted, and that then the Austrian Government will be thrown back upon the mediation in regard to her arrangement with her Italian subjects also.

Before I received this communication from Baron Koller, I had had to-day,

and yesterday, much conversation on these matters with M. de Beaumont. M. de Beaumont represented the decision taken by the Austrian Government, as far as it had been announced, as being equivalent to a rejection of the mediation; he stated strongly the absolute necessity in which the French Government would find itself of giving military assistance to the Italians; and he urged earnestly the great advantage which would arise to France, to England, to Italy, and to all Europe, if the military action of France in Italy could be sanctioned, regulated, defined and limited in its character, its extent and its objects, by some previous agreement between the Governments of England and France.

I stated to him in answer, that Her Majesty's Government had not yet received the answer of the Government of Austria; that the answer which he said M. de la Cour had reported having been given verbally by Baron Wessenberg to Lord Ponsonby and M. de la Cour, that Austria neither accepted nor refused the mediation, could not be considered a rejection, but only a temporary evasion. That the offer which we have made relates to matters affecting the pride, the prejudices, the passions, and in some degree the interests of Austria, and that upon such subjects the Austrian Government could not be expected to make its mind up at once, and might reasonably be allowed time for calm reflection and for mature deliberation. That I could not believe that the answer would be a plain and simple refusal; that I knew Baron Wessenberg well, and that he is an enlightened, prudent, and unprejudiced man; and that although I am aware that efforts have been made to thwart the intentions and views of the Governments of England and of France, and though no doubt the hopes of some persons at Vienna have been raised by misrepresentations made to them as to the feeling of leading persons and of the public in general in this country; yet I could scarcely imagine that those persons whose opinions will decide the conduct of Austria in this matter, can be so blind and infatuated as to think, that the military occupation of Lombardy by the forces of Marshal Radetzky, is synonymous with the re-establishment of Austrian rule in that province.

I entreated M. de Beaumont therefore to urge his Government to have patience, to wait, and not to act with precipitation; and I said I felt confident that means will be found of settling these Italian affairs without a recourse to arms.

With regard to what he had said as to the advantages which would arise from a previous concert between England and France as to any military operation which France might be compelled to undertake in Italy, I said that I myself very much agreed with him as to his general argument; but that a matter of that kind was one of very great importance, and with respect to which Her Majesty's Government could take no decision without full and mature deliberation. That the case which could require such a decision does not seem as yet to have happened; and that Her Majesty's Government, from the perpetual pressure of business which weighs upon them, and for other reasons connected with the practical working of our constitution, is not in the habit of making decisions upon important matters, till some event has happened which renders such a decision necessary.

Your Excellency will of course guide your language to M. Bastide and to General Cavaignac so as to make it accord with what I said to M. de Beaumont, and it is moreover to be observed, that it must be admitted that if the Austrian Government fancies that it can settle its own affairs satisfactorily with the King of Sardinia and with the people of Lombardy and of Venice, by direct negotiation, the Governments of England and of France cannot justly consider an attempt to do so on the part of Austria, as any affront to them. It may fairly be doubted whether such a course is politic for Austria; whether both the King and the Italians may not be more difficult to deal with in a direct negotiation, than they would be through the intervention of the two Powers as mediators; and whether if Austria, having failed in her own direct negotiation, is compelled to fall back on the mediation, she will not stand in a worse position than if she had accepted it at first. But these are questions which time only can resolve.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 243.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, August 22, 1848.

THE Emperor has marked the high gratification which he experienced on learning the successes of Field-Marshal Radetzky against the Piedmontese army, by conferring upon him the First Class of the Order of St. George.

General Epenowitch, an officer of His Imperial Majesty's staff, was dispatched to the Field-Marshal's head-quarters on Saturday last with the insignia of the Order, and he also carried twenty-five small crosses of the same Order, which he was charged to deliver to the Field-Marshal for presentation to the soldiers of his army whom he should consider most worthy of the distinction.

No. 244.

Signor Manin to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 1.)

Milord,

Venezia, 20 Agosto, 1848.

VERSO la fine del secolo decorso il potere aristocratico che reggeva Venezia, abdicò, e restituì la sovranità al popolo, costituendosi in conseguenza un Governo Democratico. Col pretesto di proteggere la nascente Repubblica il Generale Bonaparte inviava in Venezia guarnigione Francese, e toglieva quasi affatto ai Veneziani i mezzi di difesa propria. Poco appresso conchiudevansi la pace di Campoformio, con cui Bonaparte cedeva all' Austria il Veneto, che non era mai stato conquistato, che a lui non apparteneva in alcun modo. I Veneziani protestarono, e il Generale Bonaparte rispondeva che se non eran contenti potevano difendersi. Risposta derisoria dopo ch' egli li avea già privati dei mezzi di difesa.

La sovranità del popolo Veneziano per questa iniqua stipulazione cessò di fatto, ma non cessò di diritto, poichè il diritto fu preservato dalle solenni proteste. Ingiusta era pertanto la occupazione Austriaca, ed ingiuste, per conseguenza, come da essa procedenti, tutte le successive trasmissioni della sovranità nel Veneto, fino all' ultima, che nel 1814 avvenne a favore dell' Austria.

I Veneziani pertanto aveano incontrastabile diritto di recuperare l'indipendenza che era stato loro ingiustamente rapita; e ciò fecero nel 22 Marzo di quest' anno, dopo avere esauriti tutti i mezzi pacifici e legali per ottenere dal Governo Austriaco un trattamento più conforme alle condizioni morali d'Europa e d'Italia, l'adempimento almeno delle promesse fatte solennemente nel 1815, e sempre slealmente violate.

La Venezia, che non ha tradizioni monarchiche, che non ha aristocrazia ricca, istruita e possente, proclamò la Repubblica Democratica, cio è quel governo che legalmente esisteva quando l'iniquo Trattato di Campoformio costituiva di fatto l'Austriaca dominazione.

Ma la Venezia intendeva di operare, non secondo interessi od ambizioni municipali, ma per l'interesse e la dignità comune di tutte Italia; perciò ripetutamente dichiarava, che il reggimento da lei proclamato era affatto provvisorio, e che, finita la guerra d'indipendenza, i rappresentanti di tutte le popolazioni Italiane avrebbero decise tutte le quistioni di compartimento territoriale e di forme governative, secondo che dal comune Italiano interesse fosse richiesto.

Intanto formavasi una opinione, la quale pretendeva indispensabile per la riuscita della guerra che tutte le Provincie Lombardo-Veneto si riunissero tosto al Piemonte per formare con esso un regno solo. Ciò in Venezia sembrava ai più essere intempestivo e pericoloso: intempestivo, perchè stimavasi che la quistione dovesse risolversi a territorio sgombro ed a guerra finita; pericoloso, perchè la guerra avrebbe assunta apparenza d'essere dinastica anzichè nazionale, e quindi perdute le simpatie dei popoli Italiani e di altri popoli liberi di Europa, e destate le apprensioni ed i sospetti dei Principi.

Ma poichè l'opinione predetta pigliava forza, e il giornalismo Italiano quasi unanime la proclamava come unico mezzo di salvezza, il Governo Veneto convocava in Assemblea i Deputati del popolo eletti col suffragio universale, e proponeva ad essi la quistione della fusione colla Sardegna. L'amore della concordia prevalse, e quasi tutti aderirono.

PART 3.

2 K

Poco appresso seguirono le disfatte dell' esercito Sardo a Somma Campagna, poi la perdita di Milano, e finalmente facevasi fra il Rè Sardo e il Maresciallo Austriaco, la Convenzione d'Armistizio del 9 Agosto corrente, la quale, fra gli altri patti, portava che il Rè dovesse ritirare le truppe Sarde che erano in Venezia e la flotta che la difendeva dalla parte di mare.

Governavano in Venezia fino dal 7 Agosto tre Commissarii del Rè. Giunte le notizie dell' Armistizio e delle sue condizioni, il popolo si commosse, e non volle più essere governato dagli agenti di un Rè che si era obbligato di abbandonare Venezia. I Commissarii Regi, dietro questo popolare commovimento, dichiararono che cessavano dal governare. Così la città rimaneva senza Governo, e quindi esposta all' anarchia interna, ed affatto impotente alla difesa esterna. Ciò non poteva comportarsi; ed io, che aveva proclamata la Repubblica nel 22 Marzo, che dal 23 Marzo al 5 Luglio era stato Presidente del Governo, ed allora per le mutate condizioni politiche mi era ritirato nella vita privata senza perdere la simpatia popolare, stretto dalla necessità, ebbi l'ardire temerario d'assumere il Governo per quarantaott' ore, cioè finchè altro Governo potesse essere nominato dall' Assemblea dei Deputati che fu tostò convocata.

E quest' Assemblea, nel giorno 13 Agosto, nominò il Governo nuovo con poteri amplissimi, composto di tre persone, io, il Colonello Cavedalis, l'Ammiraglio Graziani. Fu concordato alla unanimità che il Governo non dovesse avere alcun colore politico, ed occuparsi esclusivamente della quiete interna e della difesa esterna finchè durasse il grave pericolo.

La popolazione mostra piena fiducia nel Governo nuovo, e dopo aver già fatti immensi sacrificii per lo passato, è rassegnata ai sacrificii nuovi che le vengono imposti, e pronta ad offrir vite e sostanze per impedire che l'abbominato giogo Austriaco torni a pesare sopra di lei.

Intanto corre voce che i Governi Inglese e Francese intendano por fine alla guerra d'Italia, proporre all' Austria condizioni, e dove questa non le accetti ricorrere alla forza delle armi. Dicesi pure che in pendenza delle trattative si esigerebbe che le parti belligeranti sospendessero le ostilità.

Il fatto dell' Armistizio concluso fra il Rè Sardo e il Maresciallo Austriaco nel 9 Agosto potrebbe portare la conseguenza che quando le Potenze mediatrici intimassero la sospensione delle ostilità, l'Austria rispondesse che ciò era già fatto mediante quell' Armistizio. Ma quell' Armistizio che priva Venezia del concorso delle forze Sarde, e permette all' Austria di piombare con tutto il suo esercito sopra questa città, esporrebbe noi a ricadere sotto l'odioso giogo finchè pendono le trattative sui nostri futuri destini. Per Venezia, che ha fatto e fa sacrificii ingenti per la sua indipendenza, questa sarebbe un' immensa sventura, alla quale non potrebbe essere lasciata in preda da chi ha sentimenti di umanità e di giustizia.

A tutti sono note, Milord, l'eccelse vostre doti d'animo e d'ingegno; e quindi con la franchezza di un uomo che ha tutto sacrificato a pro della sua patria, a voi mi rivolgo, ed in nome di questa patria infelice, in nome dell' umanità, in nome di ogni sentimento generoso, oi vi scongiuro che provvediate in modo che in pendenza delle trattative d'accordo sieno sospese anche le ostilità contro Venezia, ond' ella non sia prima ancora dell' accordo privata della indipendenza per cui combatte.

E in quanto ai futuri destini di questa città e delle sue provincie, io vi supplico, o Milord, di considerare che esse non debbono ricadere sotto il giogo Austriaco. Per secoli rimasero indipendenti: della indipendenza furono private dalla iniquità e dalla violenza: furono dall' Austria maltrattate, oppresse, avvilitate, con violazione delle fatte solenni promesse, perchè l'Austria non mantiene mai quel che promette ai suoi popoli: si rivendicarono in libertà con isforzo, forse temerario, ma certo generoso: per la causa della indipendenza Italiana hanno enormemente sofferto, e l'Austria non mancherebbe di perseguire queste popolazioni colle sue vendette aperte e segrete. Il giogo Austriaco è quì abborrito; e quindi questo paese sotto l'Austria non potrebbe rimanere tranquillo; seguirebbero fra breve nuove commozioni e sommosse, che darebbono luogo a nuovi pericoli per la pace Europea: poi queste provincie sentono vivamente la nazionalità Italiana, provano vivissimo bisogno di riunirsi e confederarsi colle altre Italiane popolazioni, di separarsi interamente e perpetuamente dall' elemento Tedesco. Infine, le condizioni economiche di questo paese lo portano a professare le teorie della libertà mercantile, teorie alle quali l'Austria, per favorire le pessime manifatture Tedesche, si è sempre mostrata avversa.

Tutto ciò vi prego di considerare, o Milord, e l'altezza dei vostri sentimenti mi assicura che l'Italia e Venezia abbiano a benedir voi e la nazione Inglese come benefattori e salvatori.

Accogliete, &c.

DANIELE MANIN.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 20, 1848.

TOWARDS the end of the past century the aristocratic power that ruled Venice abdicated and restored the sovereignty to the people, constituting itself therefore a Democratic Government. Under the pretext of protecting the newly-born Republic, General Bonaparte sent to Venice a French garrison and deprived the Venetians almost entirely of the means of self-defence. A little later the Peace of Campo Formio was concluded, whereby General Bonaparte ceded to Austria the Venetian territory, which had never been conquered, and which did not in any way belong to him. The Venetians protested, and General Bonaparte answered that if they were not satisfied they might defend themselves—a derisive answer, after that he had already deprived them of the means of defence.

The sovereignty of the Venetian people ceased by this iniquitous stipulation, in fact, but not in justice, as the right was preserved by solemn protestations. The occupation of Venice by the Austrians was therefore unjust, and unjust consequently, because proceeding from it were all the succeeding transmissions into different hands of the sovereignty of Venice, unto the very last, which took place in favour of Austria in 1814.

The Venetians had however an unquestionable right to recover the independence that had been unjustly ravished from them; and this they did on the 22nd March of this year, after having exhausted all legal and pacific means to obtain from the Austrian Government a treatment more congenial to the moral condition of Europe and of Italy—the fulfilment at least of the promises solemnly made in 1815, and always disloyally violated.

Venice, that has no monarchical tradition, that has no aristocracy, rich, well instructed, and powerful, proclaimed a Democratic Republic—that is, that kind of Government which existed legally when the iniquitous Treaty of Campo Formio established in fact the Austrian domination.

But Venice intended to act, not according to municipal interests or ambitions, but for the common interest and dignity of all Italy; for this purpose it repeatedly declared that the government proclaimed by it was altogether provisional, and that once the war of independence finished, the representatives of all the Italian population should decide on questions of territorial divisions and on forms of government that might be required by the general interests of Italy.

In the meanwhile an opinion was formed, that it was indispensable to the success of the war, that all the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces should be united immediately to Piedmont, to form with it a separate kingdom. This appeared to the greater part of the Venetians as untimely and dangerous; untimely, because it seemed a question to be resolved when the land should be free and the war over, dangerous, because the war would have assumed an appearance of being one of dynasties and not a national one; and thence the sympathies of the Italian people and of all the free nations of Europe would be lost, and the apprehensions and the suspicions of Princes would have been awakened.

But as the fore-mentioned opinion gained strength, and the journalists of Italy proclaimed it unanimously as the only means of salvation, the Venetian Government convoked the Assembly of the Deputies of the people elected by universal suffrage, and proposed to them the question of incorporation with Sardinia. Love of concord prevailed, and almost all adhered to the proposition.

A little time after followed the defeat of the Sardinian army at Somma Campagna; then came the loss of Milan; and lastly, the Convention of Armistice dated 9th August present month, was made between the King of Sardinia and the Austrian Marshal, which, among other conditions, stipulated that the King should withdraw the Sardinian troops which were in Venice, and the fleet which defended it on the side of the sea.

Three Commissaries of the King governed Venice up to the 7th August. As soon as the news of the Armistice and of its conditions were known, the people rose and would not be governed by agents of a King who had bound himself down to abandon Venice. The Royal Commissaries upon this popular

commotion declared that they had ceased to govern. Thus the city remained without a Government, and thence exposed to internal anarchy, and perfectly incapable of external defence. This could not last ; and I, who had proclaimed the Republic on the 22nd March, who from the 23rd March to the 5th July had been President of the Government, and then on account of the change of the political position, had retired to private life without losing popular sympathy,—constrained by necessity, had the rash daring to assume the Government for forty-eight hours, that is to say, until another Government could be named by the Assembly of Deputies, which was immediately convoked.

And this Assembly on the 13th August appointed a new Government with ample power, composed of myself, Colonel Cavidalis, and Admiral Graziani. It was unanimously agreed that the Government was not to have any political colouring, and that it should be occupied entirely with keeping peace internally, and with the external defence as long as the danger lasted.

The populace evinced full confidence in the new Government ; and after having already made immense sacrifices in the time past, it has resigned itself to fresh sacrifices that are imposed on it, and it is ready to offer life and substance to avoid the weight of the abominated Austrian yoke.

In the meanwhile the rumour is abroad that the English and French Governments intend to put an end to the war in Italy, to propose to Austria conditions, and in case the latter should not accept them, to have recourse to arms. It is also said that during the treaty the belligerent parties would be required to suspend their hostilities.

From the fact of an armistice concluded between the King of Sardinia and the Austrian Marshal on the 9th August, it might ensue, that when the intermediating Powers shall intimate the suspension of hostilities, Austria would answer that this had already taken place in consequence of this armistice. But this armistice, which deprives Venice of the assistance of the Sardinian forces, and allows Austria to pounce upon this city with all its troops, would expose us to fall again under the odious yoke, until the treaties regarding our future destinies could be concluded. To Venice, who has made and makes unparalleled sacrifices for its independence, this would be a terrible misfortune, to which it could not be exposed by any one who has the feelings of humanity and justice.

Your noble sentiments of mind and disposition, my Lord, are well known to all. I therefore turn to you with the frankness of one who has sacrificed everything for the good of his country ; and in the name of this unhappy country, in the name of humanity, in the name of every generous sentiment, I conjure you to take measures so that whilst the treaties are being agreed upon, hostilities shall also be suspended against Venice, in order that she should not before the final arrangements, be deprived of that independence for which she has been combating.

And in regard to the future destinies of this city and of its provinces, I beseech you, my Lord, to consider that they ought not to fall back under the Austrian yoke. For centuries they remained independent. They were deprived of independence by iniquity and violence. They were by Austria ill-treated, oppressed, and humbled, in violation of solemn promises ; because Austria never maintains the promises she makes to her people : they revenged themselves by attaining liberty with an effort, rash perhaps, but certainly most generous. For the cause of Italian independence they have greatly suffered, and Austria would not fail to persecute this population with its open and secret vengeance. The Austrian yoke is here detested ; and thence this country under Austria could not remain quiet ; in a short time new commotions and insurrections would follow, which might bring on new dangers to the peace of Europe : further, these provinces have a lively feeling of Italian nationality, and a wish to unite and confederate with the other Italian populations, and to separate entirely and for ever from the German. In short, the political economy of this country leads it to maintain the theory of free trade ; a theory to which Austria, in order to favour her wretched German manufactures, has ever shown herself to be adverse.

I beg you, my Lord, to take all this into consideration ; and the nobleness of your sentiments leads me to be convinced that Italy and Venice will have to bless you and the English nation as their benefactors and saviours.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) DANIELE MANIN.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

(Extract.)

Venice, August 19, 1848.

SINCE the installation of the new Government of Venice, of which Signor Manin is the chief, on the 13th instant, various decrees, of which copies are inclosed, have been issued, with the view of providing means for the better defence of Venice.

One of these decrees enjoins the delivery, within forty-eight hours, into the Mint, of all articles of gold or silver, for which a receipt will be given bearing interest at 5 per cent. Persons evading compliance with this decree are liable to forfeiture of the articles of gold or silver, and to one day's imprisonment for each hundred livres' worth of plate withheld.

Great dissatisfaction has been caused by this decree, but it is nevertheless very generally complied with.

Another decree enjoins all persons who are not natives of or who have not a legal domicile in Venice, to appear before the Committee of Public Safety to give an account of themselves and to obtain permission to remain.

Another provides for rendering moveable a portion of the civic guard, who are required to repair to the forts.

Another requires all persons who do not form any part of any military body to enrol themselves during the present state of the blockade.

Although these decrees are much murmured at, and although the anti-Republican party are very indignant at the severity and energy of the measures adopted by Signor Manin, no one has yet ventured to show anything like resistance.

The only letters or newspapers that now reach Venice, are those from the Romagna and the south of Italy, as all communication with Milan has been interrupted since its occupation by the Austrians, and in the absence of all accurate information of what is passing, all kinds of reports are current, and are spread by interested parties, while the Venetian paper cites and fabricates articles, declaring that French assistance is at hand.

On the night of the 17th, the crowd assembled under Signor Manin's windows and clamoured for news, when Signor Manin addressed them, saying that the persons charged to solicit the intervention of France had not yet reached their destination, but that he (Signor Manin) had well-founded hopes that the assistance sought for would not be refused. In the meantime he exhorted the people to make the sacrifices for their country which they had pledged themselves to do, on electing him chief of the Government,—sacrifices which he for his part was ready to share with them.

My belief is, that Signor Manin is resolved to resist as long as he thinks there is a prospect of armed intervention on the part of France; if he should be convinced that no such intervention will take place, I believe he would then advocate a capitulation.

In the meantime there is some danger that he may stretch the cord too tightly, and that the Venetians may refuse compliance with what is required of them.

I am assured that the Piedmontese General La Marmora, who is the Commander-in-chief of the Piedmontese troops in Venice, has stated that he has not as yet received official orders from his Government to evacuate Venice, but that he shall not hesitate to obey such orders should he receive them.

If the Sardinian fleet and troops left Venice, I venture to express my opinion, that notwithstanding the strength of its position, it would not resist a vigorous attack on the part of the Austrians, aided as such attack would probably be by the Austrian party in the town.

Owing, as I have already stated, to the absence of all communication with the mainland, I am unable to give your Lordship any information of what is passing at Milan; but I have no doubt Mr. Campbell keeps your Lordship regularly informed.

Inclosure in No. 245.

Decrees issued by the Provisional Government of Venice.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia

Decreta :

1. GLI ori ed argenti notificati, o che si avrebbe dovuto notificare, in ordine ai Decreti 19 Luglio decorso, No. 10,467, e 25 detto, No. 10,683, saranno portati alla Zecca nazionale entro 48 ore, cioè fino alle ore 4 pomeridiane del giorno 18 corrente.

2. La Zecca ne darà al portatore ricevuta, che sarà poi cambiata in cartella di prestito fruttifero, giusta l' Articolo 2 di esso Decreto 19 Luglio.

3. Chi volesse conservare in tutto od in parte ori od argenti notificati, o che si dovevano notificare, potrà riscattarli dalla Zecca fino al giorno 20 corrente, pagandone il valsente in danaro alla Cassa centrale.

4. Chi contravvenisse al presente decreto sarà punito colla confisca degli ori od argenti non portati, e l'arresto d'un giorno per ogni lire cento del loro valore ; se fosse impiegato, sarà inoltre destituito.

Venezia, 16 Agosto, 1848.

MANIN.

GRAZIANI.

CAVEDALIS.

ZENNARI.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia

Decreta :

VIENE mobilitata in via temporanea porzione della civica guardia pel servizio della difesa durante il presente stato di blocco e del successivo assedio, in analogia al Titolo XI del Regolamento 20 Maggio, 1848, e colle seguenti norme e modificazioni :

1. Il servizio dei forti è obbligatorio per tutti gli addetti alla guardia civica che sono compresi fra i 18 e i 40 anni, tranne che pegli ammogliati aventi più di tre figli, e pei figli unici che fossero il sostegno della famiglia.

2. Cadauna delle quattro legioni dee tenere continuamente dedicata per ora a questo servizio una compagnia di 147 uomini, comprese le cariche, salvo di aumentare il numero delle compagnie a seconda dei bisogni della difesa.

3. Nella formazione delle compagnie si dovrà aver cura che gl' individui ammogliati sieno soggetti alla metà del servizio in confronto del nubili, ossia, ad ogni due spedizioni di questi, concorrano gli ammogliati una volta sola.

4. Il contingente dei graduati sarà fornito dalla legione per turno, in guisa che tutti riescano requisiti al servizio egualmente.

5. Ciascuna compagnia ordinariamente durerà nel servizio dei forti per tre giorni.

6. Il trattamento delle guardie civiche finchè sono di servizio nei forti, è di correnti L. 1.25 pei militi, di L. 2 pei sott' ufficiali, di L. 3 pegli ufficiali, e di L. 6 pegli ufficiali superiori.

7. A cura dei capi legione verranno immediatamente compilati gli elenchi degl' individui celibi, negli ammogliati senza figli, degli ammogliati con figli.

8. Nessuno potrà esimersi dal servizio dei forti, se non che per malattia comprovata da certificato medico giurato, che dovrà essere spedito dall' ammalato alla caserma del rispettivo battaglione, un' ora prima del momento in cui dovrebbe comparirvi. Uno dei membri sanitarii dello stato maggiore di legione o di battaglione verificherà la sussistenza della malattia, recandosi rispettivo domicilio.

9. In caso d'insussistenza della malattia, l'individuo sarà diffidato dal visitante ed immediatamente trasferirsi alla caserma, e, in caso di renitenza, sarà costretto colla forza. Oltre a ciò, sarà condannato ad una multa di L. 100 correnti, pagabile entro cinque giorni coi metodi fiscali, ed in caso d'insolvenza, ad un arresto d'un giorno ogni tre lire, e senza pregiudizio della procedura criminale che dovesse aver luogo a carico tanto di lui quanto del certificante.

10. Le compagnie si raccoglieranno nella caserma centrale della legione e si troveranno al luogo di partenza alle ore 5 antimane precise.

11. Per la guardia civica mobilitata sono assolutamente proibiti i supplenti, dovendo ogni cittadino recarsi a dovere ed onore di prestarsi in persona alla difesa della patria.

12. E poichè in forza dell' Articolo 170 del Regolamento 20 Maggio, 1848, le guardie mobilitate sono soggette alle regole e discipline militari, si commette che al momento dell' appello, prima della partenza dalla caserma, siano letti alle compagnie gli articoli di guerra pubblicati ed ammessi per l'armata Veneta col Decreto 24 Luglio decorso.

Venezia, 17 Agosto, 1848.

MANIN.

GRAZIANI.

CAVEDALIS.

Il Segretario, ZENNARI.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia

Decreta:

1. Il Regolamento della guardia civica, pubblicato col Decreto 20 Maggio anno corrente, dovrà essere entro sei giorni compiutamente attivato.

2. Ogni compagnia, in analogia a quanto è disposto dagli Articoli 33, 34, 35, 37 del Regolamento, si comporrà, comprese le cariche, di 147 individui.

3. Devono iscriversi ed aggregarsi ai militi, durante il presente stato di blocco e di successivo assedio, tutti i non Veneziani non addetti a qualche corpo militare dimoranti in Venezia, purchè abbiano le altre condizioni prescritte dal Regolamento pei cittadini.

4. Le elezioni per le cariche procederanno conformemente alle disposizioni del Titolo V. Per le compagnie, i battaglioni e le legioni, per le quali entro il termine fissato all' Articolo primo, non si fossero compiute le elezioni, si provvederà dal Governo alle nomine deficienti sopra terne proposte dalla Commissione organizzatrice.

5. Nella presente condizione di blocco, e finchè le armate nemiche abbiano disgiunta la provincia di Venezia, si sospendono i Consigli di disciplina, e le relative attribuzioni saranno disimpegnate, pel Consiglio di cui all' Articolo 138, dal capitano di ogni compagnia, o da quell' ufficiale che ne funge le veci; pel Consiglio di cui all' Articolo 139, dal comandante del battaglione; e per quello di cui all' Articolo 140, dal comandante della legione.

6. In ogni battaglione vi sarà una compagnia di Alabardieri, armati di lancia, pistola e daga; le altre compagnie saranno armate di fucile con baionetta e daga, com' è stabilito dall' Articolo 89.

7. In ogni legione si formerà una compagnia di artiglieri, ai quali si destineranno dal Governo, speciali istruttori, in aggiunta alle cariche, per la cui elezione si procederà dalle rispettive compagnie o dal Governo, com' è stabilito per le compagnie d'infanteria.

8. Tutti i cittadini che sono iscritti nella guardia civica non potranno assentarsi da Venezia che per fondati motivi e dietro un congedo regolare ottenuto dal Governo, sopra rapporto del Comando in capo della guardia.

9. Per l'immediata e precisa esecuzione di tutto ciò, si costituiscono in Commissione, con pienezza di poteri, i cittadini:

Bragadin Zilio, Interinale Comandante in Capo della Guardia; Fecondo, Interinale Capo dello Stato Maggiore della Guardia; Pautrier, Maggiore; Mezzacapo, Maggiore; Gatte Albano, Capitano.

Venezia, il 16 Agosto, 1848.

MANIN.

GRAZIANI.

CAVEDALIS.

Il Comitato di Pubblica Vigilanza

Ordina:—

1. LE persone che per nascita o per legale domicilio non appartengono alla città di Venezia e alle comuni ad essa adiacenti, e che attualmente vi si trovano, o vi giungeranno in avvenire, dovranno, le prime nel termine di tre giorni, e le seconde non più tardi di tre ore dopo il loro arrivo, presentarsi in Venezia alla

prefettura dell' ordine pubblico, e negli altri comuni all' autorità locale, per dare quelle giustificazioni di cui saranno richieste.

2. Passati i termini suindicati, non sarà più concesso ad alcuna delle persone suddette il dimorare dove si trova, se non avrà riportato un permesso di soggiorno, che sarà rilasciato dall' ufficio a cui si sarà presentata.

3. Qualunque individuo contemplato dai precedenti articoli dovrà rendere ostensibile la sua carta di soggiorno, quando ne venga richiesto, alla guardia nazionale od alla gendarmeria, sotto pena di essere sul fatto tradotto agli uffizii di ordine pubblico e di quelle altre misure che fossero del caso.

4. Gli albergatori, gli osti, gli affitta-camere, e quei privati che danno alloggio, dovranno rigorosamente attenersi a quanto è disposto in proposito degli obblighi che ad essi incombono riguardo alla notifica degli arrivati e dei partiti.

5. La prefettura d'ordine pubblico e incaricata di dare esecuzione a quanto sopra.

Venezia, 17 Agosto, 1848.

ZAMBALDI.
VISENTINI.
RENSOVICH.
MOROSINI.
COMELLO.
SERENA.
SCARPA.

Veduto, MANIN.

(Translation.)

The Provisional Government of Venice

Decrees :

1. THE gold and silver noted, or which should have been noted in due order by the Decrees of the 19th July past, No. 10,457, and of the 25th July, No. 10,683, shall be brought to the National Mint within forty-eight hours, that is, up to the hour of 4 P.M. of the 18th of this month.

2. The Mint shall give the bearer receipt, which shall afterwards be changed into a ticket of loan at interest according to Article 2 of the said Decree of the 19th July.

3. Whoever should wish to keep in whole or in part the silver or gold specified or which should have been specified, may redeem them from the Mint up to 20th instant, by paying the value in money to the Central Treasury.

4. Whoever should infringe the present decree shall be punished by the confiscation of the gold and silver not brought, and by an arrest of one day for every hundred liras of their value, and if employed by the Government shall be dismissed the service.

Venice, August 16, 1848.

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.
ZENNARI.

The Provisional Government of Venice

Decrees :

A PORTION of the civic guard shall be temporarily organized for the service of the defence during the present state of blockade and subsequent siege, in conformity to Section XI of the Regulation of the 20th May, 1848, and with the following rules and modifications :

1. The service of the forts is obligatory on all liable to the civic guard who are comprised between 18 and 40 years of age—except those married and having three children, and sons only who may be the support of their family.

2. Every one of the four legions must hold always ready for this service a company of 147 men, including officers, with the proviso of increasing the number of companies according to the necessities of the defence.

3. In forming these companies care must be taken that married individuals shall be subject to one-half of the service imposed on the single; that

is, for every two expeditions of the latter the married men shall contribute only to one.

4. The contingent of the graduates shall be furnished by the Legions by turns, in order that all shall be equally called upon to serve.

5. Every company shall generally remain in the service of the forts three days.

6. The pay of the civic guards, as long as they are in the service of the forts, will be 1.25 current livres for the soldiers; 2 livres for the non-commissioned officers; 3 livres for the officers; and 6 livres for head or chief officers.

7. To the care of the chiefs of the legions will be left the immediate compilation of a register of all the single men, of those married without children, and of those married with children.

8. No one shall be exempted from the service of the forts except for indisposition proved by medical certificate upon oath, which must be sent by the sick man to the barracks of his respective battalion an hour before the time he should there appear. One of the members of the Board of Health, major of the legion or battalion, shall verify the truth of his indisposition by proceeding to his domicile.

9. In case of the non-existence of the malady, the individual shall be called upon immediately to proceed to the barracks, and in case of refusal shall be compelled thereto; besides this he shall be condemned to a fine of 100 livres current money, to be paid within five days into the exchequer, and in case of insolvency, to imprisonment of one day for every 3 livres, without including the expenses of the criminal suit, which shall fall upon him and upon the person giving the false certificate.

10. The companies shall meet at the central barracks of the legion, and shall be at the place of departure precisely at 5 o'clock A.M.

11. For the organized civic guard no substitute shall be allowed, it being the duty and honour of every citizen to assist personally in the defence of his country.

12. And since by virtue of the Article 170 of the Regulations of the 20th May, 1848, the organized guards are subject to military rule and discipline, it is appointed that on assembling them, before starting from the barracks, shall be read to each company the Articles of War, published and received for the Venetian army by the Decree of the 24th July past.

Venice, August 17, 1848.

MANIN.

GRAZIANI.

CAVEDALIS.

ZENNARI, *Secretary.*

The Provisional Government of Venice

Decrees:

1. The regulations for the civic guard, published with the decree of the 20th May of this year, shall within six days be put in active operation.

2. Every company, in conformity with what is established by the Articles 33, 34, 35, 37, of the Regulations, shall be composed, including officers, of 147 persons.

3. All persons residing in Venice, not Venetians, not belonging to any military corps, shall be enrolled in and shall join the military, during the present state of blockade and the subsequent siege, provided they fulfil the other conditions prescribed by the regulations for citizens.

4. The elections for appointments shall be carried on in conformity with what is established by Chapter V. The companies, battalions, and legions, for which the election should not have been completed in the time fixed by Article 1, shall be provided by the Government with the deficient number, according to the terms proposed by the Organizing Commission.

5. In the present condition of the blockade, and until the enemy's troops shall have evacuated the Province of Venice, the Councils of Discipline are suspended, and their powers divided in the following order:—The Council of

which Article 138 treats, shall fall upon or be undertaken by the Captain of every company, or by the officer acting for him. The Council of Article 139 to the Commander of the battalion, and that of Article 140 by the Commander of the legion.

6. To every battalion shall be attached a company of Halbardiers, armed with lances, pistol, and dagger ; the other companies shall be armed with guns, bayonets and dagger, as is ordered in Article 89.

7. To every legion there shall be attached a company of artillerymen, who shall have special instructors appointed by the Government, in addition to the officers, the elections of whom shall be made from the different companies or from the Government, as established for the companies of infantry.

8. All citizens that are inscribed in the civic guard shall not absent themselves from Venice, except for weighty reasons, and after regular permission has been obtained from the Government, on a report being made to the purpose by the Commander-in-chief of the Guards.

9. For the immediate and precise execution of all this, a commission, with full powers, is appointed, consisting of the (following) citizens :—

Bragadin Zilio, *pro tempore* Commander-in-chief of the Guards ; Fecondo, *pro tempore* Chief of the Staff of the Guards ; Major Pautrier ; Major Mezzacapo ; Captain Gatte Albano.

Venice, August 16, 1848.

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

The Police Committee

Ordains :—

1. Those who by birth or lawful domicile do not belong to the city of Venice or its dependencies, and who are now or shall hereafter arrive there, shall, the first within three days, and the latter not later than three hours after their arrival, appear in Venice before the Prefect of Police, and in the dependencies before the local authority, to give a proper account of themselves.

2. The above stated space of time elapsed, no person shall be permitted to reside where he may be, without a permit for this purpose which shall be delivered to him at the office where he shall have appeared.

3. Every person included in the preceding Articles shall on demand show his permit to the national guard or to the gendarmes, under penalty, if he refuse, of being delivered up to the officers of the police, or of being subject to the enforcement of such measures against him, as the case may require.

4. Innkeepers, tavern-keepers, those who let rooms, and private individuals who let lodgings, shall strictly obey what has been appointed in regard to their obligation to give notice of arrivals and departures.

5. The Prefecture of Police is charged with the execution of what is above established.

Venice, August 17, 1848.

ZAMBALDI.
VISENTINI.
RENSOVICH.
MOROSINI.
COMELLO.
SERENA.
SCARPA.

Approved, MANIN.

No. 246.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 19, 1848.

THE Sardinian fleet remains at anchor off this port, together with the Venetian vessels of war, and the Piedmontese troops remain in Venice.

I mentioned in my despatch of the 11th instant, that several of the Roman troops had expressed a desire to return home, and I have now to inform your Lordship that a considerable number of these troops have already left Venice by sea for Rimini and Ravenna, and that others are preparing to follow their example.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 247.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 24, 1848.

SINCE I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 19th instant, no movement has taken place in the Sardinian fleet, which remains at anchor off the port, together with the Venetian vessels of war. The Piedmontese troops also continue to occupy their quarters in the town. All communication with the mainland, except by way of Ravenna, is cut off.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 248.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 22, 1848.

M. DE LA COUR and I waited on his Excellency Baron Wessenberg this day.

I communicated to his Excellency the despatch I received from Mr. Abercromby, and the letter inclosed with it written by the Count Revel, accepting the mediation, and also a detail in French of the terms upon which the mediation was to be based.

His Excellency read these papers, and in reply to the question asked by M. de la Cour in his name and mine, Whether or not the Imperial Government would act upon the proposition of our Governments? his Excellency said that the Imperial Government highly appreciated the kind feelings of the British and French Governments, &c.

His Excellency then proceeded to say that the armistice agreed upon by the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky had not been carried into effect by the Piedmontese; that Admiral Albini had refused to withdraw the Sardinian squadron from Venice, and that Piedmontese troops still remained in Venice; that the Imperial Government must be assured of the faithful execution of the conditions of that armistice, before the Imperial Government could go any further into the question we had brought forward.

He further said that powers had been given to Prince Schwarzenberg to treat with the King of Sardinia for a peace, and that some proceedings had taken place on the subject between the King and the Prince; that the particulars could not be known by the Imperial Government for four or five days to come, and that he would then inform us of the facts.

His Excellency further said that it was necessary that the Imperial Government should take into consideration the terms proposed as a basis on which the mediation should rest, because the situation of affairs in Italy was completely altered, and what might have been applicable to Austria and to Italy some time ago could not possibly be necessarily applicable at this moment.

It was observed on our part, that possibly the Commissaries (for two it seems were sent, one an Austrian, the other a Piedmontese) who gave Albini instructions to withdraw the Sardinian squadron, might not have been furnished with the precisely proper authority to give orders to the Admiral. It was also observed that it seemed to be very extraordinary that the King of Sardinia should accept the mediation of England and France and be also in negotiation with Prince Schwarzenberg. We expressed our desire that his Excellency would make us acquainted with the view of the Imperial Government, as soon as it had been determined upon.

I communicated what I have here written to M. de la Cour, who concurs in my statement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 249.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 23, 1848.

I WILL take the liberty of laying before your Lordship the notion I have of some of the motives which act upon the Austrian Government with relation to the affairs of Lombardy. The victories of the Austrian arms and the state of feeling in Lombardy co-operate to destroy all apprehension of the capability of the Piedmontese to make a war of aggression. There is no intention entertained by the Austrian Government of attacking Piedmont or any part of Italy. The proceedings of the French Government are the only thing considered.

It is I think not believed that General Cavaignac will allow of a French intervention on account of Lombardy, because it is not admitted that such an intervention can be within the right of France, according to international law, and because General Cavaignac must see that an intervention will be an attack upon Austria without the justification of it by any injury or offence against France; that it will be an interference in the domestic affairs of Austria, the Imperial Government having a right to maintain its authority over its own subjects as full and indisputable as France has to maintain hers in Corsica, in Algeria, or other places; that the intervention would be considered by Germany as an act of aggression; that an intervention would be considered by Russia as an attack upon the established rights of Governments. Count Nesselrode's circular declaring the neutral policy of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, mentions, as an exception to the rule laid down by the Emperor, the case of an attack made upon the rights of others. It is held here that a war would be the consequence of French intervention; that the war would involve as parties Austria, Germany, Russia; and that eventually circumstances would force England into it.

It may be hoped that the Imperial Government will treat Lombardy favourably, and that such arrangements will be made as shall be satisfactory to the Lombards if the Imperial Government should determine upon retaining Lombardy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 250.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 27, 1848.

I RECEIVED the inclosed notes last night from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg. I presume that your Lordship will have knowledge of the fact they confirm, but I think it my duty to forward them.

Your Lordship will recollect the reply made by Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour and to me, to the effect that the Imperial Government was not certain that the armistice would be carried into execution by the Sardinians.]

Baron Wessenberg does not seem to know the particulars of the proceedings of the Sardinian Government. Your Lordship will have learnt them from Turin, and I will not report the guesses and suppositions made here. I have only to add that Baron Wessenberg entertains the opinion that General Cavaignac is strongly disposed to avoid intervention, and that the General will have sufficient power to prevent it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 250.
The Sardinian Minister at Frankfort to M. Heckscher.

20 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné a l'honneur de remettre à votre Excellence copie de la déclaration que le Ministère de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne a cru de son devoir de faire au sujet de l'Armistice du 9 et 10 Août, qui a été signé par le Général Salasco, et qu'on a qualifié de Convention.

Cette déclaration, que M. le Ministre de Pareto me charge de faire parvenir à votre Excellence, a été communiquée aux Représentans de France et d'Angleterre à Turin, lorsqu'ils allaient se rendre auprès du Roi et du Maréchal Radetzky, pour leur annoncer la médiation de ces Puissances.

(Translation.)

August 20, 1848.

THE Undersigned has the honour to forward to your Excellency a copy of the declaration which the Ministry of His Majesty the King of Sardinia has deemed it to be its duty to make on the subject of the Armistice of the 9th and 10th of August, which was signed by General Salasco, and which has been designated as a Convention.

This declaration which M. de Pareto charges me to convey to your Excellency, was communicated to the Representatives of France and England at Turin, when they were about to proceed to the King and to Marshal Radetzky to announce to them the mediation of those Powers.

 Inclosure 2 in No. 250.
The Marquis Pareto to the Representatives of England and France at Turin.

(Extrait.)

Turin, le 18 Août, 1848.

AU nombre des actes qui ont été faits dans ces trois derniers jours, il y a un armistice signé seulement par le Général Salasco. Cet acte, qu'on qualifie de convention, a une partie qui est relative à des mesures militaires, et une autre qui peut être considérée comme politique. Le Ministère, qui n'a pris aucune part à

cet acte, ne saurait le regarder comme légal, et ne pourrait lui reconnaître aucune valeur. Il croit de son devoir de protester contre tout ce qui pourrait y avoir de politique dans cet acte, et de déclarer qu'on ne pourrait jamais le considérer comme un titre qui doit servir de base aux négociations.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 18, 1848.

AMONG the number of acts which have been concluded during these three last days, there is an armistice signed only by General Salasco. This act, which is designated as a Convention, contains a part which relates to military measures, and another which may be considered political. The Ministry, which has taken no part in this act, cannot consider it as legal, and cannot recognize it as having any force. It deems it to be its duty to protest against everything of a political character which might be contained in this act, and to declare that it can never be considered as forming a basis for negotiation.

No. 251.

Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.—(Received from the Admiralty, September 2.)

(Extract.)

"Hibernia," Naples, August 23, 1848.

IN consequence of unfavourable accounts of the agitated state of Rome, I dispatched the "Bulldog" on the 21st instant to Civita Vecchia, for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects in that vicinity, with instructions to Commander Key to receive the Pope on board for conveyance to any port in the Mediterranean, should commotions occur which might make it advisable for His Holiness to take refuge in one of Her Majesty's ships. I have authorized Commander Key to communicate personally with the Honourable Mr. Petre and Mr. Freeborn, Her Majesty's Consular Agent at Rome, on the object of the "Bulldog" being sent to Civita Vecchia, and I hope this arrangement will meet with their Lordships' approval.

No. 252.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 27, 1848.

THE Marquis Ridolfi, a member of the late Tuscan Cabinet, has arrived in this capital on his way to Paris and to London, charged with a special mission from his Government to the two Cabinets of London and of Paris.

The object of his journey is, as he informed me, to lay before the two mediating Governments the assurances of the sincerity with which the Government of the Grand Duke of Tuscany has espoused the cause of Italian independence, and has shared in the military operations in Lombardy against the Austrians, and to express therefore the desire of His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke and of his Government, that Tuscany might be placed upon the same footing as Sardinia, and participate in the benefits to be derived from the joint mediation of England and of France for the settlement of the affairs of Italy.

I replied to the Marquis Ridolfi that I felt certain that your Lordship would receive with pleasure from him any explanation or application with regard to this subject, which he might be charged to make to you on the part of his Government.

I likewise stated to the Marquis that I should not fail to acquaint you with the object of his journey to London and to Paris, and that I should inform you of his speedy arrival in London.

The Marquis Ridolfi proposes to leave Turin for Paris on Tuesday next the 29th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 253.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 3.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy and translation of a despatch I have received from the Provisional Government of Venice, together with copy of the answer which I have returned to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 253.

The Provisional Government of Venice to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Eccellenza,

Venezia, Agosto 21, 1848.

LA intervento della Inghilterra e della Francia per la pacificazione d'Italia sembra ormai un fatto avverato, come pure sembra potersi credere che durante le trattative per la detta pacificazione debba aver luogo la sospensione delle ostilità.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia, che ha l'onore d'indirizzarvi il presente dispaccio, fu scelto dall' Assemblea dei Deputati di questa città e provincia, eletti col suffragio universale, ed entrò nell' esercizio del potere il giorno 13 corrente in seguito alla cessata rappresentanza governativa dei Regi Commissarii Sardi, che avevano dimesso il loro ufficio nel precedente giorno 11, quando qui giunse la notizia, che per patto della Convenzione d'Armistizio conchiusa il giorno 9 frà Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna e sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo Austriaco Conte Radetzky, Venezia doveva essere abbandonata dalle truppe Sarde di terra e di mare destinate alla sua difesa.

Questo Governo fu investito dalla detta Assemblea di pieni poteri allo scopo precipuo di conservare l'attuale indipendenza di Venezia, e di mantenerne l'ordine e la quiete interiore.

Per adempiere al primo suo obbligo egli ricorre al validissimo patrocinio di vostra Eccellenza acciò si verifichi anche per Venezia il fatto della sospensione delle ostilità, sin tanto abbiano effetto le pratiche della pacificazione d'Italia incominciate dalle prefate Alte Potenze.

Eccellenza, un popolo che da quasi cinque mesi si è sottoposto ad innumerevoli sacrificii per conservare quella indipendenza che seppe acquistarsi colla propria energia nel 22 Marzo, viene adesso esposto tutto solo a sostenere la lotta che gli prepara il poderoso esercito Austriaco. Se dovesse cadere, la sua caduta renderebbe certamente più malagevole l'opera della pacificazione Italiana. Infatti sa bene vostra Eccellenza di quale importanza militare e politica sia il possesso di Venezia, e come a questo possesso difficilmente si rinuncierebbe, o a rinunciarvi quanti maggiori corrispettivi si chiederebbono.

D'altronde se la pacificazione d'Italia debbe avere per fondamento la indipendenza della Penisola, noi non vediamo come le Grandi Potenze potessero permettere che un' opera così nobile e santa fosse preceduta dal martirio di questa veneranda sede di tante gloriose memorie, di questa primogenita del moderno incivilimento. E a vero martirio sarebbe esposta Venezia se gli Austriaci potessero impadronirsene ancora. Vostra Eccellenza non ignora per certo come sieno dall' Austria trattati i popoli vinti.

Impertanto, e come ufficio di umanità, e come mezzo per agevolare la pacificazione Italiana, noi imploriamo la interposizione di vostra Eccellenza perchè sieno sospese le ostilità contro Venezia sin tanto durino le trattative delle Alte Potenze mediatrici.

Aggredite, Eccellenza, &c.

Il Governo Provvisorio.

(Firmato)

MANIN.

L. GRAZIANI.

(Illegible.)

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Venice, August 21, 1848.

THE intervention of England and of France for the pacification of Italy seems to be now certain, and it may also be believed that a suspension of hostilities will take place during the negotiations for the above-mentioned pacification.

The Provisional Government of Venice who have the honour to address to you the present despatch, were chosen by the Assembly of Deputies of this town and province, elected by universal suffrage, and entered office on the 13th instant, in consequence of the withdrawal of the Royal Sardinian Commissaries who had carried on the Government, and who had resigned their functions on the 11th when the news arrived here that, according to the terms of the Armistice concluded on the 9th instant between His Majesty the King of Sardinia and the Austrian Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, Venice was to be evacuated by the Sardinian land and sea forces destined to her defence.

This Government received from the above-mentioned Assembly full powers in order chiefly to preserve the actual independence of Venice and to maintain internal order and quiet.

To fulfil the first of these obligations they have recourse to the powerful protection of your Excellency, in order that the suspension of hostilities may be extended also to Venice, if the step taken by the above high Powers for the pacification of Italy could lead to such a result.

Excellency, a people who have for nearly five months submitted to innumerable sacrifices to preserve that independence which they knew how to conquer by their own energy on the 22nd March, are now exposed quite alone to sustain the struggle which the powerful army of Austria prepares against them. If they fall, their fall will certainly render the work of the pacification of Italy more difficult. Your Excellency is well aware of the military and political importance of Venice, what difficulty there would be in giving up the possession of it, or how much greater would be the compensation demanded in exchange for it.

On the other hand, if the pacification of Italy is to be based upon the independence of the Peninsula, we do not see how the great Powers could permit that so noble and holy a work should be preceded by the martyrdom of this venerable seat of so many glorious recollections, of this eldest daughter of modern civilization. And Venice would be exposed to a real martyrdom if the Austrians should once more get possession of her. Your Excellency certainly knows how Austria treats vanquished nations.

In the meantime, and as a duty of humanity, and a means of hastening the pacification of Italy, we request the interference of your Excellency in order that hostilities may be suspended against Venice during the negotiations carried on by the high mediating Powers.

The Provisional Government,

(Signed)

MANIN.

L. GRAZIANI.

(Illegible.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 253.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Provisional Government of Venice.

Excellences,

Turin, ce 27 Août, 1848.

JE m'empresse d'accuser la réception aujourd'hui même de la dépêche que vos Excellences m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 21 courant, et qui m'a été remise par le Sieur Mondo, courrier de vos Excellences.

L'Armistice du 9 Août conclu à Milan entre le Général Salasco et le Général de Hess, ayant été accepté par les deux Gouvernemens médiateurs comme un fait accompli (car l'Armistice avait déjà reçu un commencement d'exécution avant même que l'offre de la médiation commune de l'Angleterre et de la France eût été faite au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi Charles Albert), c'est avec le plus vif regret que je dois témoigner à vos Excellences l'impossibilité dans laquelle je me trouve de céder aux désirs exprimés par la dépêche de vos Excellences, en faisant une démarche qui pourrait avoir l'effet d'établir une différence dans l'application de l'Armistice entre Venise et le reste du territoire évacué.

Je me hâte pourtant d'assurer vos Excellences que je ne manquerai pas de porter immédiatement à la connaissance de ma Cour copie de la dépêche de vos Excellences ; et je m'empresserai dès que je recevrai la réponse de mon Gouvernement, d'agir selon les instructions qui m'y seront données.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Excellencies,

Turin, August 27, 1848.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt this day of the communication which your Excellencies did me the honour to address to me on the 21st instant, and which was delivered to me by your Excellencies' courier, M. Mondo.

The Armistice of the 9th of August concluded at Milan between General Salasco and General Hess, having been accepted by the two mediating Governments as a thing concluded (for the carrying into execution of the armistice had already commenced even before the offer of the joint mediation of England and France had been made to the Government of His Majesty King Charles Albert), it is with the greatest regret that I must state to your Excellencies that it is impossible for me to yield to the wishes expressed in your Excellencies' despatch, by taking a step which might have the effect of establishing a difference in the application of the Armistice between Venice and the rest of the territory to be evacuated.

I hasten however to assure your Excellencies that I will not fail immediately to convey to the knowledge of my Court a copy of your Excellencies' despatch ; and as soon as I shall receive the answer of my Government I will proceed to act in conformity with the instructions given to me therein.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 254.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 3.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 24, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a note from the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs, officially announcing the appointment by His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, of the Marquis Ridolfi, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 254.

*The Chevalier Giorgini to Sir George Hamilton.**Florence, 23 Août, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, Ministre, &c., se fait un devoir d'annoncer à son Excellence Mr. Baillie Hamilton, &c., le départ pour Londres d'un Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire, nommé par Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc, dans la personne de son Excellence M. le Marquis Ridolfi, Vice-Président de la Chambre des Députés.

La mission de M. le Marquis Ridolfi a pour but d'obtenir dans les négociations relatives à la question Italienne, qu'on ne perde pas de vue le maintien du principe de la nationalité et de la pleine indépendance de l'Italie. Cette mission regarde plus particulièrement le Cabinet de Londres, parceque l'Angleterre étant une des Puissances médiatrices, dont les décisions peuvent exercer une haute influence sur les destinées de la Péninsule, la Toscane a dû se convaincre de la nécessité d'avoir auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique un représentant spécial.

Le Soussigné a la confiance que les démarches du Gouvernement Grand Ducal auront un plein succès, vû la justice de la cause qui les anime, et il ne doute point que M. le Ministre Hamilton ne veuille bien de son côté contribuer à ce succès.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

G. GIORGINI.

(Translation.)

Florence, August 23, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., makes it his duty to announce to his Excellency Mr. Baillie Hamilton, &c., the departure for London of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, named by His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, in the person of his Excellency the Marquis Ridolfi, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The mission of the Marquis Ridolfi has for its object to obtain in the negotiations relative to the Italian question, that the maintenance of the principle of the nationality and of the entire independence of Italy should not be lost sight of. This mission has more particular reference to the Court of London, for England being one of the mediating Powers whose determination can exercise an important influence over the destinies of the Peninsula, Tuscany must necessarily feel convinced that it is necessary for her to have a special agent with Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

The Undersigned is satisfied that the measures of the Grand Ducal Government will have full success, considering the justice of the cause from which they spring, and he does not doubt that Mr. Hamilton for his part will have the goodness to contribute to their success.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

G. GIORGINI.

No. 255.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 3.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 26, 1848.

IT is with regret that I have to inform your Lordship that most serious disturbances have broken out at Leghorn.

The mob have got possession of the town, imprisoned the Governor, and seized the Government depôt of arms, and have armed themselves with about 1500 muskets, while none remain wherewith to supply the civic guard, which force remains passive and without leaders.

The mob in the first instance proceeded to the railway station and destroyed

the electric telegraph, and then seized the Governor and marched him off to prison.

A press of business prevents my giving your Lordship more minute details; but they are contained in the letters I have the honour to inclose from Her Majesty's Consul at Leghorn, which I received to-day, brought by an estafette to the French Minister. Captain Codrington, of the "Thetis," had been requested to land his marines; but he had not thought fit to comply with the wishes expressed by the Livournese, informing them that he was there for the protection of British interests only, and not to interfere in internal dissensions.

I have written to Captain Codrington, approving of the answer he has given but have requested him to make known to Sir William Parker the alarming state of affairs at Leghorn, and to urge, if possible, the presence of another ship of war in the roads of Leghorn until quiet is restored.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 255.

Consul Macbean to Sir George Hamilton.

(No. 1.)

My dear Sir,

Leghorn, August 25, 1848.

ON the 23rd instant, as perhaps you may have read in the Tuscan newspapers, the Padre Gavazzi who was I believe sent away from Florence some time ago, arrived here in the Sardinian steamer "Achille." The local Government refused to permit him to land; and this circumstance having become known, a body of Veneziani, as they are termed, went off in boats and conducted him on shore; he landed amidst a great deal of applause from the mob, and the ultra liberals in the civic guard supplied a guard of honour at the door of his hotel. In the course of the afternoon the Governor received per telegraph permission for the Padre to proceed through Tuscany to Bologna, and the principal delegate of Government went in person to communicate this intelligence to the Padre; but while charged with what might be regarded as a gracious errand, he discharged his commission badly, for when told that he could not pass into the hotel he endeavoured to force his way past the guard, and afterwards on being questioned as to the nature of his mission he replied with considerable brusquerie, "Il Governo non rende conto a nessuno;" upon this he was pushed aside, and I am told he then drew a sword-stick which he had in his hand; he was immediately knocked down, trampled upon, and injured, but fortunately he was rescued, and with the assistance of a little disguise he was removed to a place of safety. Lieutenant-Colonel Pacho of the civic guard went to the corps de garde at the hotel to inquire by whose orders the guard of honour had been placed, and he was told that it was there by order of "His Highness the People."

Padre Gavazzi harangued an immense crowd yesterday morning in the Piazza Grande, his address was of a most inflammatory description, and while he inculcated on the people the necessity of their arming themselves immediately, he told them that they must look out for one good leader whom they could trust, for that they were betrayed by Governments, by Princes, by Generals, Colonels, Officers, &c., and that for the future they must only trust to themselves, for that it was well known that the result of battles and the capture of cities and positions had been all preconcerted throughout the campaign in Lombardy.

Padre Gavazzi left Leghorn at noon yesterday by railway for Florence, and he was conveyed to the railway station in a gilded state carriage and escorted by twelve members of the Circolo Politico of Leghorn.

Last night an article appeared in the "Cittadino," protesting against the infringement on the articles of the code of the guardia civica in placing guards of honour, or otherwise disposing or compromising the corps, without the sanction and orders of its commanders. Lieutenant-Colonel Pacho was supposed to have written this protest, and the people in consequence went to his house at 11 o'clock P.M. and threatened to burn it down. He has been obliged to quit Leghorn with his family.

To-day there is considerable excitement in consequence of its being reported that the Padre and the members of the Circolo who accompanied him had been arrested yesterday afternoon at Signa. This report leads to what has just occurred and for which I refer you to my letter of this date, No. 2.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. MACBEAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 255.

Consul Macbean to Sir George Hamilton.

(No. 2.)

My dear Sir,

Leghorn, August 25, 1848.

AFFAIRS here seem to be fast hastening to a crisis. About 10 o'clock this morning a mob proceeded to the railroad station and destroyed the telegraph apparatus. The Government despatches were seized and perused, after which the mob proceeded to the Government Palace and arrested the Governor, whom they conveyed on foot to one of the fortresses amidst a great deal of hooting and insult; the mob then proceeded to the barracks of the guardia civica and the different armouries, and seized all the muskets and cartridges on which they could lay their hands. It is supposed that altogether the mob may have secured about 1500 muskets and that none remain wherewith to supply the civic guards; and this body is now completely passive and without leaders. The Colonel commanding the civic guard is at present, I learn, in Florence, and several of the superior officers I know are also out of town. I have seen Captain Codrington, who is indeed now sitting by me, and he will do what he can for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects, bearing in mind at the same time that there may be calls made upon him through you, for protection. I trust however that the Tuscan Government will now bestir itself, and take such measures as are alone calculated to restore public confidence. This town is now completely in the hands of an armed rabble, who talk of proceeding to elect a Provisional Government; it is also said that they are about to go by railway to Signa for the purpose of attacking the people of that district, who are reported to have arrested or impeded the journey of the Padre Gavazzi towards Bologna.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. MACBEAN.

Inclosure 3 in No. 255.

Consul Macbean to Sir George Hamilton.

(No. 3.)

My dear Sir,

Leghorn, August 25, 4 o'clock P.M.

THE circumstances which have occurred here within the last few hours, and which I have endeavoured to describe in my two notes Nos. 1 and 2 of this date, have occasioned considerable alarm here.

I have received numerous visits this day from the British merchants and residents at this place, all of whom are most anxious on the subject of the arrangement taken for their protection. The presence of the "Thetis" here is indeed most satisfactory, and many of them have been assured that they will have every assistance given to them.

The Danish, Greek, French, and Hanoverian Consuls, have called upon me, to request that I would write to you, the French Consul having agreed to write to the Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic, on the subject of the actual state of affairs, and to beg that you and the French Chargé will urge upon the Central Government the necessity of adopting immediate measures calculated to restore peace and confidence to this town, which is now in the hands of a rabble and without any Government at all.

We fear much that the mob may resort to pillage, if not also to personal violence.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. MACBEAN.

No. 256.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 3.)

(Extract.)

Berne, August 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a series of copies, with French translations, of notes which have passed between the Federal Directory, the Baron de Kaisersfeld, Austrian Minister, the Government of Tessin, and the Marshal Radetzky, on the subject of the Italian refugees who abound in the frontier cantons of Switzerland.

Marshal Radetzky in a communication addressed to the Government of Tessin, after speaking in high terms of the desire manifested by the Federal authorities to maintain the strictest neutrality, requests the Government to carry out the same views, by disarming the bands there organized under the command of the Duke of Litta and the Count de Borromeo, by dispersing them, and otherwise putting a check to their plans for troubling the tranquillity of Austrian Lombardy.

The answer of the Government of Tessin is annexed, as well as a copy of a despatch from the same Government to the Federal Directory, with the answer of the latter.

Your Lordship will probably read with interest a despatch dated Zurich, August 24, from the Baron de Kaisersfeld to the Federal Directory, setting forth the state of affairs in those parts of Italy neighbouring the Swiss frontier. I regret I have not time to send your Lordship a translation by to-night's post, but the following is the substance.

It appears that while the Piedmontese army has entirely evacuated the Lombardo-Venetian States, there are numbers of allied Italian troops under the command of Garibaldi, Durando, Griffini, Manara, and D'Apice, who, refusing to submit to the Armistice concluded, have withdrawn into the valleys between the Mincio and the Tessin, from whence they continue hostilities; that Garibaldi occupies with 4000 men the western shores of the Lago Maggiore, from whence he has made irruptions by water; that Durando and Manara have moved from Bergamo with 4000 men, by Monza and Gallarate, upon Sesto Calende; that Griffini and D'Apice have quitted Brescia by the Val Camonica for Edolo, and from thence for Tirano and the Valteline; that now Griffini has directed his movements towards Switzerland by Puschio, and D'Apice to Bormio, where the latter has proclaimed the Italian Republic; but pursued by an Austrian brigade, he will have the alternative of either submitting to the Armistice, or of being forced to retire into Switzerland.

These details prove that the factious still harass the Austrians in guerilla warfare, and that Switzerland, overrun by them, when they are forced momentarily to withdraw before superior forces, has a very difficult game to play.

The Government of Tessin has caused Locarno to be evacuated by the refugees. Mazzini is in the Tessin.

Inclosure 1 in No. 256.

Marshal Radetzky to the Council of State of Tessin.

(Traduction.)

Tit.

Milan, le 19 Août, 1848.

LE premier Article de l'Amistice conclu le 9 du courant entre l'armée Autrichienne et l'armée Sarde contient ce qui suit :

“La frontière des deux Etats est aussi la ligne séparative des deux armées.”

Il est notoire cependant que les troupes alliées aux Piémontais, au lieu de se retirer dans le Piémont, se sont principalement retirées dans le Canton du Tessin, et en partie aussi dans le Canton des Grisons. Parmi ces troupes il se trouve des hommes armés appartenant aux corps des partisans Garibaldi, Griffini, et Aspice. Il est prouvé en outre que des enrôlemens ont lieu dans le Tessin, qu'il y a des placards et des intrigues dirigés publiquement contre le Gouvernement Impérial et Royal.

Les autorités Tessinoises, en ne s'opposant pas à ces menées, donnent par cela même leur approbation tacite aux tentatives des conjurés.

Le Haut Conseil d'Etat n'ignore pas :

1°. Que la Suisse, dans la louable intention d'entretenir des relations amicales avec l'Autriche, a déclaré vouloir garder la plus stricte neutralité.

2°. Que le Vorort Fédéral a renvoyé le Duc de Litta et autres qui se donnaient pour des délégués de la Lombardie.

3°. Que le même Vorort Fédéral a délégué dans votre canton deux commissaires pour veiller au strict maintien des relations internationales.

Je croirais manquer à mon devoir si je n'appelais pas l'attention du Haut Conseil d'Etat sur la contradiction manifeste qui existe entre les déclarations du Vorort et les événements qui se passent dans votre canton, événements desquels il résulte que les relations amicales que je désire si vivement conserver entre ces provinces et le Canton du Tessin devraient nécessairement être troublées.

C'est pourquoi j'ai l'honneur de m'adresser au Haut Conseil d'Etat et de le prier :

a. Que tous les hommes appartenant à des corps ennemis soient désarmés et éloignés sans retard.

b. Qu'on ne tolère plus à l'avenir sur le territoire Tessinois des conspirateurs fugitifs qui méditent de troubler la paix dans les Provinces Lombardes.

c. D'empêcher et de punir tout acte hostile au Gouvernement Autrichien.

Si, contre toute attente, le Haut Conseil d'Etat croyait ne pas devoir satisfaire à ces demandes fondées sur le Droit des Gens, je me verrais dans la pénible nécessité de prendre toutes mesures nécessaires pour conserver la paix dans les provinces confiées à mon commandement militaire. Ces mesures seraient :

1°. Le renvoi immédiat de tous les Tessinois qui résident actuellement dans le Royaume Lombard-Vénitien.

2°. L'interruption de toutes les relations commerciales entre les deux Etats.

3°. L'emploi des moyens qui seraient à ma disposition pour repousser toute tentative éventuelle d'invasion.

Je crois pouvoir me flatter que le Haut Conseil d'Etat appréciera tout ce qu'il y a de juste dans mes demandes et qu'il m'honorera d'une réponse satisfaisante.

(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, August 19, 1848.

THE first Article of the Armistice concluded on the 9th instant between the Austrian army and the Sardinian army contains what follows:—

“The frontier of the two States is also the line of separation for the two armies.”

It is however notorious that the troops, allies of the Piedmontese, instead of retiring into Piedmont, have for the most part withdrawn into the Canton of Tessin and partly also into the Canton of the Grisons. Among these troops there are armed men belonging to the corps of the partisans Garibaldi, Griffini, and Aspice. It is furthermore proved that enrolments have taken place in the Tessin, that there are placards and intrigues publicly directed against the Imperial and Royal Government.

The Tessinese authorities, by not opposing these machinations, thereby give their tacit approval to the attempts of the conspirators.

The High Council of State is not ignorant,—

1. That Switzerland, with the praiseworthy intention of keeping up friendly relations with Austria, has declared her wish to preserve the strictest neutrality.

2. That the Federal Vorort has expelled the Duke of Litta and others who represented themselves as delegates from Lombardy.

3. That the same Federal Vorort has appointed in your canton two commissioners to enforce the strict observance of international relations.

I should consider that I was failing in my duty were I not to call the attention of the High Council of State to the manifest contradiction which exists between the declarations of the Vorort and the events which are passing in your canton, events from which it results that the friendly relations which I am so anxious to maintain between these provinces and the Canton of Tessin must necessarily be disturbed.

I have therefore the honour to address the High Council of State, and to beg:—

a. That all the men belonging to bodies of the enemy be disarmed and expelled without delay.

b. That for the future refugee conspirators, who are plotting to disturb the peace in the Lombard Provinces, be no longer tolerated in the Tessinese territory.

c. To prevent and punish every act hostile to the Austrian Government.

If, contrary to all expectation, the High Council of State should not think itself bound to accede to these demands, founded upon the rights of nations, I should feel myself under the painful necessity of adopting all necessary measures for preserving peace in the provinces intrusted to my military command. These measures would be:—

1. The immediate expulsion of all the Tessinese who at present reside in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

2. The interruption of all commercial relations between the two States.

3. The employment of the means which may be at my disposal to repulse any eventual attempt at invasion.

I think I may flatter myself that the High Council of State will appreciate the justice of my demands, and that it will honour me with a satisfactory answer.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 256.

The Council of State of the Tessin to Marshal Radetzky.

(Traduction.)

Excellence,

Lugano, 21 Août, 1848.

AUSSITOT après réception de votre honorée note du 19 du mois, nous nous sommes empressés de délibérer sur les points importants qu'elle renferme. En suite de cet examen et de l'avis donné par les Commissaires Fédéraux, nous avons trouvé qu'une réponse, comme il s'agit d'une affaire de droit international, est de la compétence du Gouvernement de la Suisse et non pas de celle du Gouvernement de ce canton.

Nous avons en conséquence résolu d'envoyer immédiatement la note au Vorort, afin qu'il donne les instructions nécessaires.

Cependant nous croyons devoir donner à votre Excellence une réponse préalable relativement aux faits sur lesquels, nous pouvons vous l'assurer, elle a reçu des rapports exagérés ou erronés.

Lorsque par suite de la guerre les émigrans affluèrent dans notre canton, nous prîmes toutes les mesures nécessaires pour que ces infortunés reçussent un bon accueil sur cette terre hospitalière.

Mais en même temps il fut donné aux autorités compétentes l'ordre d'empêcher tout acte qui serait de nature à troubler nos relations de bon voisinage avec le Gouvernement Autrichien.

C'est dans ce but qu'un bataillon de nos troupes fut appelé sous les armes, c'est-à-dire pour empêcher tout acte contraire aux déclarations de neutralité. Notre correspondance avec le Vorort avait aussi le même but; il fut ordonné de désarmer les individus qui se présenteraient en armes pour demander un asile, et cet ordre a été pleinement exécuté.

Nous étions aussi en garde contre les enrôlemens. On a vu des appels qui n'avaient pas d'autre but. Ces placards ont été enlevés par ordre de l'autorité, et nous ne sachions pas qu'ils aient eu de suites.

On ne peut pas assurer positivement qu'aucun réfugié ne soit entré sur le territoire Lombard; il est impossible d'y mettre obstacle. Mais ce qui est certain, c'est qu'aucun corps armé n'y a pénétré.

Le Gouvernement n'a point connaissance que des placards hostiles aient été affichés, mais il peut assurer votre Excellence que si quelque chose de semblable venait à être découvert, il y mettrait bientôt un terme.

Les corps de troupes qui sont arrivés ici ont été désarmés par nous et

envoyés dans l'intérieur de la Suisse. Encore hier et avant-hier il est arrivé du Stelvio et du Tonal des colonnes qui ont été désarmées dans les Grisons et envoyées dans le Piémont.

Ces rectifications vous prouveront que les rapports que vous avez reçus, comme nous avons déjà eu l'honneur de vous le faire observer, sont dénués de tout fondement.

En terminant cette rectification nous laissons aux autorités Fédérales le soin de répondre aux demandes et aux réflexions contenues dans la note de votre Excellence.

(Suivent les signatures.)

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Lugano, August 21, 1848.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of your honoured note of the 19th of the month we hastened to deliberate on the important points contained in it. In consequence of that deliberation and of the opinion given by the Federal Commissioners, we have concluded that, as it concerns a matter of international right, it appertains to the Government of Switzerland, and not to that of the Government of this canton, to reply to it.

We have accordingly determined immediately to send the note to the Vorort, that it may give the necessary instructions.

We think however that we ought to give your Excellency a preliminary reply as far as regards the facts about which we can assure you that you have received exaggerated or erroneous reports.

When in consequence of the war, emigrants were swarming into our canton, we took all the necessary steps that those unfortunate people should receive a welcome on this hospitable soil.

But at the same time orders were given to the competent authorities to prevent every act which might be calculated to disturb our relations of good neighbourhood with the Austrian Government.

It was with this view that a battalion of our troops was placed under arms; that is to say, with the view of preventing any act contrary to the declaration of neutrality. Our correspondence with the Vorort had also the same object; orders were given that individuals who should present themselves armed to request shelter should be disarmed, and this order was fully executed.

We were also on our guard against levies of men being made. There were some appeals made which had no other object. These placards were removed by order of the authorities, and we are not aware that they produced any effect.

We cannot positively state that no refugee has entered the Lombard territory; it is impossible to prevent this. But of this we are certain, that no armed body of men has entered it.

The Government has no knowledge of hostile placards having been posted up, but it can assure your Excellency that if anything of the sort should be discovered, it would soon put a stop to it.

The bodies of troops which have arrived here have been disarmed by us and sent into the interior of Switzerland. Again, to-day and yesterday, columns have arrived from the Stelvio and Tonal, which have been disarmed in the Grisons and sent into Piedmont.

These rectifications will prove to you that the reports which you have received, as we have already had the honour to observe, are destitute of any foundation.

In concluding this explanation, we leave to the Federal authorities the task of replying to the demands and observations contained in your Excellency's note.

(The signatures follow.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 256.

*The Government of Tessin to the Federal Directory.**Lugano, 21 Août, 1848.*

NOUS avons reçu hier par estaffette une note en date du 19, par laquelle le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky, Commandant Militaire de la Lombardie, se plaint des émigrés Italiens dans notre canton, et de l'inaction du Gouvernement.

Nous vous donnons copie de la note et de la réponse que nous y avons faite après en avoir conféré avec les Commissaires Fédéraux.

Vous verrez par celle-ci que nous reconnaissons cette affaire comme fédérale, puisqu'il est incontestable que toute la Suisse doit défendre le droit d'asile et que nous ne pourrions agir seuls dans un objet de nature internationale sans impliquer la Suisse entière.

Quant aux faits, vous verrez par notre réponse qu'ils sont absolument erronés. Nous devons ajouter que nous ne connaissons rien qui puisse donner lieu à de mesures graves contre les réfugiés.

Au reste le Stelvio, le Tonal, sont abandonnés: il est plus que problématique que Garibaldi puisse se soutenir longtemps avec sa troupe; il nous semble que les dangers pour le Gouvernement Autrichien sont singulièrement amoindris. Nous ne saurions donc trouver une raison suffisante d'éloigner les émigrés, dont quelquesuns portent l'uniforme, uniquement parcequ'ils n'ont d'autre habit.

Pour ce qui est des militaires réunis en corps, nous devons vous faire connaître la condition dans laquelle nous nous trouvons et réclamer des mesures fédérales.

Il nous arrive des colonnes successives des Grisons qui proviennent des corps qui stationnaient sur le Stilfserjoch, sur le Tonal et sur le Caffaro, à Brescia, &c. Un corps de 1000 hommes est arrivé hier; on nous en annonce autant pour aujourd'hui.

Nous faisons une tentative pour les diriger sur le Piémont; mais si cette tentative échouait, nous devrions vous demander de prendre des mesures afin qu'ils puissent être répartis sur toute la Suisse. Car si la nouvelle que la France renvoie les émigrés sans moyens de subsistance se confirme, il est à prévoir que nos cantons voisins refusent à leur tour de les recevoir.

Veuillez prendre en considération immédiate ces deux objets aussi graves qu'urgens, et soyez, &c.

*Pour le Conseil d'Etat,
Les Président, &c.*

(Suivent les Signatures.)

(Translation.)

Lugano, August 21, 1848.

WE received yesterday by express a note dated the 19th instant, by which Field-Marshal Radetzky, Military Commandant of Lombardy, complains of the Italian emigrants in our canton, and of the inaction of the Government.

We send you a copy of the note and of the answer which we returned to it after having conferred with the Federal Commissioners.

You will thereby see that we look upon this as a Federal affair; since it is certain that all Switzerland ought to defend the right of asylum, and that we could not act alone in a matter of an international character without compromising the whole of Switzerland.

As for the facts, you will see by our answer that they are all entirely erroneous. We must add that we know of nothing which would authorize the adoption of severe measures against the refugees.

Besides, the Stelvio, the Tonal, are abandoned; it is more than problematical that Garibaldi will be able long to maintain himself with his troops; it seems to us that the risks are singularly diminished for the Austrian Government. We could not therefore find a sufficient reason for expelling the emigrants, many of whom wear uniform merely because they have no other clothes.

As for the soldiers assembled in bodies, we must make you cognizant of the position in which we are placed, and we must request measures on the part of the Confederation.

Successive columns are arriving among us from the Grisons which belong to the corps which were stationed on the Stilfserjoch, the Tonal, and the Caffaro, at Brescia, &c. A body of 1000 men arrived yesterday; another of the same amount is announced to us for to-day.

We are endeavouring to send them on to Piedmont; but if this attempt fail, we must call on you to adopt measures for scattering them over the whole of Switzerland. For if the news that France sends off emigrants without means of subsistence be confirmed, it is to be expected that our neighbouring cantons will in their turn refuse to receive them.

Be good enough to take into your immediate consideration these two subjects, which are as serious as they are urgent, and be, &c.

For the Council of State,

The President, &c

[Here follow the Signatures.]

Inclosure 4 in No. 256.

The Federal Directory to the Government of Tessin.

Berne, le 23 Août, 1848.

NOUS vous remercions des rapports contenus dans votre dépêche du 21 courant, ainsi que de la communication en copie de la note que le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky vous a adressée en date du 19 Août écoulé, et de la réponse que vous y avez faite. Nous avons la conviction que cette dernière a été rédigée d'une manière tout-à-fait conforme aux circonstances.

Quant aux réfugiés de l'armée Sardo-Lombarde, nous vous faisons connaître de nouveau notre volonté positive que tout ce qui pourrait inquiéter l'armée Autrichienne ou des préparatifs pour des attaques hostiles ne soient pas tolérés sur le territoire Suisse. La Directoire Fédéral attend de vous sous ce rapport une vigilance sévère et des mesures énergiques pour empêcher ou réprimer de tels actes contraires au droit des gens. Les réfugiés qui à l'avenir n'y conformeraient pas leur conduite, ou qui par leur manière d'agir n'offriraient pas des garanties suffisantes de tranquillité et d'ordre, ne devront pas jouir plus longtemps du droit d'asile. Des corps militaires réunis devront être dissous et désarmés dès qu'ils franchiront le territoire Suisse, et les armes devront, conformément à notre précédente résolution, être envoyées à l'arsenal à Lucerne pour y être gardées.

Il est de l'intérêt de tous que les réfugiés se mettent sous la protection Sarde et se retirent sur territoire Piémontais.

Nous donnons en même temps connaissance de cette lettre aux Commissaires Fédéraux pour leur gouvernement, et nous saisissons, &c.

*Les Président et Conseil Exécutif du Canton de Berne,
Directoire Fédéral,*

(Suivent les Signatures.)

(Translation.)

Berne, August 23, 1848.

WE thank you for the reports contained in your despatch of the 21st instant, as well as for the communication in copy of the note which Field-Marshal Radetzky addressed to you on the 19th of August last, and of the answer which you returned. We are convinced that this latter was drawn up in a manner entirely consonant with the circumstances of the case.

As for the refugees from the Sardo-Lombard army, we have again to repeat to you our positive desire that nothing which could molest the Austrian army, and no preparations for hostile attack are to be tolerated on the Swiss territory. The Federal Directory expects from you on this head a severe watchfulness and energetic measures to prevent or repress such acts, which are contrary to the laws of nations. Those refugees who for the future do not act in conformity with such laws, or who by their proceedings do not afford sufficient guarantee for tranquillity and order, must no longer enjoy the right of asylum. United

military bodies must be disbanded and disarmed as soon as they enter the Swiss territory, and their arms must be sent, agreeably to our former resolution, to the Arsenal at Lucerne, there to be kept.

It is for the interest of all that the refugees should place themselves under Sardinian protection and should withdraw to the Piedmontese territory.

We at the same time communicate this letter to the Federal Commissioners for their guidance, and we avail ourselves, &c.

The President and Executive Council of Berne,
Federal Directory.

[Here follow the Signatures.]

No. 257.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord,

Berne, August 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy, with French translation, of a communication from the Austrian Minister in Switzerland to the Federal Directory, announcing the favourable results of his intercession, at the request of the Directory, with Marshal Radetzky, on behalf of those Italians, Austrian subjects, who have sought refuge in this country.

I am enabled also to inform your Lordship that the troops under the command of Garibaldi have been dispersed, and that Garibaldi himself has arrived at Agno, a small village on the Lake of Lugano, in the Canton of Tessin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT PEEL.

Inclosure 1 No. 257.

Baron Kaisersfeld to the Federal Directory.

(Traduction.)

Zuric, le 27 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Impériale Royale Apostolique, éprouve une grande satisfaction en annonçant à son Excellence M. le Président et Haut Conseil Exécutif du Canton de Berne, Directoire Fédéral, qu'à teneur de la réponse qu'il a reçue de M. le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky, en date du 22 de ce mois, tous les réfugiés politiques sujets de l'Autriche, peuvent librement et sans empêchement aucun retourner dans leurs foyers, sans s'exposer à des poursuites judiciaires en raison de leurs antécédens politiques.

Les individus qui voudront faire usage de cette autorisation, devront, en arrivant aux frontières Impériales Royales Autrichiennes, se présenter aux autorités de l'endroit, lesquelles enregistreront leurs noms, le lieu de leur naissance, et celui de leur séjour. Rentrés dans leurs domiciles, ils s'annonceront à l'autorité locale; celle-ci leur notifiera qu'il leur est interdit pour longtemps de quitter le lieu de leur séjour, sans la permission spéciale de l'autorité supérieure; elle les avertira qu'ils ont à s'abstenir désormais de toutes menées révolutionnaires et à se tenir surtout tranquilles; car autrement, attendu que l'indulgence qui leur est assurée, n'a pour objet que le passé, ils encourraient une sévère punition.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) BARON DE KAISERSFELD.

(Translation.)

Zurich, August 27, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has great satisfaction in announcing to his Excellency the President and High Executive Council of the Canton of Berne, Federal Directory, that according to the purport of the answer which he has received from Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, dated the 22nd instant, all the

political refugees who are Austrian subjects may freely and without any hindrance whatever return home, without exposing themselves to judicial proceedings in consequence of their previous political conduct.

The individuals who shall be desirous of making use of this permission, must, on arriving at the Imperial Royal Austrian frontiers, present themselves to the authorities of the place, who will register their names, their birth-place, and their place of abode. On returning home they will report themselves to the local authority, which will apprise them that they are prohibited for a long time to quit the place of their abode without the special permission of the superior authority; it will intimate to them that they must henceforth abstain from all revolutionary intrigues, and above all remain quiet; for otherwise, seeing that the indulgence which is assured to them has reference only to the past, they would incur severe punishment.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

BARON DE KAISERSFELD.

No. 258.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 30, 1848.

YOUR Lordship will already have been made acquainted with the replies of M. de Wessenberg to his Excellency Lord Ponsonby and to M. de la Cour, when offering for his acceptance the mediation of England and of France, and of the accusations which the Cabinet of Vienna have brought against the good faith of His Majesty King Charles Albert and of his Government.

Immediately on these accusations being made known to the Sardinian Government by M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself, their Excellencies the Marquis Alfieri and Count Revel at once proceeded to Alexandria to investigate their truth, and I am happy to be able to transmit herewith to your Lordship, copy of a letter addressed by his Excellency Count de Revel to his Excellency the Baron de Perron, contradicting in the clearest and most explicit terms, the imputation of double-dealing which the Austrian Cabinet has attempted to cast upon the conduct of His Sardinian Majesty.

Your Lordship will perceive that there is not a word of truth in all that has been asserted of separate negotiations having been commenced between the King and Prince Schwarzenberg, and that to the insidious proposals made to the King by Field-Marshal Radetzky His Sardinian Majesty has not even returned any reply.

As regards the execution of the provisions of the Armistice, the accusations of the Austrian Government are equally unfounded, as the repeated dispatch of orders to Admiral Albini to quit Trieste and to return to Genoa with the Piedmontese troops at Venice sufficiently proves.

Four distinct orders to that effect have been sent to the Admiral by various routes, and if they have not yet reached that officer it can only be attributed to the interrupted nature of the communications between Turin and the Adriatic.

I have consulted with M. de Bois-le-Comte as to the course we should now adopt, and we have decided to send a courier direct to Vienna, bearing to Her Majesty's Ambassador and to the French Minister at that Court copies of M. de Revel's declaration with regard to the supposed separate negotiation, and also copies of the orders sent at various times by the Sardinian Government to Admiral Albini, and to commanding officers of troops in the various forts occupied by the Italian arms, requiring them to execute faithfully the provisions of the Armistice of the 9th of August.

To prove still further how little foundation exists for supposing a wish on the part of His Sardinian Majesty to enter upon a separate negotiation, there is extant in the handwriting of General Hess himself, a paper that was drawn up as the preliminaries of the Armistice about to be negotiated between him and General Salasco, the very first Article of which declares that the Armistice under discussion shall not involve any political question or consequence.

I have I think now sufficiently disproved the accusations of want of good faith brought by Austria against this country, and I shall to-morrow or next

day have the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of the letter I am about to address to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, together with copies of the documents annexed to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 258.

Count Revel to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, 30 Août, 1848.

DE retour de la course que, suivant le vœu du Conseil, j'ai faite à Alexandrie, je m'empresse de rendre compte à votre Excellence du résultat de notre mission d'accord avec M. le Marquis Alfieri.

Le Roi ayant entendu la lecture de la dépêche de M. La Cour, où il est dit que des ouvertures de paix avaient été faites directement par Sa Majesté au Général Radetzky, le Roi, dis-je, nous a déclaré de la manière la plus formelle, la plus absolue, que ni avant ni après la Convention d'Armistice du 9 du courant, et bien moins encore après l'acceptation de la médiation Franco-Anglaise, Sa Majesté n'avait chargé personne d'entamer des négociations de cette nature ; que tout simplement, à l'occasion de la négociation de l'Armistice du 9, le Maréchal Radetzky avait témoigné au négociateur Sarde le désir de faire quelque chose qui fût agréable au Roi, et de faire même des ouvertures de paix, offrant de se charger de faire parvenir à l'Empereur d'Autriche une lettre du Roi, si Sa Majesté jugeait de l'écrire ;—propositions auxquelles le Roi nous a déclaré n'avoir donné aucune suite, et n'avoir même fait aucune réponse.

Voilà, M. le Baron, ce que Sa Majesté nous a exprimé du ton le plus résolu.

(Signé) DE REVEL.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 30, 1848.

ON my return from the journey which at the wish of the Council I have made to Alexandria, I hasten to give your Excellency an account of the result of my mission in concert with the Marquis Alfieri.

The King having heard M. de La Cour's despatch read, in which it is said that overtures of peace had been made by His Majesty directly to General Radetzky, the King, I say, declared to us in the most formal and positive manner, that neither before nor after the Convention of Armistice of the 9th instant, and far less after the acceptance of the Anglo-French mediation, had His Majesty commissioned any person to enter upon a negotiation of that description ; that on the occasion of the negotiation of the Armistice of the 9th, Marshal Radetzky had merely intimated to the Sardinian negotiator his wish to do what might be agreeable to the King, and even to make overtures for peace, offering to undertake to convey to the Emperor of Austria a letter from the King, if His Majesty judged fit to write one ;—propositions to which the King declared to us that he had never given any effect, and to which he had not even made any answer.

This, M. le Baron, is what His Majesty declared to us in the most decided tone.

(Signed) DE REVEL.

No. 259.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, August 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, in translation, an account which has lately been transmitted by Marshal Radetzky to the War

department here, and published by the latter in the official journal of the 25th instant.

It appears from this statement that the Austrian losses from the 23rd of July to the 10th of August, at Milan, amounted to 366 killed, 1454 wounded, 856 missing, and 29 prisoners; making a total of only 2,705.

Inclosure in No. 259.

Report from Marshal Radetzky.

(Translation.)

THE Ministry of War makes known the following report of Field-Marshal Radetzky, dated August 19th, of the losses sustained by the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd corps d'armée in the different battles from the 23rd July to the 4th of August inclusive.

1. In the fights on the 23rd to 26th July, at Monte della Madonna, S. Giustina, and San Giorgio in Salici. (Here follow the names.)

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
9	25 officers.	
95	422 men.	287 and 1 prisoner.

2. On July 25th, at the battle of Custozza:—

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
5	31	1 officers.
128	554	346 men.

3. In the engagements at Volta on the 26th and 27th July:—

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
2	13		1 officers.
77	182	149	27 men.

4. In the fights at Muzza Piacentina on July 30th and August 2nd:—

Killed.	Wounded.
1	1 officer.
	7 men.

5. In the fight at Milan on the 4th of August:—

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
1	11	officers.
41	185	72 men.

6. At the siege and bombardment of Peschiera, from July 28th to August 10th:—

Killed.	Wounded.
7	2 officers.
	12 men.

Total loss in all the above-named actions.

Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Prisoners.
1 staff officer.	3 staff officers.	1 officer.	1 officer.
16 superior officers.	85 superior.		
349 men.	1366 men.	855 men.	28 men.

(Extract.)
 I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the losses sustained by the Austrian army in the battles of the 23rd July to the 4th of August, which has been transmitted by Marshal Radetzky to the War

No. 260.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 28, 1848.

A PERSON here who is impartial, has just received a letter from Turin, saying that nobody there is for war, but all are wishing for a good peace; that a French intervention is dreaded.

No doubt this intelligence will reach the Austrian Ministers and will affect their policy. I presume the Austrians will approve of a peace, which shall prevent the necessity for either party to keep up an army to prevent danger from the attack of the one or the other.

I have not heard from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg anything more upon the subject of the disavowal of the armistice.

M. de la Cour has no information that the French Government has been made acquainted with the disavowal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 261.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 29, 1848.

HAVING heard it said that some interviews had taken place between the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky, I endeavoured to find Baron Wessenberg, but his Excellency was engaged with affairs in the Diet and other matters, and I could not see him, and M. de la Cour had not seen him either; but I know that his Excellency credits the report that the Sardinian ships and troops have been withdrawn from Venice.

The intelligence we have here from Piedmont is, that the army will not consent to a renewal of hostilities, and oppose decidedly the efforts made by the majority of the Representative Assembly in Turin to continue the war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 262.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4)

My Lord,

Paris, September 3, 1848.

SINCE the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant this morning, I have seen M. Bastide, and I trust I have succeeded in impressing upon him the necessity of not taking any step of a hostile character, even in the way of armed demonstration at Venice, until the position of France as mediator should be more clearly defined. I stated very strongly to him the effect of any such precipitation upon the relative position of England and France with reference to these affairs. I felt it the more necessary to urge a little patience in these matters, as I had ascertained last night that there was a strong feeling that they should, without a day's delay, send off a sufficient force to the Adriatic to prevent the fall of Venice. I, however, had before the receipt of your Lordship's despatch, a conversation last night with General Cavaignac, and pointed out to him that a strong representation had been made by Her Majesty's Government at Vienna, in consequence of an invitation from himself, against any attack upon Venice whilst there was still a possibility of arranging matters by negotiation, and whilst the rest of Italy had secured at least temporary repose; that there was every reason to hope that, from motives of humanity as well as from considerations of prudence, the Austrian Government would not incur the odium of unnecessary bloodshed; and that therefore there was no imminent necessity which could justify them in prematurely divesting themselves of the

characters of mediators, and thereby losing the concurrence of England. I also called the General's attention to another contingency to which they might expose themselves. Supposing the Austrians to appear in considerable force before Venice, it was not impossible, from what we had heard of the division of opinions in that town, that the party of peace, actuated by a consideration of their material interests, might get the upper hand, and themselves surrender the town; and that the arrival of a French expedition after such an event would be injurious to the reputation of the Government and beneficial to no one. The General paid marked attention to this part of the subject, but it is evidently all he can do to resist the party urging for immediate action.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 263.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 5.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 28, 1848.

LEGHORN remains in the same unsatisfactory state which I reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 26th instant.

A Provisional Government has been formed, an armed mob have possession of the town and all the neighbourhood, and the railway has been broken up between Leghorn and Pisa.

The Government here still temporises, but have ordered General Laugier with the Tuscan troops under his command who have returned from Lombardy, and who are at Pontremoli, to march towards Leghorn.

To-morrow I shall have the honour of giving more ample details. My advices from Bologna to-day state that the Cardinal Legate had hastened to return to the city, but he had been prevented, and it is expected every moment that a Republican Government will be formed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 264.

Baron Wessenberg to Baron Koller.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Koller, September 5.)

M. le Baron,

Vienne, le 26 Août, 1848.

M. LE CARDINAL SOGLIA, Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté, adresse, sous la date du 18 Juillet dernier, une note circulaire aux membres du Corps Diplomatique résidant à Rome, dans le but de les prévenir que le Souverain Pontife avait résolu de faire parvenir à la Cour Impériale d'Autriche une protestation formelle contre l'occupation momentanée de la place de Ferrare par un corps de troupes commandé par le Lieutenant Feld-Maréchal Prince de Lichtenstein. Dans sa note, publiée aussi par la voie de la "Gazette Officielle de Rome," le Cardinal Soglia finit par déclarer que la protestation dont il s'agit sera communiquée à tous les Cabinets.

Ce document vient en effet de nous être remis par l'organe de l'auditeur de la Nonciature Apostolique. Vous en trouverez ci-jointe le texte, de même que celui de la réponse que j'y ai faite.

Cette dernière pièce épuise la matière et n'a dès-lors pas besoin d'un commentaire.

Le Cabinet de Londres ayant été mis en possession de l'acte d'accusation dirigé contre la Cour Impériale, je crois devoir vous inviter à porter également à sa connaissance les argumens que nous avons à y opposer.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Baron,

Vienna, August 26, 1848.

M. LE CARDINAL SOGLIA, Secretary of State to His Holiness, addressed on the 18th of July last a circular note to the members of the Diplomatic Body residing at Rome, with the view of apprizing them that the Sovereign Pontiff had resolved to forward to the Imperial Court of Austria a formal protest against the temporary occupation of the fortress of Ferrara by a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant Field-Marshal Prince de Lichtenstein. In his note, published also in the official Gazette of Rome, Cardinal Soglia ends by declaring that the protest in question will be communicated to all the Cabinets.

This document has in fact been just communicated to us by the Auditor of the Apostolic Nunciature. You will find annexed a copy of it, as also a copy of the answer which I have returned to it.

This last document exhausts the subject, and consequently does not need any comment.

The Cabinet of London having been put in possession of the charge brought against the Imperial Court, I deem it my duty to request you to communicate to it in the like manner the arguments which we have to oppose to it.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 264.
Count Montani to Baron Wessenberg.

Vienne, le 16 Août, 1848.

DOPO che la Santità di nostro Signore nell' immenso affetto col quale ha più volte dichiarato di abbracciarsi tutti i popoli Cristiani in mezzo al generale commovimento Europeo fra le grida e gli atti di guerra di tutta l'Italia infiammata da spirito di nazionalità, non curando riguardi ed interessi temporali, aveva protestato di non volere in quei momenti ed in quelle circostanze far guerra, dopo che a fine degno del suo supremo sazerdozio aveva spedito un Legato a Sua Maestà Sarda ed all' Imperiale e Regia Corte Austriaca, la Santità Sua apriva il cuore a speranza di vicina pace.

Ma oggi con grande sorpresa e profondo cordoglio ha appreso come le truppe Austriache, dopo aver nei passati giorni posto impedimento alla navigazione ed ai transiti sul Po, nella notte dei 13 ai 14 Luglio abbiano senza verun preventivo officio violata l'indipendenza del territorio della Chiesa.

Alla quale manifesta lesione dei diritti di cui Sua Santità è geloso custode, hanno tenuto dietro atti di aperta ostilità ed inimicizia. Perchè agli abitanti de Lagoscuro è stata del Maggiore Austriaco del 4° Reggimento Dragoni in nome del Principe Generale di Lichtenstein fatta minaccia d'incendio in 4 punti del paese, se avessero fatte prova di resistenza; perchè in ordinanza guerriera da 3 punti le truppe Austriache hanno invaso lo Stato della Santa Sede in numero di 6 in 7 mila, occupati Pontelagoscuro e Francolino, ed in fine si sono avanzati nella ore pomeridiane del giorno 14 fina alla spianata esteriore della Pontificia fortezza di Ferrara. Quivi giunte gli atti di violenza hanno assunto gravità maggiore, essendo diretti contro rappresentanti superiori del Governo Pontificio in quella provincia, ai quali il Principe di Lichtenstein ha militarmente imposto di mandare vettovaglie e di prepararsi a dare ogni altra cosa di cui si faccia richiesta, facendo intendere che se quel preside credesse opporsi come sarebbe nel suo diritto, non si asterrebbe da ulteriori ostilità. Ed a qual segno sia giunta violenza può conoscerlo ognuno dai termini della seguente lettera del Principe di Lichtenstein trascritta testualmente, i quale danno alla suindicata richiesta la forma d'imposizione forzosa:

" A M. le Comte Lovatelli, Prolégat de la ville de Ferrare.

" D'après le refus que vous m'avez fait de vous prêter à me livrer l'approvisionnement de deux mois pour la citadelle, je me vois dans la nécessité de vous

PART 3.

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déclarer que j'attends incessamment la réponse décisive sur ce point, ayant disposé qu'en cas de refus j'aurais recours aux mesures coërcitives pour obtenir mon but par tous les moyens qui sont en mon pouvoir. Cependant, désirant de décharger le plus possible la ville de cette dépense je pourrais m'engager à changer le 1er Article en cela qu'en cas de départ de la garnison l'approvisionnement des deux mois, si on n'aura jamais empêché la garnison d'acheter ce qu'il lui faut, soit rendu en entier à la ville de Ferrare.

Ferrare, 14 Juillet à minuit.

Agréez, &c.

“P.S.—J'attends votre réponse dans le délai d'une heure.”

Pe' quali atti di flagrante violazioni de' legittimi diritti della Santa Sede, Sua Santità ha ordinato al sottoscritto per organo di sua Eccellenza il Signor Cardinal Soglia, &c., di fare presso questo Imperiale e Reale Governo Austriaco solenne protesta e di far conoscere che sua beatitudine si riserva a prendere tutte quelle deliberazioni che secondo le circostanze stimerà opportune ed efficaci per tutela della conservazione dell' indipendenza degli Stati Pontifici.

Essendo stato convenuto con questo Imperiale e Reale Governo che questi riconosce nel sottoscritto in questa circostanza la facoltà di emettere un tal atto ufficiale diplomatico, il sottoscritto si fa un dovere di adempiere agli ordini sovrani di Sua Santità, intendendo colla presente nota ufficiale di fare solenne protesta a nome del Santo Padre per i violati legittimi diritti della Santa Sede; violazione che ha avuto luogo colla occupazione militare ed ostile di sopra accennata.

(Translation.)

Vienna, August 16, 1848.

HIS Holiness, in the comprehensive benevolence which he has often declared embraces all Christian nations, when in the midst of the general commotions of Europe, amidst the cries and feats of arms of all Italy, which was influenced with the spirit of nationality, he had, regardless of temporal interests and considerations, protested that he would not consent in those circumstances and at that moment, to make war; and when with an object suitable to his supreme position he had sent a Legate to the King of Sardinia and to the Imperial Royal Austrian Court, he began to nourish hopes of early peace.

But to-day he has learnt with much surprise and profound grief that the Austrian troops, after having for some days past impeded the navigation and transit trade on the River Po, had during the night of the 13th and 14th July, without any official notice, violated the independence of the territories of the Church.

To which manifest grievance and incroachments on the rights of which His Holiness is the zealous guardian, have followed acts of open hostility and enmity. For the Austrian Major of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, in the name of General Prince Lichtenstein, menaced the inhabitants of Lagoscuro to set fire at four different places, if they made any sign of resistance. Also, the Austrian troops have in a hostile manner invaded at three places the State of the Holy See to the number of 6000 or 7000, having occupied Pontelagoscuro and Francolino, and in short have advanced in the afternoon of the 14th to the exterior esplanade of the Pontifical fortress of Ferrara. At this place the acts of violence became more serious, and directed against the high Representative of the Pontifical Government in that province, whom Prince Lichtenstein ordered in a military manner to send provisions, and to be prepared to provide every other thing that he may demand, stating at the same time that if the place should make any resistance, as it would have a right to do, he would not abstain from further hostilities.

And how far violence has been carried every one may see from the tenor of the following letter of Prince Lichtenstein, copied verbally, which gives to the above request an appearance of a forced impost:—

“To Count Lovatelli, Pro-Legate of the town of Ferrara.

“In consequence of your refusal to deliver over to me the provisions of two months for the citadel, I am under the necessity of declaring to you that I expect at every moment the decisive answer on this point, having resolved in case of a refusal, to have recourse to coercive measures, in order to obtain my object by every means in my power. But, desirous of saving the city

as much as possible this expense, I could engage to change the 1st Article in as far as that in case of the departure of the garrison the provisions of two months shall be restored completely to the city of Ferrara, provided that the troops shall not have been prevented from buying what they might have required during their stay.

“Accept, &c.

“*Ferrara, July 14, at midnight.*

“P.S.—I expect your answer within an hour.”

For these acts of flagrant violation of the legitimate rights of the Holy See, His Holiness has ordered the Undersigned, through his Excellency Signor Cardinal Soglia, &c., to protest solemnly against the Imperial Royal Austrian Government, and to make known that His Holiness reserves to himself the right of taking those measures which he shall consider opportune and efficacious, according to circumstances, to preserve the independence of the Pontifical States.

It having been agreed with the Imperial Royal Government that it should recognize in the Undersigned the power of emitting such an official diplomatic act, the Undersigned considers it his duty, while fulfilling the sovereign orders of His Holiness, to protest in the most solemn manner by the present official note, in the name of the Holy Father, against the violation of the legitimate right of the Holy See—a violation that has taken place by the military occupation of the above-named city.

Inclosure 2 in No. 264.

Baron Wessenberg to Count Montani.

Vienne, le 24 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a reçu la note que M. le Comte Montani, Auditeur de la Nonciature Apostolique, lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser sous la date du 16 de ce mois, pour protester d'ordre de Sa Sainteté, contre l'occupation momentanée de Ferrare par un corps de troupes Autrichiennes commandé par le Lieutenant Feld-Maréchal Prince de Lichtenstein.

Dans ce fait le Gouvernement Pontifical a vu une flagrante violation des droits légitimes du Saint Siège. Pour se convaincre si le fait incriminé mérite ou non cette qualification, il est nécessaire de se rappeler la série de circonstances sous l'empire desquelles il a eu lieu.

Le Saint Père, comme M. le Comte Montani le fait ressortir à juste titre, n'a jamais déclaré la guerre à l'Empereur ; Sa Majesté, de son côté, aurait cru faire injure au ministère de paix confié au Chef de l'Eglise en admettant seulement la possibilité de se trouver en guerre avec le Souverain Pontife.

Il est juste toutefois de ne pas oublier que tandis que le Saint Père protestait à la face de l'Europe de ses sentimens pacifiques envers l'Autriche, non seulement de nombreux corps de volontaires, composés de sujets Pontificaux, mais encore des troupes régulières de Sa Sainteté, avaient franchi en ennemis la frontière de l'Empire d'Autriche et faisaient la guerre aux armées Impériales appelées à défendre son intégrité.

Les soldats et croisés Pontificaux agissant en opposition directe aux déclarations solennelles de leur Souverain légitime, le Gouvernement Impérial aurait été en droit de les traiter comme les lois et les usages de la guerre permettent de traiter des individus qui de leur autorité privée se présentent, les armes à la main, devant l'ennemi. Loin pourtant de leur appliquer toute la rigueur des lois de la guerre, le Gouvernement Impérial, n'écoutant que la voix de l'humanité et ne consultant que les justes égards qu'il aime à témoigner en toute occasion au Saint Père, les traita à l'égal de tout autre troupe régulière d'une partie belligérante.

Non seulement les troupes Pontificales avaient combattu l'armée Impériale sur le territoire Autrichien, mais vers le mois de Juillet des troupes Piémontaises vinrent aussi se mêler à la garnison Pontificale de Ferrare. On y annonçait en outre l'arrivée prochaine d'autres renforts Piémontais. Cette circonstance, jointe à celle que la garnison Autrichienne de la citadelle de Ferrare, décimée d'ailleurs par les

maladies, éprouvait de la difficulté à se procurer les vivres nécessaires, rendait sa position très critique. Le Commandant-en-chef de l'armée Impériale jugea indispensable de prendre des mesures efficaces pour pourvoir à la sûreté de cette garnison. C'est dans ce but que le corps du Prince de Lichtenstein reçut l'ordre de pousser jusqu'à Ferrare pour rétablir les communications interceptées avec la garnison Autrichienne de cette place, pour ravitailler celle-ci, pour y reconnaître enfin le véritable état des choses. La courte apparition que fit à Ferrare la brigade du Prince de Lichtenstein, et la manière dont ce Général s'acquitta de sa commission, ont fourni la preuve qu'aucune vue hostile au Gouvernement Pontifical n'avait présidé à cette expédition, uniquement commandée par des considérations militaires d'une importance majeure.

Lorsque le Gouvernement Pontifical, dans l'esprit de sagesse et d'impartialité qui la caractérise, appréciera dûment toutes les circonstances du fait qui a provoqué ses plaintes, il voudra bien reconnaître, le Soussigné ose l'espérer, que la justice exige de faire peser la responsabilité de ce fait, non pas sur le Général commandant l'armée Impériale, qui n'a agi qu'en obéissant aux nécessités impérieuses de la guerre, mais bien sur les auteurs de la situation anormale et indéfinissable qui subsiste depuis quelques mois entre les deux Etats limitrophes, situation que le Gouvernement Impérial est le premier à déplorer, et dont il appelle de tous ses vœux la prompte fin.

En exprimant l'espoir que les franches explications qui précèdent seront accueillies par le Gouvernement Pontifical dans l'esprit de paix et de conciliation qui les a dictées, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

(Signé)

WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, August 24, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which Count Montani, &c., did him the honour to address to him on the 16th instant, to protest by order of His Holiness against the temporary occupation of Ferrare by a body of Austrian troops commanded by Lieutenant-Field Marshal Prince Lichtenstein.

The Pontifical Government has seen in this circumstance a flagrant violation of the legitimate rights of the Holy See. In order to be satisfied whether the circumstance complained of does or does not deserve to be designated in this manner, it is necessary to call to mind the various circumstances under which it has taken place.

The Holy Father, as Count Montani justly observes, has never declared war against the Emperor. His Majesty, on his side, would have thought that he did injury to the ministry of peace intrusted to the Head of the Church, by only admitting that it was possible for him to be engaged in war against the Sovereign Pontiff.

It is right, however, not to forget that whilst the Holy Father was solemnly proclaiming in the face of Europe his pacific sentiments towards Austria, not only numerous bands of volunteers, consisting of Papal subjects, but even regular troops of His Holiness had crossed as enemies the frontier of the Austrian Empire, and made war on the Imperial armies called upon to defend its integrity.

As the Papal soldiers and crusaders were acting in direct opposition to the solemn declaration of their legitimate Sovereign, the Imperial Government would have had the right to treat them as the laws and usages of war allow individuals to be treated who of their own authority present themselves in arms before the enemy. Far, however, from applying to them all the rigour of the laws of war, the Imperial Government, listening only to the voice of humanity, and consulting only the just respect which it is desirous on all occasions of evincing towards the Holy Father, treated them in the same manner as any other regular force of a belligerent party.

Not only had the Papal troops fought against the Imperial army on the Austrian territory, but towards the month of July the Piedmontese troops also united themselves with the Pontifical garrison of Ferrare. The near arrival there of other Piedmontese reinforcements was also announced. This circumstance, coupled with that of the Austrian garrison of the citadel of Ferrare, which was moreover decimated by sickness, finding difficulty in providing itself

with the necessary supplies, rendered its position very critical. The Commander-in-chief of the Imperial army judged it indispensable to take efficacious measures in order to provide for the security of that garrison. For this purpose Prince Lichtenstein's corps was ordered to advance to Ferrara to re-establish the communications with the Austrian garrison of that fortress, which had been cut off, to revictual it, and, lastly, to learn the true state of affairs there. The short stay which Prince Lichtenstein's brigade made at Ferrara, and the manner in which that Prince executed his commission, have proved that this expedition was directed by no hostile design against the Pontifical Government, but that it was only occasioned by military considerations of overbearing importance.

When the Pontifical Government, with the spirit of wisdom and impartiality by which it is characterized, shall duly appreciate all the circumstances of the transaction which has called forth its complaints, it will recognize, the Undersigned ventures to hope, that justice requires that the responsibility of it should be placed to the account, not of the General commanding the Imperial army, who only acted in conformity with the imperious necessities of war, but of the authors of the unusual and undefinable state of affairs which has existed for some months between the contiguous States, and which the Imperial Government is the first to deplore, and of which it ardently desires the speedy termination.

In expressing the hope that the foregoing frank explanations will be received by the Pontifical Government in the spirit of peace and conciliation by which they are dictated, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

No. 265.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 5.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 4, 1848.

I HAD an interview this afternoon with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide. I found the General much impressed with the difficulties of his position towards the Assembly, arising from the delay of the Austrian Government in returning any answer to the communications that had been made at Vienna on the subject of Italy. He urged me much to write to Lord Ponsonby to press the importance of a joint answer being immediately given, at the same time as M. Bastide wrote to M. de la Cour to require a definitive reply as to whether Austria would or would not accept the mediation. I explained to the General that I could not, without instructions, take upon myself to hurry the proceedings of the Austrian Government by writing to Lord Ponsonby, and that my own opinion was, as there had already been an additional step taken, both by the Governments of England and France, that it would be better to wait two or three days more for the answer to that which was of a nature to show the Austrian Government that the mediators were in earnest. A further address in the meanwhile might possibly only irritate, and there were two things to be considered, when the answer should come, and what it should be. I felt convinced he was sincerely anxious the answer should be favourable, and would not willingly diminish, by any method of proceeding, the chances of such a result.

The General assured me he felt this, and would have delayed as long as possible; but I must recollect that the Assembly had passed a vote with respect to the enfranchisement of Italy, and had left it in charge to the Executive Government to carry out their intentions. They would, one of these days, demand a severe account from him of what he had done. He had wished the expedition to Venice, as an indication, not as a case of war. But, as I had prepared him from the first, this had not been agreed to by England, and he had in consequence given it up, but in the meantime the armistice was running out, and unless he could prove that he at least had lost no time, he should not be able to face the indignation of the Chamber.

I told him that I should recommend him, instead of writing to Vienna, to write by to-night's post to M. de Beaumont, desiring him to propose to your Lordship whatever further "démarche" he thought necessary to put

an end to all equivocation on the part of the Austrian Government as to our proposed mediation. I could not but feel that the direct contradiction received from the Court of Sardinia as to there ever having existed such a negotiation as M. de Wessenberg announced to Lord Ponsonby, fairly exposes Austria at present to the charge of having merely used the assertion as a pretext for delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 266.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord,

Venice, August 27, 1848.

NOTWITHSTANDING the stipulations of the Convention between the Austrians and Sardinians which provides for the withdrawal of the Piedmontese land and sea forces from the city and waters of Venice, the Sardinian squadron remains at anchor off this port, and the Sardinian troops remain in the city.

It is said that Admiral Albini alleges the informality of the orders hitherto received by him as the reason for remaining at Venice, and every effort is made by the Provisional Government here to induce him to defer his departure; for, as long as he remains, it is presumed that no serious effort will be made by the Austrians to regain possession of Venice.

I am assured, however, to-day that orders, which will scarcely admit of evasion, were yesterday delivered to Admiral Albini by means of an Austrian flag of truce from Trieste, and that the Admiral has now declared his intention to depart as soon as he can embark his sick and make the necessary preparations, which he states may occupy him three or four days.

The Provisional Government is becoming daily more arbitrary and violent in its measures.

The Committee of Public Safety arrests and imprisons people upon the most trivial grounds, and it is enough to be denounced as an Austrian partisan to incur this fate.

Great discontent is caused by this state of things; but though a great majority of the inhabitants long for its cessation, no one has yet ventured to hint at the means for bringing it about.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 267.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Garibaldi again appeared at Varese and its neighbourhood with the free corps under his command, where he levied contributions in money and provisions. On the 26th instant he was attacked by the Austrians at a village called Morazzone, when he was once more forced to retire towards Switzerland. On his passing through a small place named Gavirate, he extorted 4000 Austrian livres from the inhabitants, and caused the sergeant in command of the Austrian gendarmes there to be shot for having remonstrated against this act. The number of the killed and wounded on the Austrian side is considerable. The Austrian force in that quarter amounts to 13,000 men, with several pieces of artillery, whilst that of General Garibaldi did not exceed 2000.

It is said that this free corps is now completely dispersed, but that General Garibaldi still keeps possession of the two steamers on the Lake Maggiore.

I have further the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austrian garrison in Milan at present consists of about 18,000 men, and the whole force in Lombardy of 55,000. Strong reinforcements continue to arrive.

The Government here are repairing the castle of Milan and throwing up field-works outside the Porta Vercellina and the Porta Ticinese. The city of Milan is still in a state of siege and is quite tranquil.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 268.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord,

Milan, August 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness Prince Felix Schwarzenberg is to be superseded by General Wimpfen as Military Governor of Milan. The Prince has received the appointment of Ambassador Extraordinary, and will enter into direct communication with His Majesty Charles Albert for a treaty of peace between Austria and Sardinia. The place fixed on for this purpose is Verona.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 269.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 1, 1848.

M. DE LA COUR has desired to have an interview this day with Baron Wessenberg. I will report the result of it to-morrow, if I am acquainted with it, as I suppose I shall be.

The letters from Paris, dated August 25th, bring nothing relative to the mediation.

The news received here from Italy is, that an army of Crusaders and other free corps, united with some regular troops belonging to the Pope, and said to amount in all to 25,000 men, are marching to the Po; that at Bologna and in Rome anarchy prevails; that Cardinal Marini is denounced as a traitor and threatened, and that the convention made with the Cardinal was not ratified on that account.

I presume it will be thought necessary to send Austrian troops to make head against those which are assembled to attack the Austrians.

The affairs of Hungary continue to be unsettled, and I believe they cannot be settled unless the Hungarians submit, somehow or other, to the terms Jellachich requires; the most important of which are, that the army of Hungary should be under the War department of the empire, and the finances also, in a certain degree be committed to the charge of the Austrian Minister of Finance. The question seems to be, how are the required changes to be brought about? The new law of Hungary relating to them must either be altered by the Hungarian Diet, or the change effected by force of arms by the Croats. The said laws are thought by many eminent men in Hungary, to be unwise in essence, and inexpedient. They are, as I am informed, maintained chiefly by M. Kossuth, who overbears the Ministers, his colleagues, by his influence in the present Diet. If those Ministers would resign, and procure a dissolution of the Diet, and thus make an appeal to the country, it is possible that much mischief might be prevented. Kossuth's retention of authority, it is thought, will bring Jellachich to Pesth with his army of Croats, which is too strong to be resisted, and then those measures would be established by force of arms, instead of by a constitutional power.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 270. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 7, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, reporting what passed between your Excellency, M. de la Cour, and Baron Wessenberg, on the subject of the proposed mediation, I have to inform your Excellency that the explanation given me by Count Revel of the reason why Admiral Albini did not immediately withdraw is, that the Piedmontese Commissioner was arrested in the city of Venice by the Provisional Government, and his despatches were taken from him; that he was then set free, and sent back to the mainland; that he then made his way to Trieste, and from thence by sea to Admiral Albini; but as he had then no written instruction, and only a verbal communication, the Admiral said that he could not, upon a verbal communication given him by a person coming from an enemy's post, act in contradiction to the written instructions which he had originally received direct from his own Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 271. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 7, 1848.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, repeating the reports which have reached Vienna from Italy, I have to inform your Excellency that there seems to be as little foundation for the reports which you mention, of the advance of 25,000 Italians to the Po from the south, as there was for the statement made to your Excellency, that the King of Sardinia had made, or was going to make, overtures to the Austrian Government for direct negotiation with the Imperial Government.

No. 272. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 7, 1848.

THE Armistice which was concluded on the 9th ultimo between the Sardinian General Salasco and Field-Marshal Radetzky was to last forty-five days; and it was concluded under the supposition that negotiations for peace would commence before the expiration of that period. The period is now nearly expired, and negotiations have not yet begun, because the Austrian Government, not having yet accepted the mediation of England and France, has proposed direct negotiation to the Sardinian Government; and the King of Sardinia, having accepted the mediation of Great Britain and France, has declined to negotiate directly with Austria. Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government conclude that the Government of Austria will probably enter into negotiation in the manner proposed by the two Powers, in accordance with that passage in Baron Wessenberg's despatch to Baron Koller, in which he says that the Austrian Government will avail itself of the friendly offers of the two Governments, if it should not succeed in opening a direct negotiation with the Government of Turin; but in any case, and at all events, your Excellency should urge the Austrian Government to continue the armistice for a month longer, in order to give time for communications with a view to negotiation for a final arrangement.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 273.

Baron Wessenberg to Baron Koller.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Koller.)

M. le Baron,

Vienne, le 28 Août, 1848, près le 4 Septembre.

UNE opération militaire que le Lieutenant Feld-Maréchal Baron de Welden s'est vu dans la nécessité d'étendre au-delà du Pô, dans un but strictement défensif, a donné lieu à une protestation du Souverain Pontife contre l'entrée des troupes Impériales dans les États de l'Eglise.

Le Cabinet du Vatican a jugé à propos de communiquer cette protestation à la plupart des Cours de l'Europe. La pièce en question nous a été remise accompagnée de la note dont vous trouverez ci-jointe copie.

En vous transmettant également copie de la note responsive émanée de notre Cabinet, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de la porter à la connaissance du Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Baron,

Vienna, August 28, 1848.

A MILITARY movement which Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron de Welden has found it necessary to make across the Po with a strictly defensive object, has given rise to a protest on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff against the entrance of the Imperial troops into the States of the Church.

The Cabinet of the Vatican has thought fit to communicate this protest to the greater part of the Courts of Europe. The document in question has been communicated to us, accompanied by the note of which you will find a copy annexed.

In transmitting to you likewise a copy of the answer which has issued from our Cabinet, I have the honour to request you to communicate it to the Government to which you are accredited.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) WESSENBERG.

Inclosure 1 in No. 273.

Count Montani to Baron Wessenberg.

Vienne, li 24 Agosto, 1848.

IL Sottoscritto a assicurato che, verrà, da codesto Ministero degli Affari Esteri ricevuto come ufficiale una comunicazione da farsi da questa Nunziatura Apostolica al Governo di Sua Maestà Imperiale e Reale Apostolica, si fa un dovere, in conformità degli ordini ricevuti da Sua Eminenza Signor Cardinal Soglia, Presidente del Consiglio ed Segretario della Santità di nostro Signor, di far giungere a sua Eccellenza il Signor Baron di Wessenberg, Presidente, &c., unita a questa nota ufficiale la protesta fatta il 6 corrente dalla Santità Sua contro l'ingresso negli Stati Pontificii di un armata Austriaca, laquale non ha dubitato di occupare alcuni territorii soggetti alla Santa Sede col dichiarare che l'occupazione era in via temporanea. Il Sottoscritto ha parimenti l'ordine di far conoscere à sua Eccellenza il Ministro degli Affari Esteri, che il Santo Padre avendo sommamente a cuore la vita e la quiete dei suoi sudditi, non che la integrità dei suoi Stati, ha determinato di adoperare i mezzi che sono in suo potere per una giusta difesa, intendendo di reiterare le antecedenti proteste fatte.

Il Sottoscritto, &c.

(Firmato) ALESSANDRO CTE. MONTANI.

(Translation.)

Venice, August 24, 1848.

THE Undersigned has been assured that your Foreign Office will receive officially a communication that will be made by the Apostolic Nunciature to the Government of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty ; and he considers it his duty, in conformity with the orders received from his Eminence the Signor Cardinal Soglia, President of the Council and Secretary of our Holy Father, to forward to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, President, &c., together with this official note, the protest made the 6th instant by His Holiness against the entrance into the Pontifical States of an Austrian army, which did not hesitate to take possession of certain territories belonging to the Holy See, declaring that it was only temporary.

The Undersigned has also orders to acquaint his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Holy Father, having greatly at heart the lives and quiet of his subjects, as well as the integrity of his States, has decided upon adopting such measures as may be in his power for a just defence, with intent of reiterating the preceding protest made.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

ALESSANDRO CTE. MONTANI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 273.

Baron Wessenberg to Count Montani.

Vienne, le 28 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné, &c., a l'honneur d'accuser à M. le Comte Montani, &c., la réception de sa note portant la date du 24 du mois courant.

A cette note se trouvait jointe copie de la protestation émanée du Souverain Pontife contre l'entrée dans les Légations d'un corps de troupes Autrichiennes commandé par le Lieutenant Feld-Maréchal Baron Welden.

Le Soussigné est heureux de pouvoir donner à M. Montani l'assurance que les discussions que l'expédition du Général Autrichien avait fait naître entre lui et les autorités Pontificales, semblent avoir été terminées à la satisfaction mutuelle dans les conférences que le Baron Welden a eues à Rovigo avec les Plénipotentiaires que le Saint Père y avait envoyées. Comme M. le Comte Montani paraît encore ignorer le résultat de ces conférences, le Soussigné s'empresse de lui transmettre ci-près copie de la déclaration que le Baron Welden a adressée en cette occasion à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires Pontificaux, en réponse à une note qu'il avait reçue de leur part. Dans sa déclaration, le Général Autrichien a exposé avec autant de franchise que de précision, les motifs, la nature et le but de l'opération militaire qui forme l'objet des réclamations du Saint Siège. Il suffit de la lecture de cette pièce pour se convaincre que rien n'a été plus loin de la pensée du Général Welden que de porter atteinte aux droits du Saint Siège ou à l'intégrité du territoire de l'Etat de l'Eglise. Le but qu'il a poursuivi n'était autre que de prévenir une nouvelle invasion hostile des Provinces Autrichiennes dont la défense lui est confiée. En se retraçant à la mémoire les faits que le Soussigné a été tout récemment dans le cas de rappeler à M. Montani à l'occasion de sa réclamation contre l'occupation de Ferrare ; en se souvenant que la suprême autorité du Souverain Pontife n'avait pas suffi pour empêcher une première fois les volontaires et régimens réguliers de l'Etat de l'Eglise d'envahir les Provinces Autrichiennes limitrophes et de faire peser sur elle tous les maux de la guerre ; en réfléchissant enfin qu'au moment même où le Général Welden allait chercher au-delà du Po les corps francs qui, au mépris de la volonté expresse de leur Souverain légitime, méditaient la reprise des hostilités, plusieurs milliers de soldats et croisés Pontificaux continuaient à rester à Venise, faisant cause commune avec les ennemis de l'Autriche ; en embrassant, en un mot, avec impartialité l'ensemble de toutes ces circonstances, on conviendra sans peine que la conduite du Général Autrichien n'a pas été de nature à mériter le jugement sévère dont elle a été malheureusement l'objet de la part du Souverain Pontife.

Ce Général, au reste, n'ayant rien eu plus à cœur que de soumettre à l'appréciation du Saint Père, par l'organe de ses délégués, les raisons qu'il peut faire valoir pour sa justification, le Soussigné aime à se flatter que les franches et loyales explications du Baron Welden auront suffi pour éteindre entièrement le ressentiment que son expédition à notre vif regret avait excité à Rome.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, August 28, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge to Count Montani, &c., the receipt of his note dated the 24th instant.

To this note was annexed a copy of the protest issued by the Sovereign Pontiff against the entrance into the Legations of the Austrian troops commanded by Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Welden.

The Undersigned is happy to be able to assure M. Montani that the discussions to which the movement of the Austrian General had given rise between him and the Papal authorities, appear to have been terminated to their mutual satisfaction in the conferences which Baron Welden has had at Rovigo with the Plenipotentiaries whom the Holy Father had sent to that place. As Count Montani appears to be still unacquainted with the result of these conferences, the Undersigned transmits to him herewith a copy of the declaration which on that occasion Baron Welden addressed to the Papal Plenipotentiaries, in reply to a note which he had received from them. In his declaration the Austrian General has set forth with as much frankness as precision, the motives, the nature, and the object of the military movement which forms the subject of the complaints of the Holy See. It is sufficient to read this document to be convinced that nothing was further from the thoughts of General Welden than to assail the rights of the Holy See or the integrity of the territory of the State of the Church. The object which he aimed at was no other than to prevent a fresh hostile invasion of the Austrian provinces, the defence of which is intrusted him. On recalling to mind the circumstances of which the Undersigned has very recently had occasion to remind M. Montani on the occasion of his complaint against the occupation of Ferrara; on recollecting that the supreme authority of the Sovereign Pontiff did not suffice in the first instance to prevent the volunteers and regular troops of the State of the Church from invading the Austrian frontier provinces, and subjecting them to all the evils of war; on reflecting lastly, that at the very moment when General Welden was about to march across the Po against the free corps who, in despite of the express will of their lawful Sovereign, meditated a resumption of hostilities, many thousand Pontifical soldiers and Crusaders continued to remain at Venice, making common cause with the enemies of Austria; in one word, on taking impartially into consideration all these circumstances, it will be admitted without difficulty, that the conduct of the Austrian General was not such as to deserve the severe judgment of which it has unfortunately been the object on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff.

That General, moreover, having nothing more at heart than to lay before the Holy Father, by means of his delegate, the reasons which he can allege in his justification, the Undersigned flatters himself that the frank and sincere explanations of Baron Welden will suffice entirely to extinguish the resentment with to our regret his movement has excited at Rome.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

Inclosure 3 in No. 273.

Marshal Welden to the Pontifical Plenipotentiaries.

Rovigo, le 15 Août, 1848.

E BEN dolente il Sottoscritto della spiacevole impressione che le parole da esso dirette ai popoli delle Legazioni e l'ingresso delle truppe Austriache hanno prodotto sull'animo della Santità del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX, che per ogni

maniera di ossequio si pregia di dichiarare di essere nella sua costante abitudine di venerare come Pontefice e rispettare come Principe; e tanto più vivamente egli sente questa dispiacenza quanto meno le sue azioni e parole dirette erano a recar onta e danno alla Santità Sua.

Il fatto tanto rimarchevole di avere egli trovato fra le file dei nemici del suo Sovrano non uomini isolati, ma battaglioni e reggimenti interi al servizio ed al soldo della Santa Sede, doveva fargli credere nella impossibilità di ritenere il Santo Padre in istato di ostilità coll' augusta Casa Imperiale, che una prepotente forza di interne fazioni avessegli diminuita quell' autorità che ai principi confinanti è garante di reciproca fiducia e sicurezza, ed avesse tolto al suo Governo il mezzo di far rispettare dai proprii sudditi i diritti che la legge delle genti ha sancito fra nazioni civilizzate.

Fu in questa supposizione ch' egli deviando dalla diretta invocazione dell' azione del Governo che temeva anche di compromettere maggiormente nella creduta di lui debolezza, si rivolse con quei proclami e con quelle decise mosse quali si convengono a fazioni in tempo di guerra, agli autori dei lamentati disordini, che sembrarono di più tentassero de rannodare le loro mene per provocare nuovo sciagure e forse quello stesso stato di guerra da cui egli conosce quanto l'Auguste Suo Sovrano sia alieno. E prova di questa sua dichiarazione la convenzione segnata col Prolegato di Bologna il 7 corrente, per la quale all' assicurazione che il disordine non prevaleva nello stato prometteva di abbandonarlo colle sue truppe, appunto perchè col ritorno dell' ordine vedeva riprodursi quelle garanzie che conosceva essere nelle intenzione rettilissime della Santità Sua di non mai scemare in prò delle Potenze amiche.

In questa convinzione però di non avere egli meritata la censura che col mezzo dell' Eminenza vostra e de' suoi illustri colleghi ha creduto Sua Santità fargli giungere, spera che la stessa Santità sarà tosto per convenire quando conoscerà per mezzo delle loro persone, che fermo egli nel proposito di non far la guerra che al disordine quando questo paralizza co' suoi eccessi l'azione del Governo, e toglie la sicurezza di vedere conservate le pacifiche pratiche di buona vicinanza cogli Stati contermini, non richiede però per accertarsi dell' esistenza di questo disordine che riportarsi alla dichiarazione del Governo della Santità Sua, regolando su di questa ogni sua azione.

Quindi anche sulle assicurazioni e proteste dell' Eminenza vostra e dei suoi illustri colleghi, propone i seguenti patti:

1. Il Governo Pontificio restituirà tutti i militari appartenenti all' Imperiale Regia Armata, ritenuti a Bologna, nonchè tutte le armature ed altri oggetti militari, come vice versa verranno restituiti tutti i prigionieri Romani che fossero stati presi dal corpo d'armata dallo scrivente comandato.

2. Il Governo Pontificio garantisce di ritenere i suoi sudditi da ogni offesa del territorio Austriaco e Modenese sia colle armi, sia con provocazioni ed eccitamenti tendenti ad infrangere l' ordine e la tranquillità pubblica.

3. Le truppe Austriache sgombreranno tosto il territorio Pontificio, con eccezione della cittadella di Ferrara, del paese di Bondero con un circondario di sette miglia, e di quello di Pontelagoscuro. All' arrivo della ratificazione dei suddetti patti del Governo Pontificio, le truppe si ritireranno interamente al di quà del Pò (eccettuato sempre la cittadella di Ferrara), e verrà restabilito lo stato delle cose fissato dal Trattato di Vienna.

4. Le armi confiscate nelle Legazioni verranno restituite.

5. Saranno all' arrivo della sumentovata ratificazione, restituiti tutti i posti e passi sul Pò appartenenti allo Stato Pontificio.

Con ciò mi dico, &c.

(Firmato) WELDEN.

(Translation.)

Rovigo, August 15, 1848.

THE Undersigned is much grieved at the unpleasant impressions produced by the words he addressed to the people of the Legations, and the entrance of the Austrian troops, in the mind of His Holiness the High Pontiff Pio IX, as he is happy in declaring, in the most obsequious manner, that it is his constant wish to venerate him as Pontiff and respect him as Prince. The regret he feels at having caused this displeasure is the more profound, from the conviction that his words and deeds were never intended to bring shame or injury on His Holiness.

The remarkable fact of the Undersigned having found among the numbers of the enemies of his Sovereign, not isolated individuals, but whole regiments and battalions in the service and pay of the Holy See, necessarily made him consider it impossible to allow the Holy Father to be in a state of hostility against the august Imperial House, that an overbearing force of internal faction had diminished in him that authority which is a guarantee of reciprocal trust and security to the neighbouring Princes, and had deprived the Pontifical Government of the means of making its own subjects respect the rights which the law of nations has sanctioned between civilized States.

It was under this supposition that the Undersigned, forbearing to call directly for the action of Government, which he feared to compromise still more in the weakness which he attributed to it, resolved by those proclamations and decided measures which are suited to factions in time of war, to go at once to the authors of those lamentable disorders, who appeared further desirous of trying to renew their schemes in order to provoke new disasters and perhaps bring on that state of war to which he knows his august Sovereign is so averse. The Convention with the Pro-Legate of Bologna, signed on the 7th instant, is a proof of this his declaration: by it, on the assurance that the disorders in the State were no longer prevalent, he promised to withdraw his troops from the city, because with the return of order he saw re-established that security for the friendly Powers which he knew was the intention of His Holiness never to diminish.

In this persuasion of not having merited the censure which His Holiness has thought proper to intimate to the Undersigned by means of your Eminence and of your illustrious colleagues, he trusts that His Holiness will join when he shall have been informed through you, that the Undersigned is staunch in the determination of making war only against commotions, when these by their excess paralyze the action of the Government and deprive us of the certainty of seeing preserved a peaceful condition of good neighbourhood with the adjoining States. But for the existence of such commotions he will be satisfied to refer to the declaration of the Government of His Holiness, and regulate all his acts thereupon.

Therefore also on the assurances and protestations of your Eminence and of your colleagues, the Undersigned proposes the following conditions:

1. The Pontifical Government shall restore all the soldiers belonging to the Imperial Royal army who have been detained in Bologna, as well as all the arms and military appurtenances; and *vice versa*, shall be restored, all the Roman prisoners who were taken by the army under command of the Undersigned.

2. The Pontifical Government guarantees to keep its subjects from offending in any way or intruding on the territory of Austria or Modena either with arms or with provocations and excitements that might tend to disturb order and public tranquillity.

3. The Austrian troops shall evacuate at once the Pontifical territory, with the exception of Ferrara, the country of Bondero within a circuit of seven miles, and also that of Pontelagoscuro. On the arrival of the ratification of these conditions by the Pontifical Government, the troops shall retire entirely to this side of the River Po (always excepting the citadel of Ferrara), and the state of things fixed by the Treaty of Vienna shall be restored.

4. The arms confiscated in the Legations shall be restored.

5. On the arrival of the above-mentioned ratifications, all the posts and passes on the Po belonging to the Pontifical States shall be restored.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WELDEN.

No. 274.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston,—(Received September 7.)

My Lord,

Turin, August 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, forwarding to him copy of a note from the Baron de Perron, inclosing copies of

the orders sent to Admiral Albini and to General de La Marmora, requiring them to conform to the conditions of the Armistice of the 9th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 274.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Turin, August 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt by the French Cabinet courier, of the copy of the despatch which your Excellency has addressed to Viscount Palmerston, giving an account of the interview which your Excellency and M. de la Cour had held with the Baron de Wessenberg, when offering to the Cabinet of Vienna the joint mediation of England and of France for the pacification of Northern Italy.

I have remarked with sincere regret the accusations brought by the Austrian Minister against the good faith of His Sardinian Majesty and of his Government, with regard to the commencement of a supposed negotiation between His Majesty King Charles Albert and Prince Schwarzenberg for a separate peace, and also casting doubts upon the Sardinian Government with reference to the faithful execution, so far as Sardinia is concerned, of the provisions of the Armistice of the 9th August.

I am, however, happy to be able to place in your Excellency's hands the means of refuting distinctly and positively, each of these accusations, and I have the honour, for that purpose, to transmit herewith copy of a letter addressed by his Excellency Count Revel, Minister of Finance, to his Excellency the Baron de Perron, Minister for Foreign Affairs, contradicting in the clearest terms the whole of the assertion of the Austrian Government with regard to a separate negotiation; and with respect to the execution of the provisions of the Armistice, I have the honour to forward herewith, copy of a note I have received from his Excellency the Baron de Perron, inclosing copies of the orders transmitted at various times to Admiral Albini and to the commanding officers of Sardinian troops in forts occupied by the Italian arms, requiring them faithfully to conform to the conditions of the Armistice. If, therefore, at the time when the Austrian Government made these unfounded accusations, these various orders had not yet reached the officers for whom they were destined, the fault cannot be laid to the account of the Sardinian Government but to the interrupted state of the communications between Turin and the various points in question.

I trust that your Excellency will be able to find in the inclosed documents ample means of effectually removing from His Sardinian Majesty and his Government, the imputations which have undeservedly been cast upon them by the Austrian Cabinet, and I shall learn with much pleasure that your Excellency has been able to render justice to the loyalty of the conduct of His Sardinian Majesty and of the Cabinet of Turin.

I have not failed to communicate direct to Her Majesty's Government copies of this despatch and of its various inclosures.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 274.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 30 Août, 1848.

LE Cabinet Autrichien a prétendu que l'Armistice du 9 Août n'a pas été exécuté par nous, parceque l'Amiral Albini n'a pas retiré l'escadre Sarde de devant Venise, et que les troupes de Sa Majesté sont encore dans cette ville. On a dit également que nous refusions de livrer la forteresse d'Osopo. Je crois devoir, Monsieur, pour répondre à la première assertion, vous remettre ci-joint copie des dépêches que le Ministre de la Guerre a adressées à diverses reprises

et par différentes voies, soit à l'Amiral Albini, soit au Général de La Marmora, pour leur donner et réitérer l'ordre d'embarquer les troupes de Sa Majesté qui se trouvent à Venise, et de faire partir la flotte.

Vous verrez par cette correspondance, que nous avons fait tout ce qui a pu dépendre de nous pour remplir scrupuleusement ces conditions de l'Armistice, et j'aime à penser que vous voudrez bien reconnaître que s'il y a eu retard dans leur accomplissement, la cause en est indépendante de notre volonté, et que nous n'avons rien négligé pour l'embarquement de ces troupes, que du reste nous sommes intéressés à avoir ici à notre disposition.

Quant à l'évacuation de la forteresse d'Osopo, le Ministre de la Guerre, que je me suis fait un devoir d'interpeller à ce sujet, m'a assuré que nous n'avons absolument aucune force dans cette place, et qu'il ne saurait à quelle autorité porter la réclamation qui lui a été faite par le Cabinet Autrichien.

Si nous avons eu à cœur de faire notre possible pour l'entière exécution des conditions de l'Armistice en ce qui nous regarde, les autorités Autrichiennes au contraire, qui étaient parfaitement en position de les accomplir librement, pour leur part se sont refusées jusqu'à présent à ce que le matériel de guerre que nous avons à Peschiera pût en sortir, malgré les stipulations expresses de l'Armistice. Elles fondent ce refus sur le prétexte que nos troupes n'ont pas évacué Venise, bien qu'elles ne puissent pas ignorer que nous avons donné, même par leur entremise, des ordres pressans dans ce but, et qu'elles doivent savoir que l'obstacle qui empêche leur embarquement nous est étranger.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, August 30, 1848.

THE Austrian Cabinet has asserted that the Armistice of the 9th of August was not executed by us, because Admiral Albini has not withdrawn the Sardinian squadron from before Venice, and because His Majesty's troops are still in that city. It has been also said that we refuse to give up the fortress of Osopo. It is my duty, Sir, in answer to the first question, to inclose to you herewith copies of the despatches which the Minister of War has at different times and by various channels addressed either to Admiral Albini or to General de La Marmora, giving and repeating to them the order to embark such of His Majesty's troops as are in Venice, and to cause the fleet to depart.

You will see by this correspondence that we have done all that could depend upon us to fulfil scrupulously those conditions of the Armistice; and I have pleasure in thinking that you will acknowledge that if there has been delay in carrying them into effect, the causes are independent of our own inclinations, and that we have neglected nothing as respects the embarkation of these troops, whom on other grounds we are anxious to have here at our disposal.

As regards the evacuation of the fortress of Osopo, the Minister of War, whom I made it a point to question on the matter, has assured me that we positively had no troops in that place, and that he did not know to what authority he should refer the complaint addressed to him by the Austrian Cabinet.

If we have desired to do all that was in our power towards the complete execution of the conditions of the Armistice as far as we are concerned, the Austrian authorities, on the contrary, who were perfectly in a position to fulfil them freely have on their side, up to the present time, refused to allow the removal of our warlike stores which are at Peschiera, and this in despite of the express stipulations of the Armistice. They ground this refusal on the excuse that our troops have not evacuated Venice, although they cannot be ignorant that we have given, even through them, pressing orders with that intent, and that they must know that the impediment which prevents the embarkation is independent of us.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 274.

Orders transmitted to Admiral Albini and General de La Marmora to evacuate Venice.

COPIES des dépêches du Ministère de la Guerre et de la Marine de Sa Majesté Sarde relatives à l'abandon du blocus de Trieste et au départ de Venise pour Gênes, des troupes Sardes qui se trouvaient dans cette ville.

No. 1, du 14 Août, à l'Amiral Albini.

No. 2, du 17 id. id.

No. 3, du 21 id. id.

No. 4, du 21 id. au Chef d'Etat-Major-Général.

No. 5, du 23 id. à l'Amiral.

No. 6, du 23 id. au Chef d'Etat-Major-Général.

No. 7, du 25 id. à l'Amiral.

No. 8, du 25 id. au Chef d'Etat-Major-Général.

No. 9, du 25 id. au Général La Marmora.

No. 10, du 25 id. au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

N.B.—Ces dépêches furent transmises par duplicata, c'est-à-dire, une par la voie ordinaire et l'autre par le quartier-général du Roi, afin de les faire parvenir par les autorités Autrichiennes. En outre les dépêches notées aux Nos. 8 et 9 furent envoyées au quartier-général pour en être expédiées par estafette à Ancône, où se trouvait un bateau à vapeur de notre escadre attendant des instructions.

(Translation.)

COPIES of despatches of His Sardinian Majesty's Ministers of War and Marine, respecting the raising of the blockade of Trieste and the sailing from Venice to Genoa of the Sardinian troops which were in the former town.

No. 1, of August 14, to Admiral Albini.

No. 2, „ 17, „

No. 3, „ 21, „

No. 4, „ 21, to the Chief of the General Staff.

No. 5, „ 23, to the Admiral.

No. 6, „ 23, to the Chief of the General Staff.

No. 7, „ 25, to the Admiral.

No. 8, „ 25, to the Chief of the General Staff.

No. 9, „ 25, to General La Marmora.

No. 10, „ 25, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

N.B.—These despatches were sent in duplicate, that is to say, one sent by the ordinary channel, and the other through His Majesty's head-quarters, so that they might reach their destination through the Austrian authorities. Besides this the despatches marked Nos. 8 and 9, were sent to the head-quarters, in order that they might be forwarded by estafette to Ancona, where there was a steamer belonging to our squadron waiting for orders.

Inclosure 4 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to Admiral Albini.

14 Agosto, 1848.

A CONSEGUENZA della Convenzione conchiusa il 9 corrente mese in Milano tra li eserciti Sardo ed Austriaco, di cui le trasmetto alcuni esemplari, la Regia squadra sotto il comando della Signoria vostra Illustrissima dovrà per ora abbandonare il blocco di Trieste e ritirarsi verso Venezia, dove riceverà al suo bordo tutte le persone compromesse negli attuali affari politici che si presenteranno per avervi passaggio, usando a quella popolazione tutti i servizj possibili; indi si recherà ad Ancona e nelle Isole Ionie, dove al soffermerà sino al termine dell' armistizio suddetto, in attesa delle ulteriori istruzioni che saranno del caso.

Nel pregare la Signoria vostra Illustrissima di disporre in tale conformità, ho l'onore di aggiungerle che, siccome da quanto m'informa il Comandante Generale interinale della Regia Marina, sarebbesi già avviate in Venezia 3,500 tonnellate di carbone fossile, del valore approssimativo di 200,000*l.* sarà opportuno che ella provveda pel suo trasporte altrove e nel luogo in cui crederà più utile per la Regia Squadra, valendosi degli stessi bastimenti che la trasportarono dall' Inghilterra, se pure sono ancora in viaggio, o concertando con quel Regio Console pel noleggio di bastimenti mercantili, onde effettuarlo, ed anche imbarcandone sui Regj legni quel quantitativo ch' ella ravviserà possibile.

Colgo intanto, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) COLLEGNO.

Aggiunta alla Lettera Ministeriale mandata in data 14 Agosto, 1848.

Alessandria, 19 Agosto, 1848.

SUA Maestà il Rè, a cui ho avuto l'onore di leggere stamane questa lettera, mi ha commesso, Signor Comandante, di aggiungerle :

Essere sua principale cura di levare da Venezia li tre battaglioni di Regia truppa che vi furono mandati a presidio coi loro comandanti e stato maggiore, e poi, mentre la squadra stazionerà dov'ella riputerà più conveniente fra i luoghi segnati, di dirigere a Genova le suddette truppe di terra per mezzo di piroscafi che poi raggiungerebbero la squadra.

Colgo, &c.

(Firmato) *Il Capo delle Stato-Maggiore-Generale.*

(Translation.)

August 14, 1848.

IN consequence of the Convention concluded the 9th instant in Milan between the Sardinian and Austrian armies, of which I inclose you some copies, the Royal squadron under your command will at present abandon the blockade of Trieste, and retire towards Venice, where you will receive on board all persons committed in the actual political affairs, who shall apply for a passage, and treat those people with all possible attention. Thence you will proceed to Ancona and to the Ionian Islands, where you will remain until the end of the armistice, to await further orders.

In requesting you, Sir, to act in conformity to the above, I have the honour to add, that as I am informed by the Commander-in-chief *pro tempore* of the Royal Marine, there has been already sent to Venice 3,500 tons of coals, value about 200,000 livres, it would be necessary that you should provide for your transports elsewhere, and whence you may think most advantageous for the royal squadron, by making use of the same vessels that brought the coals from England, if they should be there, or by concerting with the Consul of that nation to freight merchantmen to effect the same, and even embarking in the royal ships that quantity that you may think possible.

I seize, &c.

The Minister, &c.

(Signed) COLLEGNO.

Addition to the Ministerial Letter sent in date August 14, 1848.

Alexandria, August 19, 1848.

HIS Majesty the King, to whom I have had the honour this morning to read this letter, has ordered me, Sir, to add,—

That it must be your first care to bring away from Venice the three battalions of royal troops which were sent in garrison there, with their commanders and staff; and then, whilst the squadron shall be stationed where you may think most convenient among the places pointed out, you will send to Genoa the said land troops by the steamers, which shall afterwards rejoin the squadron.

(Signed)

The Chief of the General Staff.

Inclosure 5 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to Admiral Albini.

Torino, 17 Agosto, 1848.

PONENDO mente all' Armistizio conchiusosi in Milano il 9 dell' corrente, ed al richiamo della Regia squadra del blocco di Trieste per ritirarsi ad Ancona o nelle Isole Ionie, fino al termine dell' armistizio medesimo, di cui era oggetto nel precedente mio dispaccio del 14 corrente, No. 1236, il Comandante Generale interinale della Regia Marina avviserebbe di richiamare, per ora a Genova, almeno due dei Regj piroscafi di minor portata, cioè, "l'Ichnusa" e la "Gulnara," per impiegarli al servizio di corrispondenza colla Sardegna, onde far cessare l'onerosa spesa che sopporta il bilancio della Regia Marina per l'affittamento di due vapori mercantili.

Sebbene sia mio desiderio il procurare una siffatta economia, lascio però alla saviezza della Signoria vostra illustrissima di giudicare sulla opportunità di secondare il proposto divisamento, avuto riguardo al servizio che detti piroscafi devono prestare alla Regia Squadra, ed alla eventualità delle attuali contingenze politiche, pregandola di farmi conoscere il di lei avviso in proposito, e quando lo vedesse eseguibile, ella vorrà pure informarne il prefato Comandante Generale, onde si possa, in tempo utile, dare l'occorrente disdetta ai piroscafi presi in affitto.

Colgo intanto, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) COLLEGNO.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 17, 1848.

REFERRING to the Armistice concluded in Milan on the 9th instant, and to the recalling of the Royal squadron from the blockade of Trieste to retire to Ancona or in the Ionian Islands, until the armistice should terminate, which was the object of my despatch of the 14th instant, the Commander-General *pro tempore* of the Royal Marine would take measures for recalling for the present to Genoa at least two of the smallest Royal steamers, that is, the "Ichnusa" and the "Gulnara," to employ them in conveying the correspondence with Sardinia, in order to spare the heavy expense borne by the Royal Marine in the hire of two mercantile steamers.

Although it is my desire to economise in this matter, I must leave it with you to judge of the expediency of the proposed measure, taking into consideration the service which these steamers may have to render the Royal squadron, and the contingencies of the present political state of things, begging you to let me know your opinion on the subject; and if you consider the plan feasible, you will please also inform the foresaid Commander-General, in order that he may in proper time give the necessary dismissal to the steamers engaged.

I take this opportunity, &c.

The Minister Secretary of War and of the Marine Departments,
(Signed) COLLEGNO.

Inclosure 6 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to Admiral Albini.

21 Agosto, 1848.

IN aggiunta al mio dispaccio del 14 corrente, No. 1236, col quale annunziava alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima la determinazione presasi d'abbandonare il blocco di Trieste, in conseguenza dell' Armistizio conchiusosi in Milano li 9 del mese stesso, ho ora l'onore di parteciparle che la Regia flotta sotto i di lei comandi dovrà come dal dispaccio suddetto, recarsi a Venezia ed imbarcare i battaglioni delle Regie truppe che colà trovansi, non che le altre autorità ed impiegati Sardi.

La Regia flotta metterà quindi tosto alle vele, e si recherà direttamente per intero al Golfo della Spezia, in attesa d'ulteriori istruzioni, da dove la Signoria vostra illustrissima dovrà spedir a Genova i battaglioni anzidetti coi mezzi che crederà più pronti.

Nel commettere alla cura della Signoria vostra l'eseguimento di queste determinazioni, ho l'onore di segnarle ricevuta de' precedenti suoi rapporti del 22 Luglio p. p., No. 20, e del 10 corrente, No. 26, pei quali ella rileverà non occorrere riscontro a seguito della sovra espressa determinazione.

A maggior sicurezza di ricapito trasmetto il presente mio dispaccio per duplicato alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima, a cui rinnovo intanto gli atti, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) FRANZINI.

(Translation.)

August 21, 1848.

IN addition to my despatch of the 14th instant, with which I announced to you, Sir, the resolution taken to abandon the blockade of Trieste, in consequence of the Armistice concluded in Milan the 9th of the same month, I have now the honour to advise you, that the Royal fleet under your command will, as per aforesaid despatch, proceed to Venice and embark the battalions of the royal troops that are there, as well as the Sardinian authorities and other functionaries.

All the royal fleet will therefore sail forthwith, and proceed directly to the Gulf of Spezia to await further orders, whence you will send to Genoa the battalions before mentioned, by the means you may consider most expeditious.

In committing to your care the execution of these orders, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your preceding reports of the 22nd July last, No. 20, and of the 10th instant, No. 16, which you will see require no answer, in consequence of the above-mentioned determination taken.

To insure receipt of the present despatch, I send it in duplicate to your Excellency, to whom I renew the expression, &c.

*The Minister Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,*
(Signed) FRANZINI.

Inclosure 7 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to the Chief of the Staff.

Torino, 21 Agosto, 1848.

COL qui unito dispaccio nel confermare al Maggior-Generale Cavaliere Albini, Comandante la Regia squadra la determinazione di abbandonare il blocco di Trieste, gli commetto altresì di recarsi a Venezia per imbarcare conforme anche alli ordini sovrani, che si compiacque parteciparmi col pregiatissimo suo foglio del 20 corrente, No. 1612, i battaglioni di Regie truppe che colà trovansi non che le autorità ed altri impiegati Sardi, indi di far vela direttamente colla squadra intera pel Golfo della Spezia, da dove spedirà a Genova le truppe anzidette col mezzo che crederà più pronto.

Questa determinazione di avviare direttamente la Regia squadra a Spezia invece di Ancona o Isole Ionie, come annunziava alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima col mio dispaccio del 18 corrente, No. 1294, venne presa ieri in Consiglio de' Ministri.

Nel pregarla quindi di far pervenire il dispaccio di cui trattasi al prefato Comandante nel modo che crederà più sicuro, colgo quest' opportunità, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) FRANZINI.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 21, 1848.

BY the accompanying despatch, which confirms to the Major-General Cavalier Albini, commanding the Royal squadron, the determination taken to abandon the blockade of Trieste, I enjoin him also to proceed to Venice to take on board (according to sovereign orders also, which have been graciously given me under date of the 20th instant, No. 1612) the battalions of royal troops that are there, as well as the Sardinian authorities and other employés, thence sail directly with the whole squadron for the Gulf of Spezia, whence he will send to Genoa the aforesaid troops by the most expeditious means.

This determination to send the Royal squadron direct to Spezia instead of Ancona or the Ionian Islands, as was announced to you, Sir, in my despatch of the 18th instant, was taken yesterday in the Council of the Ministers.

Begging you therefore to forward the despatch above mentioned to the aforesaid Commander by the means you consider safest, I avail of this opportunity, &c.

*The Minister Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,
(Signed) FRANZINI.*

Inclosure 8 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to Admiral Albini.

Torino, il 23 Agosto, 1848.

HO l'onore di segnare ricevuta alla Signoria vostra illustrissima del pregiatissimo suo foglio del 18 corrente, No. 27, pervenutomi in questo punto. Co' miei dispacci diretti alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima alla data dei 14, 17, 21 corrente, Ni. 1236, 1252, e 1275, trasmessi per duplicata, uno per la via ordinaria, l'altro dal quartier-generale di Sua Maestà, io portava a sua cognizione l'armistizio effettivamente conchiusosi il 9 in Milano tra l'esercito Sardo ed Austriaco, e le commetteva in esequimento dell'armistizio medesimo di abbandonare il blocco di Trieste.

Col presente mio dispaccio, mentre non posso che approvare la condotta da lei seguita in mancanza d'istruzioni, ed espressa nel citato suo rapporto, io le confermo le determinazioni prese d'abbandonare tosto il blocco di Trieste, di recarsi a Venezia, ed imbarcare li battaglioni di Regie truppe che trovansi colà, non che le autorità ed impiegati Sardi che vi sono ancora, indi far vela direttamente e con tutta la flotta per il Golfo della Spezia, per attendere ivi le ulteriori istruzioni che saranno del caso.

Dalla Spezia ella spedirà a Genova i battaglioni anzidetti con quel mezzo che crederà più sollecito.

Le mando la presente parimente per duplicata, indirizzandone uno in Ancona a senso di quanto la Signoria vostra Illustrissima m'accenna nel ridetto suo rapporto.

Nel raccomandarle nuovamente di attenersi alle determinazioni di cui trattasi, colgo quest'opportunità per confermarle i sensi, &c.

*Il Primo Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.*

(Translation.)

Turin, August 23, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letter of the 18th instant, just come to hand. By my despatches to your Excellency of the 14th, 17th, and 21st instant, forwarded in duplicate, one by the usual route, the other from head-quarters of His Majesty, I acquainted you with the

armistice effectively concluded on the 9th, in Milan, between the Sardinian and Austrian armies ; and I enjoined on you the execution of the said armistice, by abandoning the blockade of Trieste.

In my present despatch, whilst I cannot but approve the conduct held by you for want of instructions, and explained in your report above mentioned, I have to confirm the determinations taken to abandon at once the blockade of Trieste, to proceed to Venice and embark the battalion of Royal troops that are there, as well as the authorities and employés remaining there, thence sail directly, and with the whole fleet to the Gulf of Spezia, to await further instructions that may be requisite.

From Spezia you will send to Genoa the battalions you mentioned by the most expeditious means.

I send you the present also in duplicate, addressing one to Ancona, in compliance with what your Excellency points out to me, in your above-mentioned report.

In recommending you anew to act up to the determination stated, I seize this opportunity of expressing, &c.

*The First Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,
(Signed) DABORMIDA.*

Inclosure 9 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to the Chief of the Staff.

Torino, li 23 Agosto, 1848.

CON rapporto del 18 corrente, il Maggior-Generale Cavaliere Albini m'accenna di non aver ancora ricevuto l'avviso ufficiale per parte del Governo di Sua Maestà di abbandonare il blocco di Trieste ; sebbene supponga che a quest' ora siangli pervenuti gli ufficj direttigli da questo Ministero alla data del 16 e 17 corrente, stimo però ad ogni buon fine opportuno di confermarli le determinazioni prese, e prego la Signoria vostra Illustrissima di fargli recapitare il quì dispaccio per duplicato, avendone spedito un altro per via di Ancona.

Comunico parimenti alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima con preghiera di restituzione, il citato rapporto del Cavaliere Albini, pel caso stimasse di renderne conto a Sua Maestà, ed intanto, &c.

*Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.*

(Translation.)

Turin, August 20, 1848.

MAJOR-GENERAL CAVALIER ALBINI, in his report of the 18th instant, states that he had not yet received the official advice from His Majesty's Government to abandon the blockade of Trieste. Although I suppose that by this time he will have received the despatches addressed to him from this Office under date of the 16th and 17th instant, I consider it proper to confirm the decisions taken ; and I beg your Excellency to forward to him the accompanying despatch, a duplicate having been sent by way of Ancona.

I also forward to your Excellency, with request that you will return it, the above-mentioned report of Cavalier Albini, in case you might think it necessary to lay it before His Majesty ; and in the meanwhile, &c.

*The Minister Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,
(Signed) DABORMIDA.*

Inclosure 10 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to the Chief of the Staff.

Torino, il 29 Agosto, 1848.

A SENSO di quanto la Signoria vostra Illustrissima si compiacque parteciparmi col pregiatissimo suo foglio d'jeri No. 1673, mi affretto di rinuovare al Cavaliere Albini, Comandante la Regia squadra, l'ordine non solo di abbandonare il blocco di Trieste, ma ben più di adoperare tutti i mezzi di persuasione che si possono per poter ritirare da Venezia ed imbarcare le Regie truppe che colà trovansi, poichè mentre la ulterior permanenza colà delle truppe stessa è involontaria, essa è di discapito alle forze di cui il Governo di Sua Maestà potrebbe disporre, nè vuolsi dal nostro canto trascurare l'adempimento di quella parte essenziale dell' armistizio.

Scrivo contemporaneamente al Generale La Marmora di cooperare di concerto col prefato Contr' Ammiraglio allo scopo di cui si tratta.

Rivolgo alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima questi dispacci per duplicato, pregandola di farne recapitare uno per la via del quartiere-generale Austriaco e l'altro per mezzo di staffetta ad Ancona, ove probabilmente sarà ancora uno dei nostri vapori.

Ritorno alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima la lettera comunicatami col citato suo foglio. Scrivo pure alla Regia Segretaria di Stato par gli Affari Esteri onde passare analoghi ufficii ai Rappresentanti dei Governi Inglese e Francese per cooperare colla loro influenza all' imbarco delle truppe anzidette.

Colgo poi questa, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 29, 1848.

IN furtherance of what your Excellency was pleased to impart to me with your esteemed favour of yesterday, I hasten to renew to the Cavalier Albini, Commander of the Royal squadron, the order not only to abandon the blockade of Trieste, but also to adopt all the means of persuasion possible to succeed in retiring from Venice and in embarking the royal troops that are there, as the further continuance there of the troops is involuntary and would diminish the forces of which the Government of His Majesty may dispose; nor would it be proper on our part to neglect the fulfilment of that essential part of the armistice.

I write at the same time to General La Marmora to co-operate in concert with the Rear-Admiral to the end intended.

I address to your Excellency these despatches in duplicate, begging you to forward one through the Austrian head-quarters, and the other by means of an estafette to Ancona, where there will be probably still one of our steamers.

I return to your Excellency the letter communicated to me in your above-acknowledged despatch. I write also to the Royal Secretary of State's office for Foreign Affairs, that similar official letters should be addressed to the Representatives of the English and French Governments, to use their influence towards the embarkation of the afore-mentioned troops.

I seize this opportunity, &c.

*The Minister Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,*
(Signed) DABORMIDA.

Inclosure 11 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to Admiral Albini.

Torino, li 25 Agosto, 1848.

RIFERENDOMI alle determinazioni contenute nei precedenti miei dispacci del 14, 17, 21, e 23 del corrente mese, stati spediti per doppia via, cioè ordinaria, e del quartier-generale di Sua Maestà, io mi fo debito di ripetere alla Signoria vostra Illustrissima come ella debba abbandonare il blocco di Trieste e recarsi a Venezia per imbarcare sulla Regia squadra li battaglioni di Regie truppe che trovansi colà, non che gl' impiegati ed autorità Sarde.

Ella userà tutti i mezzi di persuasione di cui è capace per effettuare l'imbarco di quelle truppe, dimostrando al Governo Veneto come per una tale opposizione a quest' oggetto ci collocherebbe in una falsa posizione colle Potenze mediatrici; e, oltrecchè non devesi trascurare quanto da noi dipende per l'adempimento di quella parte essenziale dell' armistizio, la privazione di quei battaglioni sarebbe di discapito alla forza di cui il Governo di Sua Maestà potrebbe disporre.

Io non dubito che la Signoria vostra Illustrissima si adoprerà con tutto l'impegno per gungere a questo scopo.

Con questo corriere scrivo pure al Generale La Marmora a Venezia onde cooperi pure dal canto suo all' effettuazione dell' imbarco di cui trattasi.

Gradisca, &c.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina,
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 25, 1848.

REFERRING to the determinations expressed in my preceding despatches of the 14th, 17th, 21st, and 23rd instant, forwarded in duplicates by the ordinary means, and through head-quarters of His Majesty, I consider it my duty to repeat to your Excellency that you will abandon the blockade of Trieste and proceed to Venice to embark in the Royal squadron the battalions of the royal troops that are there, as well as the employés and Sardinian authorities.

You will have recourse to every means of persuasion possible to effect the embarkation of these troops, observing to the Venetian Government that it would place us in a false position towards the intermediating Powers, were it to make any opposition to this step; and that in addition to our obligation to make no delay on our part in the fulfilment of that essential part of the armistice, the deprivation of these battalions would be a loss to the forces of which the Government of His Majesty could dispose. I do not doubt that your Excellency will use every exertion to gain this point.

By this courier I write to General La Marmora in Venice, that he may also assist on his part the effectual embarkation of which I treat.

Accept, &c.

*The Minister Secretary of State for the War and
Marine Departments,*
(Signed) DABORMIDA.

Inclosure 12 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to General La Marmora.

Torino, il 25 Agosto, 1848.

CON precedenti miei dispacci ho commesso al Cavaliere Albini, comandante la Regia squadra, in esequimento dell' Armistizio conchiuso in Milano li 9 del corrente, di abbandonare il blocco di Trieste, e di recarsi a Venezia per imbarcarvi li battaglioni di Regia truppe che ancora vi si trovano, nonchè gl' impiegati ed autorità Sarde, indi far vela direttamente e con tutta la squadra per il Golfo della

Spezia. In seguito dell' opposizione dimostrata dal Governo Veneto di lasciar sortire le truppe anzidette, io con questo corriere commetto nuovamente al Cavaliere Albini di adoperare tutti i mezzi di persuasione per effettuare un tale imbarco, dimostrando al predetto Governo come la di lui resistenza gli collocherebbe in una falsa posizione colla Potenze mediatrici, e mentre devesi fare quanto da noi dipende per adempiere a quella parte essenziale dell' armistizio, la privazione di quei battaglioni sarebbe un discapito alla forza di cui il Governo di Sua Maestà potrebbe disporre.

Incarico la Signoria vostra illustrissima di cooperare con tutti i suoi mezzi d'accordo col prefatto Cavaliere Albini, all' effettuazione dell' imbarco di quelle truppe.

La Signoria vostra illustrissima, adempito questo incombente, dovrà tornare in Piemonte.

Gradisca, &c.
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 25, 1848.

BY my preceding despatches I have ordered Cavalier Albini, commanding the Royal squadron, in execution of the Armistice concluded in Milan on the 9th instant, to abandon the blockade of Trieste and to proceed to Venice to embark there the battalions of Royal troops that are still there, as well as the employés and Sardinian authorities, and thence sail direct with the whole squadron for the Gulf of Spezia. In consequence of the opposition shown by the Venetian Government to the said troops leaving, I again by this courier instruct Cavalier Albini to adopt all the means of persuasion possible to effect this embarkation, showing to the said Government that its resistance would place our Government in a false position with the mediating Powers, and that we must not only do what depends upon us to fulfil that essential part of the armistice, but that the deprivation of these battalions would be a loss to the forces of which the Government of His Majesty could dispose.

I charge your Excellency to co-operate with all your power, in accordance with the foresaid Cavalier Albini, to effect the embarkation of these troops.

When your Excellency has accomplished this duty you will return to Piedmont.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) DABORMIDA.

Inclosure 13 in No. 274.

The Minister of War to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Torino, li 25 Agosto, 1848.

IL Sottoscritto, Ministro Segretario di Stato di Guerra e Marina, ha l'onore di quì unito trasmettere a sua Eccellenza il Ministro Segretario di Stato per gli Affari Esteri, copia di lettera che scrive in oggi al Cavaliere Albini, Comandante della Regia squadra nell' Adriatico. L'oggetto di questa lettera si è di procurare di poter effettuare l'imbarco della Regie truppe che ancora si trovano in Venezia, poichè mentre sono di discapito alla forza di cui il Regio Governo potrebbe disporre, si cerca per quanto è in nostro potere di dare esequimento a quella parte essenziale dell' Armistizio.

Il Sottoscritto prega quindi l'Eccellenza sua di passare ai Rappresentanti dei Governi Francese ed Inglese, gli opportuni ufficj onde abbiano a praticare quella influenza mediatrice che crederanno per poter addivenire all' imbarco delle truppe anzidette.

Coglio, &c.
(Firmato) DABORMIDA.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 25, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Minister Secretary of State of the War and Marine Departments, has the honour of transmitting herewith to his Excellency the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter that he addresses to-day to Cavaliere Albini, commanding the Royal Squadron in the Adriatic.

The object of this letter is to try and effect the embarkation of the Royal troops that are still in Venice, for, while they are a diminution to the forces of which our Government could dispose, we must also seek as much as is in our power to put in execution that essential part of the Armistice.

The Undersigned therefore requests your Excellency to address to the Representatives of the French and English Governments suitable official communications, in order that they may use their mediating influence to bring about the embarkation of the aforesaid troops.

I seize, &c.

(Signed) DABORMIDA.

No. 275.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 7.)

(Extract.)

Turin, August 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte received this morning a letter from the French Consul-General at Milan, dated yesterday, stating that Prince Felix Schwarzenberg had suddenly quitted that town, leaving the command in the hands of General Wimpfen, and had proceeded to Verona for the purpose of treating directly with the King of Sardinia for a peace.

The report of the French Consul-General states also that it was asserted that this measure had been adopted in consequence of the feelings of ancient distrust entertained by His Sardinian Majesty against France having revived, and that he was now firmly disposed to turn again to the side of Austria.

M. de Bois-le-Comte upon receiving this information immediately proceeded to the Sardinian Foreign Office, where he found the Marquis Alfieri and the Baron de Perron, who were on the point of transmitting to my French colleague and to myself copy of a despatch which they had just received from Prince Schwarzenberg.

I have herewith the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of that document, dated 30th August.

Your Lordship will perceive that the wording of this document sufficiently proves that from Austria, and from Austria alone have come these overtures to Sardinia to negotiate a separate peace; consequently that the accusations brought against His Sardinian Majesty by the Austrian Government are completely disproved by the official documents of its own agents.

I do not venture to express any opinion with regard to the conduct of the Austrian Government upon this occasion, but I may be permitted to observe, that if any accusation of a want of good faith or of sincerity of action is to be brought against either Government, that accusation should certainly not be laid to the account of His Sardinian Majesty or of his Government.

Since writing the above, the answer of the Sardinian Cabinet to the despatch of Prince Schwarzenberg has been communicated to me, and I have the honour herewith to inclose a copy of it.

Your Lordship will perceive that the Austrian overtures have met with a decided refusal on the part of the Sardinian Government, and that His Sardinian Majesty and his Government having accepted of the joint mediation of England and of France, they scrupulously and faithfully adhere to the engagements they have entered into, and they rely with confidence upon the good offices of the mediating Powers to obtain for Sardinia and for Italy an honourable and lasting peace.

Inclosure 1 in No. 275.

*Prince Schwarzenberg to the Baron de Perron.**Milan, le 30 Août, 1848.*

UN armistice de six semaines ayant été conclu à la demande de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, à l'effet de servir de prélude à une négociation de paix définitive, le Gouvernement Impérial s'empresse d'aller au-devant d'un désir qu'il partage sincèrement.

C'est d'ordre de son Gouvernement que le Soussigné, Lieutenant-Général des Armées de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a l'honneur d'adresser le présent office à son Excellence M. le Comte Perron de St. Martin, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, afin de lui faire connaître que l'Empereur, son Auguste Maître, vient de le charger de l'honorable mission de négocier en son nom une paix qui fait l'objet des vœux des deux Souverains, et pour l'informer en même temps qu'il se trouve à cet effet muni des pleins pouvoirs nécessaires.

Le Soussigné se fait un devoir d'ajouter qu'il est prêt à se trouver à Vérone le jour qu'il plaira à son Excellence d'indiquer, afin d'y entrer en pour-parler avec le Plénipotentiaire auquel le Gouvernement Sarde jugera à propos de confier cette négociation.

En priant le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté de vouloir bien l'honorer d'une prompte réponse, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

Milan, August 30, 1848.

AN armistice for six weeks having been concluded at the request of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, to serve as a prelude to the negotiation for a definitive peace, the Imperial Government loses no time in responding to a wish in which it sincerely shares.

It is by the orders of his Government that the Undersigned, Lieutenant-General of the armies of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, has the honour to address the present communication to his Excellency M. le Comte Perron de St. Martin, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, in order to acquaint him that the Emperor, his August Master, has just charged him with the honourable duty of negotiating in his name a peace which forms the object of the wishes of the two Sovereigns, and to make known to him at the same time that he is furnished with full powers for this purpose.

The Undersigned considers it his duty to add that he is ready to be at Verona on the day which his Excellency may choose to name, in order to open communications with the Plenipotentiary whom the Sardinian Government may think fit to intrust with this negotiation.

Requesting His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs to honour him shortly with a reply, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

SCHWARZENBERG.

Inclosure 2 in No. 275.

*The Baron de Perron to Prince Schwarzenberg.**Turin, le 31 Août, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que son Excellence M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg, Lieutenant-Général des armées de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date d'hier. S'étant fait un devoir empressé de prendre les ordres du Roi, son Auguste Souverain, à l'égard de cette communication, il a été chargé par Sa Majesté d'exprimer ses remerciemens au

Gouvernement Impérial pour l'offre qu'il a faite de traiter directement de la paix.

Mais le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale n'ignore pas que le Roi ayant accepté, dès le 15 de ce mois, la médiation offerte par la France et par l'Angleterre (ainsi que l'annonce en a été communiquée officiellement le 22 à son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg par les Ministres de ces Puissances à Vienne), il ne lui est pas possible d'entamer des négociations directes et partielles.

Sa Majesté s'en rapporte entièrement aux bons offices de ces deux Puissances, également amies de l'Autriche et de la Sardaigne, pour traiter d'une paix solide et durable qui satisfasse à la fois à l'honneur de sa Couronne et aux sentimens de l'Italie.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

B. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 31, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which his Excellency Prince Schwarzenberg, &c., has done him the honour to address to him, dated yesterday. Having made it his duty to take the orders of the King, his August Master, with reference to that communication, he has been charged by His Majesty to express to the Imperial Government his thanks for the offer which it has made to treat directly for peace.

But the Government of His Imperial and Royal Majesty is not ignorant that the King having, from the 15th of this month, accepted the mediation offered by France and England (which circumstance was officially communicated on the 22nd to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg by the Ministers of those Powers at Vienna), is unable to open direct and partial negotiations.

His Majesty trusts entirely to the good offices of those two Powers, equally friendly to Austria and to Sardinia, for treating for a solid and lasting peace, which may at once satisfy the honour of his Crown and the feelings of Italy.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

B. DE PERRON.

No. 276.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 7.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 29, 1848.

IN a short despatch which I yesterday addressed to your Lordship, I had the honour of informing you that a Provisional Government was formed on the 26th instant at Leghorn. A deputation was sent to the Grand Duke here, which, after considerable deliberation on the part of the Ministers, was received by His Royal Highness at midnight.

The deputation left the Palace at 2 in the morning, and returned to Leghorn, satisfied with the answer of the Grand Duke; but it has failed to produce any favourable effects on the faction who have got possession of the town.

The first act of the Provisional Government was to reinstate the Governor in his Palace, but he is in fact deposed. In the course of Saturday the Government powder-magazine was attacked by the mob, when the civic guard fired on them, and killed four men and wounded several others. It appears that the civic guard then withdrew from this and every other post they occupied, and not a man is to be seen about the town. The captain of the civic guard who commanded at the powder-magazine took refuge on board the "Thetis."

The gates of the town are guarded by cannon, out-posts are established, and no egress allowed.

The Government here are still unwilling to have recourse to force, to bring their revolted subjects to reason. Colonel Cipriani, a volunteer in the Tuscan army, and who, in consequence of having distinguished himself, had become Aide-de-camp of King Charles Albert, has been dispatched to Leghorn as a

Royal Commissary, to endeavour to bring the Livournese to reason. As I had the honour to inform your Lordship yesterday, General Laugier has received orders to march with the Tuscan army on Leghorn.

In the evening of the 26th the Minister for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by the French Minister, called on me to say that the French frigate the "Vauban" had been sent for to Genoa, and to know whether I would, in concert with the orders of the Minister of the Republic to the Commander of the "Vauban," authorize the landing of the marines of the "Thetis;" as the presence of the combined troops of France and England would give an immense moral assistance to the Government. It was only proposed that the troops should occupy the fort which commands the port, still in the hands of the Government and guarded by a small garrison. The Tuscan Minister also requested me to apply to Sir William Parker for further assistance.

I replied to M. Giorgini and M. Benoit Champy, that I had written that morning to Captain Codrington, stating that I thought it advisable that he should abstain from any interference whatever in the internal affairs at Leghorn, unless he was called upon to protect British interests, and that I thought the force of marines so small on board the "Thetis," that it would be highly imprudent to make any demonstration whatever, and that probably the troops on board the "Vauban" would not be more numerous than those in the "Thetis."

No. 277.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord,

Florence, August 29, 1848.

THE Duke of Modena has published an amnesty, but with several exceptions.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a translation of the list of these exceptions. The publication of this amnesty has incensed the people at Bologna, and the placard, of which I also subjoin a copy, has been posted in consequence.

A part of the Sardinian fleet has arrived off Ancona from the north.

The Internuncio called on me yesterday with a most grateful message from His Holiness, thanking me for the interposition of Her Majesty's Mission in favour of Bologna.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 277.

Exceptions to the Amnesty published by the Duke of Modena.

1. ALL those who promoted the Revolution or who formed part of it as principal members of the various Provisional Governments in which was concentrated the sovereign power.
2. Those who have promoted the fusion of these States with the Kingdom of Piedmont, in order to offer the Modenese States to King Charles Albert.
3. He who signed the Act for the delivery of these States into the hands of the Commissaries of the aforesaid King, as well as those belonging to these States, who figured in the aforesaid act as principal contracting parties.
4. The authors as well as the responsible editors of any seditious writings, either injurious to or defamatory of the Royal Family of Austria-Este, or of other Princes of the Modenese family, relations or friends of the reigning family.
5. Whosoever has committed embezzlement of public money, of exaction or extortion, of murder, violence, or of any other common crime, though under the false cloak of politics.

Inclosure 2 in No. 277.

Placard referring to the Amnesty of the Duke of Modena.

L'AMNISTIA del Duca di Modena che alcuni avevano la dabenaggine di credere senza alcuna restrizione, ora è assoggettata alle eccezioni seguenti, fatte note in una circolare del Duca diretta ai Tribunali ed alle Comuni dello Stato Estense:

1. Tutti coloro che promossero la Rivoluzione o vi fecero parte come membri principali dei diversi Governi Provisorii, nei quali è stata concentrata l'autorità sovrana.

2. Quelli che promossero la fusione di questi Stati col Regno di Piemonte, ad offrire gli Stati Estensi al Rè Carlo Alberto.

3. Chi rogò l'atto di dedizione di questi dominii ai Commissarii del prefato Rè, non che coloro degli Stati Estensi che figuravano in tale atto come principali contraenti.

4. Li autori ed editori responsabili di scritti sediziosi, ingiuriosi, od infamanti della Reale Famiglia d'Austria-d'Este, o di altri regnanti Estensi, congiunti ed amici della lodata famiglia.

5. Chi comise peculato, concussione od estorsioni, omicidi, violenze, o qualunque altro delitto comune, anche sotto il manto rapporto politico.

Nota. Dietro questa circolare molti giudici dello Stato hanno presa la loro dimissione. Il Municipio la notte scorsa si è presentato in corpo a Sua Altezza perchè sia ritirata la suddetta circolare.

Si dice che a Modena questa notte sieno evase molte persone dallo Stato.

(Firmato) DE BUOI.

Li 25 Agosto, 1848.

(Translation.)

THE amnesty of the Duke of Modena which some persons have had the simplicity to suppose was without any restriction whatever, is now subject to the following exceptions, which are made known in a circular of the Duke addressed to the tribunals and all the municipalities of the Modenese State:

1. All those who promoted the Revolution or who formed part of it as principal members of the various Provisional Governments in which the sovereign power was concentrated.

2. Those who have promoted the fusion of these States with the Kingdom of Piedmont, offering the Modenese States to King Charles Albert.

3. He who signed the Act for the delivery of these States into the hands of the Commissaries of the aforesaid King, as well as those belonging to these States, who figured in the aforesaid act as principal contracting parties.

4. The authors as well as the responsible editors of any seditious writings, either injurious to or defamatory of the Royal Family of Austria-Este, or of other Princes of the Este family, relations or friends of the reigning family.

5. Whosoever has committed embezzlement of public money, exaction or extortion, murder, violence, or any other common crime, though under the cloak of politics.

Note. In consequence of this circular many of the judges in the State resigned. Last night the Municipality presented itself in a body to His Highness to beg that the above-mentioned circular should be withdrawn.

It is said that last night many persons made their escape from Modena.

August 25, 1848.

(Signed) DE BUOI.

No. 278. X

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 8, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 29th ultimo reporting what passed between the Tuscan Government and yourself relative to the landing of the marines from Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," I have to inform you that it is

not expedient or proper that Her Majesty's ships of war on the coast of Italy should interfere in any way in the internal dissensions which may prevail in that country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 279.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a memorandum addressed by his Excellency the Baron de Perron to M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte and myself, with regard to certain proceedings at Placentia of the Austrian General Count Thurn, in levying upon that town rations for the Austrian troops; and the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs in the above requests my French colleague and myself to use our good offices with Field-Marshal Radetzky to obtain a cessation of an exaction not justified by the capitulation, and of a burthen which the financial resources of the town of Placentia are ill able to support.

After consulting with M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte upon the subject of this application on the part of the Sardinian Government, we decided to address a collective note to his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky with reference to this affair; and I have now the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information, copy of the communication we have deemed it expedient to transmit to the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian armies in Italy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 279.

Memorandum from the Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 30 Août, 1848.

LORSQUE la ville de Plaisance a été occupée par les troupes Autrichiennes, le Général qui les commande a requis l'administration municipale de pourvoir pendant six jours à l'entretien de ces troupes contre des bons à délivrer. Obligée d'obéir, l'administration a fourni les vivres demandés, mais tout-à-fait dépourvue de fonds pécuniaires pour faire face à une dépense imprévue et si considérable, elle a dû recourir au Commissaire Extraordinaire Sarde dans ce duché pour obtenir sur la caisse provinciale les subsides nécessaires.

Mais à l'échéance des six jours le Comte de Thurn a demandé au syndic de Plaisance, sous le futile prétexte que le service des vivres pour les troupes stationnées dans cette ville n'est par encore réglé, que la Municipalité continue à y pourvoir contre des bons, qui sont délivrés, à la vérité, mais qui offrent peu de garanties de paiement.

Le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Roi n'a pas manqué de protester par une lettre adressée à M. le Comte de Thurn, en lui faisant sentir que cette prétention est contraire à la nature de l'Armistice du 9 Août, par lequel, si l'on a consenti à faire évacuer la ville de Plaisance, on n'a certainement jamais adhéré à une occupation et à une condition par suite de laquelle la ville même dût être assujettie à une charge aussi énorme et tellement au-dessus de ses ressources financières.

La manière dont M. le Comte Thurn a accueilli cette protestation et le langage qu'il a tenu à cet égard au Syndic avaient fait espérer que cet abus aurait cessé, mais il n'en a rien été, et le Général au contraire a communiqué le 24 de ce mois à M. le Syndic une lettre de M. le Maréchal Radetzky, qui lui prescrit de continuer cette réquisition.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères, au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, se voit donc dans la nécessité de réclamer les bienveillans offices de MM. les Ministres des Puissances médiatrices d'Angleterre et de France, et leur entremise auprès des autorités Autrichiennes, dans le but de faire cesser un abus qui est tout-à-fait contraire à la lettre de l'Armistice, et qui impose d'ailleurs à la ville de Plaisance une dépense de 7000 francs environ par jour, qu'elle ne peut absolument pas supporter.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 30, 1848.

WHEN the town of Piacenza was occupied by the Austrian troops, the General in command required the municipal authorities to provide during six days for the maintenance of those troops in return for his bills. Forced to obey, the authorities supplied the required provisions, but being quite without pecuniary funds which would enable them to meet so unexpected and considerable an expense, they were obliged to have recourse to the Sardinian Commissary Extraordinary in the duchy, in order to obtain from the provincial treasury the necessary assistance.

But after the expiration of the six days Count Thurn demanded of the Syndic of Piacenza, under the empty pretext that the arrangement for the supply of food to the troops stationed in that city was not yet made, that the Municipality should continue to furnish them in return for bills, which are in truth given to them, but payment of which is not very well assured.

His Majesty's Commissary-General did not fail to protest, in a letter addressed to Count Thurn, pointing out to him that such a demand was contrary to the nature of the Armistice of the 9th of August, by which, if it was consented that the city of Piacenza should be evacuated, it certainly was never intended to permit its occupation, on terms by which that city should be subjected to so enormous charge, and one so far beyond its financial resources.

The manner in which Count Thurn received this protest, and the language held by him with reference to this subject, gave reason to hope that this abuse would have been put a stop to, but nothing of the sort has taken place, and, on the contrary, the General, on the 24th of this month, communicated to the Syndic a letter from Marshal Radetzky, which instructs him to continue to enforce his requisition.

The Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the name of the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, finds himself therefore compelled to request the benevolent assistance of the Ministers of the mediating Powers, England and France, and their intervention with the Austrian authorities, with a view to put an end to an abuse entirely contrary to the letter of the Armistice, and which besides imposes on the town of Piacenza a daily expense of 7000 francs, which it is absolutely incapable of supporting.

Inclosure 2 in No. 279.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

Turin, September 1, 1848.

LES Soussignés, &c., ont l'honneur de faire connaître à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, Commandant-en-chef de l'armée de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne s'est adressé à eux, comme Représentans des Puissances qui lui ont offert et dont il a accepté la médiation, pour lui représenter que M. le Comte de Thurn, commandant les troupes Impériales à Plaisance, a requis l'administration municipale de cette ville de pourvoir pendant six jours à l'entretien de son armée contre des bons à délivrer, et, malgré la protestation du Commissaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, a exigé la continuation de ce service, en communiquant le 24 Août au Syndic une lettre de son Excellence qui le lui prescrit.

Les Soussignés regardent comme un devoir de représenter à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, qu'une pareille exigence est contraire à l'Armistice du 9 Août, qui ne se rapporte qu'à l'évacuation de la ville de Plaisance, mais ne peut autoriser l'assujettissement auquel on veut la condamner.

Lors même que les bons délivrés à l'administration municipale de Plaisance indiqueraient une intention de remboursement, rien n'en garantit le paiement, et la ville étant obligée de faire toutes les avances, cette mesure constituerait une dépense trop au-dessus de ses ressources financières pour pouvoir être continuée plus longtemps, même dans cette hypothèse.

Les Soussignés espèrent que son Excellence reconnaîtra la justice de cette réclamation et voudra bien donner des ordres pour qu'il y soit fait droit. Ils saisissent, &c.

(Signé) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 1, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have the honour to make known to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, &c., that the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia has addressed itself to them, as Representatives of the Powers who offered to him their mediation, and whose mediation he has accepted, to represent to them that Count Thurn, commanding the Imperial troops at Piacenza, has required the municipal authorities of that town to provide for six days for the subsistence of his troops in return for bills; and has further, in spite of the protest of the Commissary of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, insisted on the continuance of that service, by communicating to the Syndic on the 24th of August a letter from his Excellency directing him so to do.

The Undersigned feel it their duty to represent to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky that such an exaction is contrary to the Armistice of the 9th of August, which only refers to the evacuation of the town of Piacenza, but can give no authority for the state of subjection in which it is attempted to place it.

Even if the bills given to the municipal authorities of Piacenza showed an intention of payment, there is no guarantee that they will be paid, and the city being forced to make all the advances, the doing so would involve an expense too far beyond its financial resources to admit of the possibility of its continuing any longer, even under that hypothesis.

The Undersigned trust that your Excellency will acknowledge the justice of this appeal, and will give instructions that the matter be set right.

They avail themselves, &c.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 280.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 2, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by the Baron de Perron to M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte and myself, requesting us to use our best endeavours in order to procure in favour of Venice a cessation of hostilities during the negotiations about to be commenced for peace, together with copy of the answer which I have returned to it, the inclosure* in which has already been forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 29th of August of this year's series.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

* Inclosure 2 in No. 252.

Inclosure 1 in No. 280.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 31 Août, 1848.

PAR l'Article IV de l'Armistice de Milan il a été stipulé que cet Acte s'étendrait à la ville de Venise et à la terre ferme Vénitienne. Il a été convenu dans le même article que les forces militaires Sardes de terre et de mer abandonneraient la ville, les forts, &c., mais il n'a point été dit qu'elles les remettraient aux troupes Autrichiennes. S'il avait dû en être ainsi on l'aurait formellement stipulé comme on l'a fait à l'Article II, pour Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfò, &c.

Il s'en suit donc qu'en faisant évacuer Venise et la terre ferme Vénitienne par les troupes Sardes, (et des ordres ont été donnés itérativement pour cette évacuation, dont le retard est tout-à-fait indépendant de notre volonté, comme vous vous en serez certainement convaincu par la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser en date d'hier,) le Gouvernement du Roi aura rempli pour sa part les conditions qui lui sont imposées par l'Article IV. Dès-lors l'Armistice doit être appliqué à Venise et à son territoire, c'est-à-dire que pendant sa durée toute hostilité contre ce pays doit être suspendue de la part des troupes Autrichiennes.

En supposant même que les autorités Impériales voulussent opposer à ce raisonnement le prétexte que telle n'a pas été l'idée des négociateurs de l'Armistice, cette raison ne devrait être d'aucun poids, puisqu'il a été reconnu et déclaré par les Puissances médiatrices que cet acte n'était que purement militaire et ne devait avoir aucun caractère politique.

Le Gouvernement du Roi, fermement décidé à remplir toutes les conditions militaires de l'Armistice, est en droit d'exiger qu'elles soient rigoureusement exécutées par l'Autriche.

Il exprime donc le vœu que les Puissances médiatrices, l'Angleterre et la France, veuillent bien intervenir auprès des autorités Autrichiennes pour obtenir, au moyen de leurs bienveillans offices, qu'il y ait de leur part suspension totale d'hostilités à l'égard de Venise et de son territoire, et leur déclarer formellement qu'ils protestent contre tout ce qu'elles feraient en opposition avec cette condition de l'Armistice.

Je dois en conséquence, Monsieur, au nom du Gouvernement du Roi, vous prier, comme j'en adresse en même temps la demande à M. le Ministre de France, de vouloir bien faire les démarches que vous croirez convenables et user de l'influence que l'Angleterre est en position d'exercer pour la solution de cette question, afin qu'il soit fait droit aux justes instances du Gouvernement du Roi.

Je m'empresse de vous en présenter dès à présent de sincères remerciemens, et je vous prie, &c.

(Signé) BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, August 31, 1848.

IT was stipulated by Article IV of the Armistice of Milan, that that Act should extend to the city of Venice and to the territory of Venice on the mainland. It was agreed in the same Article that the Sardinian naval and military forces should abandon the city, forts, &c., but it was not said that they should give them up to the Austrian troops. If that was to have been the case it would have been formally stipulated, as was done in Article II, in regard to Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfò, &c.

It follows then that by the evacuation by the Sardinian troops of Venice and of the Venetian territory on the mainland (and orders have repeatedly been given for that evacuation, the delay in which is wholly independent of our will, as you will be clearly convinced by the letter which I had the honour to address to you yesterday), the King's Government will have fulfilled on its part the conditions imposed on it by Article IV. Consequently the Armistice ought to be applied to Venice and to its territory; that is to say, during its continuance

all hostility against that country ought to be suspended on the part of the Austrian troops.

Supposing even that the Imperial authorities wished to oppose to this reasoning the pretext that such was not the intention of the negotiators of the Armistice, that reason should have no weight, since it has been admitted and declared by the mediating Powers that that Act was merely military, and ought not to bear any political character.

The King's Government, being firmly resolved to fulfil all the military conditions of the Armistice, is entitled to require that they should be strictly executed by Austria.

It expresses therefore its wish that the mediating Powers, England and France, would be pleased to interfere with the Austrian authorities in order to obtain, by means of their good offices, that there should be on the side of those authorities a total suspension of hostilities in regard to Venice and its territory, and formally to declare to them that they protest against everything which they might do in opposition to this condition of the Armistice.

I have consequently, Sir, to request you, in the name of the King's Government, as I address the like request at the same time to the Minister of France, to have the goodness to take the steps which you shall deem suitable, and to employ the influence which England is in a position to exert for the solution of this question, in order that the just demands of the King's Government may be complied with.

I offer you at once my sincere thanks for doing so, and I request you, &c.
(Signed) BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 280.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, September 1, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note addressed to him by his Excellency the Baron de Perron, &c., requesting the employment of the good offices of Great Britain to obtain from Field-Marshal Radetzky in favour of Venice and of its terra firma States, a cessation of hostilities during the approaching negotiations for peace.

The Undersigned has already received from the Provisional Government of Venice an application of a precisely similar nature, and he feels he cannot better reply to the note of his Excellency the Baron de Perron, than by transmitting to him copy* of the answer addressed by the Undersigned to the Provisional Government of Venice upon this subject.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron will perceive from the inclosed copy of that reply, that the Undersigned has already laid the question before his Government, and that he awaits his instructions with regard to it.

The Undersigned regrets that he cannot in this instance at once conform to the wishes of his Excellency the Baron de Perron, but he avails himself, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 281.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 1st instant, relative to proceedings of the Austrians at Piacenza, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve your note.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See Inclosure in No. 253.

No. 282.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

(Extract.)

Florence, August 31, 1848.

LATE in the evening of the 29th I received to my very great astonishment a letter from the Gonfaloniere or Mayor of Leghorn under the Revolutionary Provisional Government, in which, after describing the causes that had led to the rebellion, he requests me to negotiate with the Grand Duke a full amnesty for the city of Leghorn and a revocation of the order for the march of troops upon the city, as he could not answer for the lives and safety of British subjects, if it was exposed to a hostile assault from the Grand Ducal troops. This letter, which was addressed to Her Majesty's Consul, I received by an officer of the "Thetis" who was sent to me with despatches from Captain Codrington and Mr. Macbean; the Gonfaloniere having been on board the "Thetis," Captain Codrington gave him his mind as to the risk he ran in heading a Provisional Government in opposition to the legal authority of the Grand Duke.

I immediately dispatched Mr. Barron to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but it was so late that my communication could only be laid before the Government yesterday morning.

In bringing before the Council the Gonfaloniere's letter, I requested instructions as to the answer which I should return, but if the Government thought proper to ask my opinion on the subject, my advice would be not to come to any terms with the rebels, as I thought it might be a dangerous example to the rest of Tuscany to do so; but that an unconditional surrender should be demanded, and a promise given that if this was done the rebellious city should be treated with the utmost leniency.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs then stated that the Government authorized me to make the following reply to the Gonfaloniere: "that they refused to enter into negotiation with the rebels further than to give a general promise that if they would return to their obedience, admitted peaceably the troops, and reinstated the proper authorities, the Government would bind itself to act with the utmost possible leniency."

I re-dispatched the officer of the "Thetis" with this answer to the Gonfaloniere of Leghorn yesterday morning, and to-morrow I shall have the honour of informing your Lordship of the result.

No. 283.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

(Extract.)

Caluso, September 2, 1848.

I HEAR that Milan is a desert; the emigration has now gained the middle and commercial classes, and many shops and magazines are closed. It seems that little or no opposition is made by the Austrians to the demand of the Milanese for passports for the exterior; but so soon as the bearer of one is known to have quitted the town a note is made of it, and soldiers are immediately sent to be quartered upon the individual's house. The barracks are all empty, and the troops are by preference sent to occupy the best and most sumptuously furnished rooms in the various palaces of the nobles. The Palais Borromeo is occupied now in this manner, the common soldiers sleeping in the furnished drawing-rooms. The forced contribution, called a loan, is of 9,000,000 of Austrian livres instead of 3,000,000 as at first said.

No. 284.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 29, 1848.

I HAVE just received from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg a correspondence relating to the entering of the Imperial troops into the Legations, and have the honour to inclose the three notes,* one from Count Montani, the

* See Inclosures in No. 273.

chief of the Nunziatura, addressed to Baron Wessenberg ; one from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg to Count Montani ; one from Field-Marshal Baron Welden to the Pontifical Plenipotentiaries, Cardinal Marini, Prince Corsini, and Count Guarini.

Baron Wessenberg approves of and refers to Baron Welden's reasons for his conduct, which the Baron shows to have been justified by the hostile attitude and proceedings of Roman regular regiments and Roman free corps, acting as the Baron supposes in contradiction to the will and without the authority of the Pope, and the General adds a report of an agreement containing five articles between the Pontifical Plenipotentiaries and himself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 285.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, August 30, 1848.

M. DE LA COUR informed me this morning of his having received from his Government instructions to press for a reply from the Austrian Government, yes or no, as to the acceptance of the mediation.

It appears that the French Government had not at the time when these instructions were written received the communication sent from hence on the 23rd instant, of what had taken place at the interview between his Excellency Baron Wessenberg and M. de la Cour and myself on the 22nd. I have therefore expressed to M. de la Cour my hope that he may think himself authorized by the state of things to defer at least till to-morrow the calling for a categorical reply from Baron Wessenberg, and in my reply to M. de la Cour's notification to me that his Government had ordered him to induce me to accompany him, and make a demand similar to that he was to make to Baron Wessenberg, I said that I did not know what I could say to that Minister, and that I thought it my duty to wait for instructions from my Government. I observed that to demand a categorical reply, yes or no, as to the acceptance of the mediation, was in fact to demand that the basis upon which that mediation is to rest should be accepted ; and the Austrian Minister having already told us that under the change of circumstances, that basis should be modified, I did not think I had a right without further instructions to bring the question abruptly to a point.

I have also to state that this morning I received from Baron Wessenberg a note containing the following passage :—"Je n'ai rien de nouveau d'Italie, et la conduite du Gouvernement Sarde est encore un énigme. L'on a à la vérité envoyé un ordre général au Chef d'Escadre Albini, de quitter l'Adriatique et de conduire les troupes Sardes qui se trouvent à Venise à Ancone, et de là vers les Iles Ioniennes. Reste à voir si cet ordre sera plus exactement exécuté que le premier."*

I showed this passage to M. de la Cour ; I told him also that I was in hourly expectation of the arrival of a messenger ; that he had been due here since the 27th. I believe that M. de la Cour will not go to Baron Wessenberg this day, but I fear he will think it his duty to go there to-morrow.

If the Austrians be forced to give a yes or no, I am afraid that it may be no, and in that case there will be a disagreeable complication.

The Austrians are reinforcing their army ; the spirit of hostility to the Italians is rather increasing than otherwise. The feeling of nationality is also increasing in Germany, as against the Italian ends.

I beg to apologize for saying so much upon a subject which must be so much better understood by your Lordship ; my anxiety is that a war in which I cannot doubt that England would soon be engaged, should not be brought about by precipitation, and this anxiety I hope will be my excuse.

I have spoken doubtfully whether the Austrians would say yes or no, in reply to the question the French Government has directed to be put to them,

* (Translation.) I have nothing fresh from Italy, and the conduct of the Sardinian Government is still an enigma. A general order has indeed been sent to the Chef d'Escadre Albini, to quit the Adriatic, and to convey to Ancona the Sardinian troops who are at Venice, and from thence towards the Ionian Islands. It remains to be seen whether this order will be more exactly executed than the first.

and I will give some reasons why it may be no. The Sardinian army was completely beaten in fair and vigorous battle, it is much demoralized, and King Charles Albert is universally found fault with in Lombardy; but the most important thing is, that almost all the peasantry show indubitable evidences of their desire to be under the Austrian dominion rather than to remain under the government of the Milanese party which has ruled in Lombardy during the last months. This fact is known by the Austrian Government; it is not doubted by them. The strong opinion and feeling of the Austrian army is also known by the Austrian Government to be for the maintenance of Austrian power in Lombardy. Will the Austrian Government venture under these circumstances to say yes to the basis of the proposed mediation, or will the Government say no? Might it not be better to avoid putting the question imperatively?

No. 286.

M. de Beaumont to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

Milord,

Londres, le 5 Septembre, 1848.

VOTRE Excellence a dû recevoir une lettre par laquelle Lord Normanby vous exprime le désir qu'il soit prescrit à Lord Ponsonby de se joindre à Vienne au Représentant du Gouvernement Français, pour demander au Cabinet Autrichien une réponse précise et définitive à notre offre de médiation.

Je suis chargé, Milord, par mon Gouvernement, d'insister auprès de votre Excellence, pour que des instructions soient données dans ce sens le plus tôt possible à Lord Ponsonby.

Dans le moment où le Gouvernement Français tente un dernier effort pour donner à la question Italienne une solution toute pacifique, il ne doute pas que le Cabinet Anglais ne lui apporte le plus sincère et le plus zélé concours.

Il y compte d'autant plus sûrement, que la voie dans laquelle il entre est précisément celle que votre Excellence recommandait comme la meilleure, lorsqu'elle me disait ces paroles qui n'ont point été perdues: "Il n'y a aucun parti à prendre pour la conduite à tenir, tant qu'on ne saura pas positivement si l'Autriche accepte ou refuse la médiation."

Or, c'est cette réponse de l'Autriche que le Gouvernement Français veut savoir et a résolu de demander préalablement à toute détermination. Je crois pouvoir dire que de grands partis allaient se prendre, qui ont été suspendus subitement. Le Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif en France n'a pas voulu que l'on pût dire qu'il existait une chance d'arrangement pacifique qu'il n'eût d'abord épuisée. Maintenant je ne crois rien exagérer en ajoutant que l'opinion si fortement exprimée par votre Excellence a exercé une grande influence sur cette grave résolution du Gouvernement Français.

L'Angleterre et la France, animées d'un même sentiment de justice et d'humanité, ont proposé ensemble une médiation dont le succès importe au rétablissement d'une paix durable dans le sud de l'Europe. Le plus sincère désir de la France, c'est que l'œuvre soit menée jusqu'au bout par les deux Puissances qui l'ont commencée. Restât-elle seule, la France n'abandonnerait pas l'entreprise à laquelle son honneur est attaché. Mais elle sent tout le poids du concours de l'Angleterre, et elle regretterait vivement tout ce qui affaiblirait entre les deux nations et les deux Gouvernements ce bon accord et cette bonne entente desquels dépend la paix du monde.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé)

G. DE BEAUMONT.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

London, September 5, 1848.

YOUR Excellency will have received a letter in which Lord Normanby expresses to you the desire that Lord Ponsonby should be directed to join at Vienna the Representative of the French Government, in order to require from the Austrian Cabinet a precise and definitive answer to our offer of mediation.

I am instructed, my Lord, by my Government, to urge your Excellency

that instructions in this sense may be given as soon as possible to Lord Ponsonby.

At a moment when the French Government is making a last effort to give to the Italian question a peaceable solution, it does not doubt that the English Cabinet will afford it the most sincere and zealous co-operation.

It reckons the more surely upon this, because the course upon which it has entered is precisely that which your Excellency recommended as the best, when you used to me these words, which have not been lost : "There is no course to be taken in regard to the line of conduct to be followed, until we positively know whether Austria accepts or refuses the mediation."

Accordingly it is this answer from Austria that the French Government is desirous of learning, and is resolved to demand, previously to adopting any determination whatever. I think I may say that weighty measures were about to be adopted which have suddenly been suspended. The Chief of the Executive Power in France has been unwilling that it should be said that there was a chance of a peaceable arrangement which he had not first tried. At present I do not consider that I in any respect exaggerate when I add, that the opinion so strongly expressed by your Excellency has exercised a great influence over this important resolution of the French Government.

England and France, animated with the same sentiment of justice and humanity, have conjointly proposed a mediation, the success of which involves the re-establishment of a lasting peace in the south of Europe. The sincerest desire of France is that the work should be brought to a close by the two Powers which have commenced it. Were she to remain single, France would not abandon the undertaking to which her honour is pledged. But she is sensible of the full value of the concurrence of England; and she would deeply regret everything that should weaken between the two nations and the two Governments that good agreement and that good understanding on which the peace of the world depends.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) G. DE BEAUMONT.

No. 287.

Viscount Palmerston to M. de Beaumont.

M. le Ministre,

Foreign Office, September 8, 1848.

I HAVE received your letter of the 5th instant, requesting that instructions may be sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, directing him to join the French Minister at that Court in urging the Austrian Government to give a precise and definitive answer to our offer of mediation in the affairs of Italy.

I have the honour to inform you that I have instructed Lord Ponsonby to represent to the Austrian Government how important it is that they should return a definite answer to the proposals made to Austria by the Governments of Great Britain and France.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 288.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 8, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a note which I have received from the French Minister at this Court, urging that your Excellency should be instructed to join the French Representative at Vienna in requiring the Austrian Government to return a precise and definite answer to the British and French offer of mediation; and I have to instruct your Excellency to represent to the Austrian Government how important it is that a definite answer should be given to the proposals made to Austria by the Governments of Great Britain and France.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

M. Bastide to M. de Beaumont.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by M. de Beaumont.)

(Extract.)

8 Septembre, 1848.

M. DE GABRIAC, arrivé ce matin en courrier de Vienne, m'a apporté la confirmation officielle de la nouvelle que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous annoncer hier, à savoir : que la médiation de la France et de l'Angleterre est acceptée par le Gouvernement Autrichien.

Cette acceptation a été déterminée par la remise de la note dans laquelle je fixais un délai très rapproché à M. de Wessenberg pour donner sa réponse. La dépêche de Lord Palmerston, écrite dans le même sens, n'était pas encore parvenue, et par conséquent Lord Ponsonby n'avait pu en faire usage. Cependant je n'en continue pas moins à attribuer le résultat obtenu à l'action simultanée et à l'union de nos deux Cabinets.

Je remarque cependant à ce sujet combien il est fâcheux que les instructions données aux Agens de l'Angleterre et de la France ne puissent pas être reçues en même temps, et je pense que pour faire marcher les affaires plus rapidement et plus sûrement, il serait bon que d'ici au moment où des conférences seront ouvertes, Lord Normanby fût autorisé à prendre une certaine initiative.

J'ai appris ce matin par dépêche télégraphique, que les hostilités ont été reprises à Messine, que la ville et la citadelle y échangent des coups de canon, et qu'un débarquement de troupes Suisses au service de Naples était prêt à s'opérer.

M. de Rayneval a fait tous ses efforts, mais inutilement, pour éviter ce résultat fâcheux, tout paraissait même arrangé, lorsque le Roi de Naples s'est résolu subitement à une expédition contre la Sicile. Je pense qu'il y a été encouragé par la persuasion que l'Autriche refusant notre médiation, l'Angleterre et la France seraient trop occupés ailleurs pour s'opposer à ses desseins.

J'ai consulté Lord Normanby pour savoir ce que le Cabinet de Londres compte faire dans cette circonstance délicate. Lord Normanby, n'ayant pas d'instructions à cet égard, doit en écrire aujourd'hui à Lord Palmerston, et il proposera, comme je vous prie de votre côté de le faire, à sa Seigneurie, de nous unir encore cette fois pour interposer notre médiation entre Naples et la Sicile.

(Translation.)

September 8, 1848.

M. DE GABRIAC, who arrived this morning *en courrier* from Vienna, has brought me the official confirmation of the news which I had the honour to announce to you yesterday, namely, that the mediation of France and England is accepted by the Austrian Government.

This acceptance was decided by the delivery of the note in which I assigned to M. de Wessenberg a very brief delay in which to give his reply. Lord Palmerston's despatch, written in the same sense, had not yet arrived, and consequently Lord Ponsonby could not make use of it. Nevertheless I do not the less continue to attribute the result which has been obtained, to the simultaneous action and to the union of our two Cabinets.

I observe however on this subject how vexatious it is that the instructions given to the Agents of England and of France cannot be received at the same time ; and I think that in order that affairs may advance more rapidly and more surely, it would be advantageous that from this time until the conferences shall be opened, Lord Normanby should be authorized himself to take the initiative to a certain degree.

I have learnt this morning by a telegraphic despatch, that hostilities have recommenced at Messina, that the town and citadel exchange shots, and that a disembarkation of Swiss troops in the service of Naples was on the eve of taking place.

M. de Rayneval has used all his efforts, but to no purpose, in order to obviate this painful result ; everything even appeared to be settled, when the King of Naples on a sudden determined upon an expedition against Sicily. I

think that he was encouraged to do so by the persuasion that Austria refusing our mediation, England and France would be too much occupied elsewhere to oppose his designs.

I have consulted Lord Normanby, in order to ascertain what the Cabinet of London reckons upon doing in this delicate state of things. Lord Normanby having no instructions in this respect will write to-day to Lord Palmerston; and he will propose to his Lordship, as I request you on your part to do, to join with us on this occasion also in interposing our mediation between Naples and Sicily.

No. 290.

Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by M. de Beaumont, September 9.)

Vienne, 3 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a reçu la note que M. le Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française lui a adressée en date du 1er Septembre, et dans laquelle il manifeste le désir pressant de son Gouvernement de connaître la détermination prise par le Gouvernement Impérial par rapport à l'offre de médiation faite aux noms de la France et de la Grande Bretagne pour mettre fin à la guerre qui désole le Nord de l'Italie.

Le Soussigné n'a pas tardé de porter la note de M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France à la connaissance de son Gouvernement. Il se trouve autorisé à y faire la réponse suivante.

Le Gouvernement Impérial accueille l'offre de médiation qui lui est faite par le Gouvernement de la République Française et par celui de la Grande Bretagne, dans le but de mettre fin à la guerre qui est venu désoler les provinces Italiennes, en se réservant de convenir avec les Puissances médiatrices des conditions qui devront servir de base à la négociation.

Il doit faire observer toutefois d'avance ce à quoi il a déjà rendu attentifs MM. les Représentans de la République Française et du Gouvernement Anglais dans l'entrevue qu'il a eue avec eux, que la négociation qui va avoir lieu ne saurait être basée sur l'état des choses qui existait lorsque le Gouvernement Impérial prit l'initiative pour mettre un terme aux hostilités (initiative qui fut repoussée alors d'une manière qui a été certainement désapprouvée à un égal degré par les Gouvernemens Français et Anglais).

Lorsque la première démarche pour offrir la médiation a été faite par les Représentans de la France et de la Grande Bretagne, le Soussigné était en droit de s'attendre à des propositions directes de la part de Sa Majesté Sarde.

Elle avait sollicité un armistice comme un commencement de négociations, ou, comme il est dit en tête de la Convention d'Armistice, comme prélude des négociations pour un traité de paix.

Plus tard Sa Majesté a fait demander au Général-en-chef de l'armée Autrichienne, comment et dans quelles formes la négociation pouvait être le plus convenablement entamée? Le Gouvernement Impérial s'empressa de son côté de nommer un Plénipotentiaire. Il a été trompé toutefois dans son attente. Au lieu de voir donner suite à la négociation sollicitée par la partie adverse, il éprouva de graves difficultés à l'égard de l'exécution de l'Armistice même. Le Gouvernement Impérial se voit donc dans la nécessité d'insister avant tout sur l'exécution entière de cet Armistice.

L'Autriche a la conscience d'avoir fait tout ce que l'on pouvait désirer raisonnablement de sa part pour le maintien de la paix en Europe, ou, pour mieux dire, pour prévenir les complications qui pourraient amener une guerre générale, en limitant ses succès, au moment même où il ne dépendait que d'elle de les étendre, strictement à l'état de possession des parties intéressées, tel qu'il est défini par les traités.

Elle ne pouvait donner un gage plus éclatant des dispositions éminemment pacifiques qui n'ont cessé d'animer son Gouvernement.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 3, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which the Chargé d'Affaires of France addressed to him on the 1st of September, and in which he manifests the urgent desire of his Government to be made acquainted with the determination taken by the Imperial Government in regard to the offer of mediation made in the names of France and Great Britain, in order to put an end to the war which lays waste the north of Italy.

The Undersigned has not delayed to bring the note of the Chargé d'Affaires of France to the knowledge of his Government. He is authorized to make to it the following reply.

The Imperial Government accepts the offer of mediation which is made to it by the Government of the French Republic and by that of Great Britain, with the object of putting an end to the war which lays waste the Italian provinces, reserving to itself to come to an agreement with the mediating Powers as to the conditions which are to serve as a basis of negotiation.

He must however observe beforehand what he has already remarked to the Representatives of the French Republic and of the English Government in the interview which he has had with them, that the negotiation which is about to take place cannot have for its basis the state of things which existed when the Imperial Government took the initiative in order to put an end to the hostilities (an initiative which was at that time repelled in a manner that was certainly disapproved in an equal degree by the French and English Governments).

When the first step for offering the mediation was made by the Representatives of France and of Great Britain, the Undersigned was entitled to expect direct proposals from His Sardinian Majesty.

His Majesty had solicited an armistice as a commencement of negotiations, or, as it is said at the head of the Convention of Armistice, as a prelude for the negotiations for a treaty of peace.

At a later period, His Majesty caused it to be demanded of the General-in-chief of the Austrian army, how and in what forms the negotiations might most conveniently be entered upon? The Imperial Government on its part hastened to name a Plenipotentiary. It was however deceived in its expectations. Instead of seeing the negotiations solicited by the adverse party carried into effect, it experienced serious difficulties in regard to the execution of the Armistice itself. The Imperial Government is therefore under the necessity of insisting, in the first instance, upon the complete execution of that Armistice.

Austria is conscious of having done everything that could reasonably be required of her for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, or rather for obviating the complications which might bring on a general war, by confining her successes, at the very moment when it only depended upon her to carry them further, strictly to the state of possession of the parties interested, such as it is defined by the treaties.

She could not give a more marked pledge of the eminently peaceable disposition which has not ceased to animate her Government.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

WESSENBERG.

No. 291.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 21st ultimo, in which you inform me that my late conduct in the affairs of Italy has given entire satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government. It is a source of great gratification to me to have met with such approbation.

I have great satisfaction in announcing to your Lordship that order has been completely restored at Leghorn. Colonel Cipriani, the Extraordinary Commissary of the Grand Duke, has entered the town at the head of 1600 men

and has been received with acclamation by the inhabitants. This happy event has been announced to me in a very complimentary note by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, of which I inclose a copy for your Lordship's information.

I omitted to mention that on the 27th ultimo, extraordinary powers were conferred on the Executive Government by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, for the putting down the rebellion in the province of Leghorn, which powers have since been extended to the whole of Tuscany. On the strength of this vote orders were given on the 30th for the closing of all the political clubs in Florence, and every club was surrounded by a detachment of troops. Orders were also issued for the arrest of the Deputy Guerrazzi, but he has fled. Considerable apprehension was felt by the Government lest these extraordinary measures should create a rising at Florence. The streets last night were guarded by numerous patrols of cavalry and infantry, but no disturbance has arisen, and I trust that the energy displayed by the present Ministry will be attended with favourable results.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 291.

The Chevalier Giorgini to Sir George Hamilton.

Florence, 31 Août, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat par interim au Département des Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de son Excellence Sir George Baillie Hamilton, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, que le Colonel Leonetto Cipriani, Commissaire Extraordinaire de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc, est rentré hier à 9 heures du soir à Livourne à la tête de 1600 hommes de troupes Grand Ducales, aux acclamations de la population de la ville, fatiguée de l'état de troubles où quelques meneurs mal-intentionnés l'avaient entraînée.

Ces troupes ont passé la nuit au bivouac sur la Grande Place, et doivent dans la matinée occuper les forts et les autres postes militaires; de manière que à la suite des mesures qui vont être prises, tout sera incessamment rentré dans l'ordre accoutumé.

Le Soussigné, croyant ainsi répondre à l'empressement tout-à-fait amical montré en cette circonstance par son Excellence M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Angleterre, se hâte de lui faire connaître ces résultats de la ligne de conduite suivie par le Gouvernement Grand Ducal, dont il doit d'autant plus se féliciter, qu'ils ont été obtenus sans qu'une goutte de sang eût été répandue par le fait des troupes; et il saisit, &c.

(Signé) G. GIORGINI.

(Translation.)

Florence, August 31, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inform Sir George Baillie Hamilton, &c., that Colonel Leonetto Cipriani, Extraordinary Commissioner of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, re-entered Leghorn at 9 o'clock yesterday evening at the head of 1600 Grand Ducal troops, amid the acclamations of the population of the city, worn out with the state of disorder into which certain ill-disposed intriguers had hurried it.

These troops bivouacked during the night in the Great Square, and are to occupy in the morning the forts and other military posts, so that in consequence of the measures about to be taken, everything will shortly resume its wonted order.

The Undersigned, deeming that he hereby responds to the very friendly anxiety manifested on this occasion by his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of England, hastens to communicate to him these results of the line of conduct followed by the Grand Ducal Government, of which he has the more reason to congratulate himself, inasmuch as they have been obtained without shedding a single drop of blood by the action of the troops; and he avails himself, &c.

(Signed) G. GIORGINI.

No. 292.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship Mr. Petre's despatch of the 28th August, informing me that the Roman Ministry had announced on the 26th ultimo, the adjournment of the session of the Chambers until the 15th of November.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 292.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, August 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that at the close of the sitting of the Council of Deputies on Saturday 26th instant, Count Fabbri, Minister of the Interior, after having read a report of the Ministry to His Holiness on the impossibility of bringing to a conclusion within the term fixed by the Statute the promised reforms of the Municipal and Provincial Councils, of the Police Code, of the Law of Civil and Criminal Proceedings, and of various other institutions of the State, announced in the name of His Holiness the adjournment (prorogata) of the session until the 15th of next November, the Finance Committee however remaining *en permanence*.

It had been expected for some days that the session would be adjourned previously to the 5th September, the end of the term (three months) fixed by the Statute, but the suddenness of the suspension of the sittings and without any notice was quite unlooked for. It was probably caused by the resolution of Count Mamiani, Sterbini and others, who are called the War party, to postpone every measure of mere internal economy and to urge on the arming of the population, to call on the Pope to interpose his authority in favour of the total independence of the whole of Italy on all foreign dominion, and to hasten the formation of a foreign legion already voted.

Resolutions of this sort had already been sanctioned by the Deputies in secret committee and then publicly read, and mere fear would have equally carried them in open debate, to the great embarrassment of the Ministry, looking not only to the negotiations now about to be entered on for the pacification of the Peninsula, but to the disorganized and lawless state of the Bolognese and of the three other Legations, where there is every probability of the continuance of further and greater excesses.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 293.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy of a report I have received from Mr. Consul Brown relative to the disturbances which took place at Genoa on the 1st instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 293.

Consul Brown to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Genoa, September 2, 1848.

I REGRET much to inform you that last night this town was a scene of unbridled riot and confusion, and that the civic guard which ought to have prevented or at least checked it, rather took part with the populace than used measures to maintain order.

There exists here a society or club of Republicans, the president of which (a Venetian) is named De Boni, in intimate alliance with Mazzini. The day before yesterday this De Boni was arrested, and yesterday was sent off accompanied by police officers to Tuscany; during the day most inflammatory placards were stuck up, calling upon the people to assemble at 5 o'clock, and at that time a very large mass met together; they were harangued by a lawyer (Pellegrini), who spoke for more than two hours, and at last worked them up to the point of attacking the Police Office, into which they broke, beat the officers, tore out the windows, seized all the papers and documents they could find, and throwing them into the street set fire to them, destroying so large a quantity that the smoke nearly stifled the prisoners in the Tower; the cries of these poor fellows caused them to change the *locale* of the fire, which they then removed to the open square between the Consulate and the theatre, where, unmolested, they kept up their bonfire till 'twixt 10 and 11.

A visitation was made to James Balbi Piovera whom they nominally divested of his command of the civic guard, appointing Pareto in his stead.

The mob has been so triumphant on this occasion that I fully expect other and more dangerous attempts.

It is sad to see that law has no power or support, and yet such is our actual condition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. Y. BROWN.

No. 294.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 10.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 2, 1848.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship by my despatch of the 31st ultimo that his Highness Prince Schwarzenberg was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary, and would enter into direct negotiations with His Majesty Charles Albert at Verona, for a treaty of peace between Austria and Piedmont. This information was founded on a letter from the Prince to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Turin on the subject. I now learn to my great surprise that His Majesty never made any advances whatever to negotiate in this manner. Here there is some mystery, as it is impossible to understand why Austria should so act, unless with the intention of preventing the mediation of England and France. Your Lordship will without doubt be aware of the true bearing of the case; for from the state of darkness in which we are kept I find it impossible to clear up this to me incomprehensible proceeding. My chief object is to prove to your Lordship that I had good reasons for giving the information I did, as contained in my preceding despatch.

Milan is still in a state of siege; its tranquillity has never been disturbed: but there is not the slightest good feeling among the generality of the inhabitants towards the Austrians. The city remains deserted by all the rich and noble families, and by immense numbers of the middle class. The people accustomed to live by them cannot adapt themselves to the privations they now endure from the absence of their superiors, and accuse Austria as the cause of all they suffer. Already several demonstrations hostile to the Government are on foot. The word has been passed from house to house that no one is to smoke or frequent theatres or churches, and that in coffee-houses no one is to sit down, but is to take refreshments standing. When

however I really perceive that the citizens adopt such measures to show their hatred of the Austrians, I shall do myself the honour to communicate to your Lordship more fully the particulars of these demonstrations.

Many reports are afloat respecting Garibaldi, but news given as official announces that on the 30th ultimo he was met on the top of Mount St. Gothard, proceeding to France through Switzerland.

General Wimpffen assumed yesterday his functions as Military Governor of Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 295.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 10.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 4, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following translation of a proclamation which was issued yesterday afternoon :

"It has come to the knowledge of the Military Government of Milan, that some rash individuals have endeavoured to create disturbances by arbitrarily prohibiting smoking in the streets, in coffee-houses, and in restaurants. Although the Undersigned is convinced that such endeavours are highly disapproved of by the great mass of the population, nevertheless, the Military Government, in order to prevent a renewal of such disagreeable scenes as occurred formerly, is in duty bound to declare that whoever may be caught in the act of attempting by arbitrary injunctions which tend to restrain personal freedom in the use of things lawfully permitted, shall be considered as disturbers of public order and as such liable to all the rigours of the existing military laws.

(Signed)

Lieutenant-Marshal COUNT F. WIMPFEN,

Military Governor of Milan."

I have further the honour to inform your Lordship that by a proclamation which was also issued yesterday afternoon, the Emperor of Austria has granted a free pardon to all the Italian soldiers from sergeant downwards, who since the 18th of March last have deserted from his armies or taken service with his enemy. They are required to present themselves to the District Commissary, or the nearest military authority within three weeks, in order to be sent to their respective regiments.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 296.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Admiral Albini, with the Sardinian fleet, remains off this place, while the Sardinian troops under General La Marmora remain in the town mounting guard as usual.

I am informed upon good authority that several meetings were held among the officers of the fleet, and that it was resolved among them not to comply with the terms of the Convention which provide for its withdrawal.

Be this as it may, Admiral Albini declares that he cannot go away without the troops, and General La Marmora states that he for his part has received no positive orders to withdraw them ; both fleet and troops therefore remain, and no preparations appear to be making for the departure of either one or the other.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 297.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

(Extract.)

Naples, September 4, 1848.

IT is expected that His Majesty the King will shortly prorogue the legislative bodies.

It will appear singular to your Lordship that the King has never received the deputations charged to present to His Majesty the answers of the Chambers to the Speech of the Crown at the beginning of the session, although those answers have now been framed for about a month, and the Ministers have been repeatedly requested to explain the delay and intimate a day for their presentation.

The partisans of the Court have found it necessary to devise an apology for a course of proceeding which to the most indifferent appears haughty and unpolite, and fills the advocates of liberal institutions with dark apprehensions.

It is argued that the present Chamber of Deputies is illegally constituted and consequently cannot be capable of lawful acts, and that many of the persons composing it were either irregularly elected or have not the qualifications required by the provisions of the Constitutional Charter.

In such allegations there is some truth. The present Chamber was elected shortly after the convulsion of the 15th of May and during the progress of the Calabrese rebellion, and in the anxiety to secure the return of a sufficient number of persons to form a House and represent the national will in opposition to that factious revolt, the Government may have been blind to some defects in the way of election, as they certainly were very easy in the verification of the powers of the Deputies chosen. It was desirable at that period for many reasons, that Parliament should be speedily assembled in the forms of law, and in fact till within the last fortnight the constitution and validity of the Chamber was never questioned. But now the Government wishes to get rid of the Chambers, and as a prorogation or dissolution might have a bad effect before the issue of the Sicilian invasion be known, another method was devised of dispensing with the Deputies. Many it is said have not the amount of revenue required by law; let their position be investigated, and if the imputation prove true let them be removed from the Chamber. The result would be that the Chamber would fall into abeyance. There are rarely above ninety-five members in attendance; the presence of eighty-three is necessary to form a House, purge out fourteen or fifteen, and the Chamber would be unable to assemble for legislative objects. In order to keep down the number of the Deputies, there has been a great degree of procrastination in issuing decrees for the convocation of those electoral colleges which for various reasons have not assembled to select their Representatives. At this moment sixty-seven colleges, more than one-third of the whole number, are unrepresented, partly in consequence of the disturbed state of the country at the time of the general election, partly because in many cases the popular voice marked the same person in more than one district. The Chamber has frequently demanded the convocation of those colleges, and M. Bozzelli has as frequently promised the fulfilment of his duty; but it appears that the necessary decrees have not been signed. The Ministers are I believe sincerely anxious that the addresses should be presented and the Chamber developed to its lawful dimensions, but they have not been sufficiently influential to enforce the execution of their advice.

The Chamber has not manifested any superior aptitude for affairs, but it was at least not committed to any course of factious opposition to Government.

No. 298.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

My Lord,

Naples, September 4, 1848.

INFORMATION has just reached me that the decree for the prorogation of Parliament has been signed, but there is some hesitation in the Cabinet as to the manner of communicating it to the Chambers and the public.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 299.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 3, 1848.

I HAVE just received late in the day the inclosed communication from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, being copy of a note written by M. de la Cour to his Excellency requiring an answer to the question, "Will the Imperial Government accept the mediation," &c., and copy of Baron Wessenberg's reply to that note.

I informed your Lordship that M. de la Cour had received pressing orders from his Government to obtain an answer, and I said that I did not think the Imperial Government would or could give one embracing the facts, the mediation and the basis it should be founded upon. Your Lordship will find that Baron Wessenberg has separated those facts; he has accepted the mediation and reserved the determination of the bases for future arrangement.

I do not see that this reservation will of necessity be an obstacle to negotiation for a peace nor to the successful issue of it.

England and France have decided upon a mediation; the terms of peace can be settled during the mediation instead of before its commencement, and in my humble opinion with advantage for the cause of peace.

I will endeavour to ascertain as quickly as possible what are the intentions of the Imperial Government as to those terms, but I will now say that I much doubt if the Imperial Ministers themselves know at this moment what they can do. The fact is, that the mediation is accepted by them, and the fact, if that be the result, of its being also accepted under its new form by Her Majesty's Government and by the French, will put an end to the doubts and difficulties of the Austrian Government so far as to cause some defined plan to be set forth.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 299.

Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.

Vienne, le 3 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de son Excellence Lord Ponsonby, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique, les copies de deux notes qui viennent d'être échangées entre M. de la Cour, Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française, et le Soussigné,—la réponse que le Soussigné a donnée au Chargé d'Affaires de France, énonçant l'acceptation de l'offre de médiation faite au Gouvernement Impérial au nom de la Grande Bretagne et de la France, ainsi que les réserves mises à cette acceptation. Le Soussigné prie son Excellence Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de transmettre à sa Cour (comme lui étant adressée directement) la déclaration contenue dans la note du Ministère Impérial.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 3, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to communicate to his Excellency Lord Ponsonby, &c., copies of two notes which have been exchanged between M. de la Cour, Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, and the Undersigned, —the answer which the Undersigned has given to the Chargé d'Affaires of France, announcing the acceptance of the offer of mediation made to the Imperial Government in the name of Great Britain and of France, as well as the reservations attached to that acceptance. The Undersigned requests his Excellency the Ambassador to transmit to his Court (as if it were directly addressed to himself) the declaration contained in the note of the Imperial Minister.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

WESSENBERG.

 Inclosure 2 in No. 299.
*M. de la Cour to Baron Wessenberg.**Vienne, le 1 Septembre, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française à Vienne, se conformant aux ordres qu'il avait reçus de son Gouvernement, a déjà eu l'honneur de faire connaître verbalement à son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg, &c., que le Gouvernement de la République Française, de concert avec celui de la Grande Bretagne, offrait sa médiation amicale au Gouvernement Impérial pour mettre fin à la guerre qui existe dans le Nord de l'Italie.

Le Baron de Wessenberg, dans la conférence qui a eu lieu à cet effet entre lui et les Représentans de France et d'Angleterre, a répondu, sans décliner formellement cette offre, que le Roi de Sardaigne ayant fait proposer de son côté au Gouvernement de l'Empereur de négocier directement la paix, et ces ouvertures ayant été acceptées, le Cabinet Impérial se considérait comme préalablement engagé, et dans le cas d'attendre pour s'expliquer le moment où il serait fixé sur les dispositions ultérieures du Cabinet de Turin.

Cette déclaration devait d'autant plus surprendre l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et le Soussigné, qu'ils étaient officiellement informés l'un et l'autre, que le Roi de Sardaigne avait accepté la médiation offerte, ce qu'ils firent remarquer au Baron Wessenberg, sans que son Excellence crut devoir se départir de la réserve dans laquelle il jugeait à propos de se renfermer sur ce premier point.

Le Baron de Wessenberg objecta en deuxième lieu pour différer de s'expliquer relativement à la médiation offerte, que les conditions proposées comme bases de la négociation à intervenir se rapportaient à un état de choses entièrement changé par les événemens; qu'il était indispensable de tenir compte de ce changement pour déterminer le Cabinet Impérial à se prêter à une négociation dans laquelle interviendraient les Puissances médiatrices.

Le Soussigné ne cacha pas que ces objections et les lenteurs qu'elles devaient occasioner, seraient pour le Gouvernement de la République Française un sujet d'étonnement et d'inquiétude, convaincu comme il l'était, que son Gouvernement, mû principalement par un intérêt aussi pressant que celui d'arrêter l'effusion du sang en Italie et de prévenir les complications que l'état actuel des choses ne pouvait manquer de faire naître, attachait le plus grand prix à voir accepter une médiation qui lui permettrait d'entrevoir une solution pacifique des questions Italiennes.

Ces inquiétudes n'ont pu qu'augmenter par l'effet d'incidens nouveaux qui tendent à ajouter aussi aux difficultés de la situation. L'entrée des troupes Autrichiennes en Romagne, les conditions imposées au Gouvernement Pontifical, l'occupation des Duchés de Modène et de Parme, la récente déclaration du Gouvernement de Venise, qui refuse de se soumettre et a réclamé formellement l'intervention de la France, les discussions soulevées au sein même du Gouvernement à Turin sur le caractère et la portée des obligations de l'Armistice; toutes ces considérations, le Ministère Impérial le comprendra assurément, font que le Gouvernement de la République Française, avant d'arrêter les résolutions que lui imposent le soin de sa dignité et de ses intérêts au-dehors, attache la plus grande

importance à être fixé sur les intentions du Cabinet Impérial relativement à l'offre de médiation commune qui a été faite; l'acceptation de cette offre paraissant au Cabinet Français le seul moyen de mettre un terme aux hostilités suspendues seulement d'une manière provisoire, et de rassurer contre les éventualités d'un avenir plein de périls.

En conséquence, et pour obéir aux nouveaux ordres de son Gouvernement, qui lui prescrivent d'insister de la manière la plus pressante auprès du Cabinet Impérial, le Soussigné a l'honneur de demander à son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg de vouloir bien dans le plus bref délai possible le mettre à même de faire connaître à son Gouvernement si le Cabinet Impérial accepte l'offre de médiation faite au nom de la France et de la Grande Bretagne.

Le Soussigné déclare en outre que ce délai expiré, sans que la réponse qu'il demande ait été faite, l'offre de médiation susdite devra être considérée comme non-avenue en ce qui concerne le Gouvernement de la République, et que le Cabinet Français n'ayant plus à prendre conseil que de lui-même et de ce qu'il jugerait nécessaire aux intérêts qu'il est chargé de défendre, se verrait, à regret sans doute, mais inévitablement, obligé de se conduire d'après cette impérieuse nécessité.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

DE LA COUR.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 1, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., in conformity with the orders which he had received from his Government, has already had the honour to communicate verbally to his Excellency Baron de Wessenberg, &c., that the Government of the French Republic, in concert with that of Great Britain, offered to the Imperial Government its friendly mediation, in order to put an end to the existing war in the North of Italy.

The Baron de Wessenberg, in the conference which took place for this purpose between himself and the Representatives of France and England, replied, without formally declining this offer, that the King of Sardinia having on his part proposed to the Emperor's Government to negotiate directly for peace, and those overtures having been accepted, the Imperial Cabinet considered itself as previously engaged, and as being under the necessity of awaiting, in order to explain its intentions, the time when it should have a decided knowledge of the ulterior intentions of the Cabinet of Turin.

This declaration was necessarily the more surprising to the Ambassador of England and to the Undersigned, since they were both of them officially informed that the King of Sardinia had accepted the offered mediation, to which circumstance they called Baron Wessenberg's attention, although his Excellency did not think fit to lay aside the reserve which he had considered it proper to maintain in regard to this first point.

Baron Wessenberg, as a reason for delaying his explanation in regard to the offer of mediation, objected in the second place, that the conditions proposed as bases of the negotiation to take place, had reference to a state of things entirely changed by subsequent events; that it was indispensable that this change should be taken into account in order to determine the Imperial Government to lend itself to a negotiation in which the mediating Powers should intervene.

The Undersigned did not conceal that these objections and the delays to which they must lead, would be a source of astonishment and uneasiness to the Government of the French Republic, convinced as he was that his Government, influenced principally by an interest so urgent as that of putting a stop to the effusion of blood in Italy and of preventing the complications to which the present state of affairs could not fail to give rise, attached the greatest importance to the acceptance of a mediation which might admit of its looking forward to a peaceable solution of the Italian questions.

This uneasiness could not but increase by reason of fresh incidents which tend to add likewise to the difficulties of the situation. The entrance of the Austrian troops into the Romagna; the conditions imposed upon the Papal Government; the occupation of the Duchies of Modena and of Parma; the recent

declaration of the Venetian Government, which refuses to submit, and has formally demanded the intervention of France ; the discussions which have arisen within the Government at Turin itself, as to the character and bearing of the obligations of the Armistice ; all these considerations, the Imperial Ministry will assuredly understand, cause the Government of the French Republic, before adopting the resolutions imposed upon it by a concern for its own dignity and for its internal interests, to attach the greatest importance to acquiring a positive knowledge of the intentions of the Imperial Government in regard to the offer of joint mediation which has been made to it ; the acceptance of this offer appearing to the French Cabinet to be the only means of putting an end to the hostilities, which are suspended only provisionally, and to afford security against the contingencies of a future full of peril.

Accordingly, and in obedience to fresh orders from his Government which enjoin him to press the Imperial Cabinet in the most urgent manner, the Undersigned has the honour to request his Excellency the Baron de Wessenberg to have the goodness, with as little delay as possible, to enable him to acquaint his Government whether the Imperial Cabinet accepts the offer of mediation made in the name of France and of Great Britain.

The Undersigned declares moreover that on the expiration of this delay without the required answer being returned, the offer of the aforesaid mediation will be considered as not having been made, in so far as the Government of the Republic is concerned, and that the French Cabinet, having only to take council of itself and as to what it may deem necessary for the defence of the interests committed to it, would see itself, doubtless with regret, but unavoidably, obliged to regulate its conduct by this overbearing necessity.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

DE LA COUR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 299.

Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour.

[See No. 290.]

No. 300.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 4, 1848.

THIS morning M. de la Cour informed me of the substance of a despatch dated, I think, August 30, addressed to M. Beaumont, and which will be communicated to your Lordship. M. de la Cour, in consequence of what he had learned from his Government, proposed to me to join with him in making a demand that the Austrian Government should take measures to establish an armistice between the Austrian and the Venetian Governments.

I replied that I could not take that step without orders from my Government, and therefore must beg him to accept my excuses for declining compliance with his wish. I observed to M. de la Cour that the first cause assigned by Baron Wessenberg on the 22nd August for not accepting the mediation was the non-execution of the Armistice agreed to by the King of Sardinia ; that it is known the Venetian Government has been most active in preventing the fulfilment of that engagement ; and that were I to act in this case without your Lordship's instructions I should be out of rule, without having even a chance of producing any good, because the Austrian Government would refuse the thing asked for.

I have forwarded to your Lordship Mr. Consul-General Dawkins' despatch dated September 1st, and therein is reported the non-execution by the Sardinians of the conditions of the Armistice up to that date and the presumed intention not to execute it at all.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 300.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Venice, September 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Admiral Albin with the Sardinian fleet remains at anchor off this place, while the Sardinian troops under General La Marmora remain in the town mounting guard as usual.

I am informed upon good authority that several meetings were held among the officers of the fleet, and that it was resolved not to comply with the terms of the Convention which provides for its withdrawal.

Be this as it may, Admiral Albin declares that he cannot go away without the troops, and General La Marmora states that he for his part has received no positive orders to withdraw them; both fleet and troops therefore remain, and no preparations appear to be making for the departure of either one or the other.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

P.S.—Letters received here last night state that Provisional Governments have been proclaimed at Leghorn and at Genoa.

No. 301.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 11.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, September 8, 1848.

THE Archduke John mentioned to me last night that he had received an intimation from Vienna that the Austrian Government was willing now to accept the mediation of England and France for the arrangement of its differences with that of Sardinia, on the basis of ancient treaties. I observed that it seemed to me that this was not accepting a mediation, but that it was an endeavour to induce the English and French Governments to pronounce themselves beforehand in favour of Austria on one of the principal points which the mediating Powers would have to take into their consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

COWLEY.

No. 302.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 12.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 4, 1848.

IT is with great regret that I must again inform your Lordship of the disgraceful events that have for a second time agitated Leghorn, and which have caused the effusion of much blood and placed the town in the hands of the mob.

A notice informing the people that the political clubs were closed was posted in different parts of the town on Saturday the 2nd, by order of the Extraordinary Royal Commissary, Colonel Cipriani. This notice was torn down by the populace and in presence of the Carabineers who were placed to guard it; cavalry were sent for, and the troops of the line were formed in the Great Square; some cannon-shots were fired, after which the people began to fire from the houses and from the corners of the streets upon the soldiers and killed about sixty of the troops of the line and Carabineers, but very few of the mob suffered.

The forts were still held by the Royal troops; but in order that Colonel Cipriani might command the services of a body of soldiers who held the Castello Vecchio, he wrote to Captain Codrington a letter, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, begging of him to land his men and hold that fort for the Grand Duke.

A similar letter was addressed to the Captain of the "Vauban." Immediately on the receipt of this letter, Captain Codrington dispatched one of the officers of the "Thetis" by the Tuscan steamer "il Giglio," to Gombo near Pisa, where he landed with the despatch addressed to me, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, asking my opinion as to what was to be done.

After having given due consideration to the observations contained in Captain Codrington's despatch, I could not change my former opinion as to the dangers that might beset the English inhabitants at Leghorn if an English force interfered at a moment of popular fury, although I felt that if the Grand Duke's possession of Leghorn depended on our withholding or not the assistance of the English forces, a great responsibility would attach to me if I entirely refused all co-operation.

Under these circumstances I wrote, after midnight, the instructions to Captain Codrington of which I inclose a copy, and the Government dispatched the officer of the "Thetis" (Mr. Fellowes) with my answer at 4 o'clock this morning by a special train to Pisa, as the railway from thence to Leghorn is again broken up and all the gates of the town in possession of the mob.

As strong reinforcements of the Florence civic guard and 400 of the Legion of the "Indipendenza Italiana" lately taken into the Tuscan pay, were sent to Leghorn yesterday, I trust that there will be no necessity for landing the crew of the "Thetis;" but in giving the answer I have done to Captain Codrington I hope that Her Majesty's Government will consider that I have acted with discretion in a matter which involves such great responsibility.

I very much fear that the culpable lenity of the Government and their temporising policy in not apprehending the ringleaders of the former revolt at Leghorn, when the Royal troops entered the city, has been the cause of the present atrocities.

I have not been able to ascertain to-day what answer the French Minister has made to the request for the landing of the crew of the "Vauban."

News has this moment been brought to me that a Republic has been declared at Leghorn.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 302.

Captain Codrington to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

"Thetis," Leghorn, September 3, 1848.

I REGRET to have to inform you that a disturbance ending in a fresh revolt broke out yesterday evening in the town, in the course of which eleven or twelve lives have been lost. Occasional firing still goes on, but the troops holding the Fortezza Vecchia, that of the Porta Murata and the port and arsenal, are in a secure position, provided they do not fall short of provisions and ammunition.

I have the honour to inclose for your information a copy of a letter which has been this morning addressed jointly to Captain Gués of the French steam-frigate "Vauban," and to myself as Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," on the part of the superior authority of the Tuscan Government, requesting us to land such a force as may securely garrison Forte Vecchia, so as to allow him to use the troops at present employed on that duty, in putting down the revolt that broke out last night in the town.

To this course my colleague and myself see several objections, which at the present moment have induced us to decline entering into it.

It would certainly be a direct intervention of foreign force in Tuscan quarrels, and in case of the fort being attacked or annoyed while we were in it, we should be brought into a very undesirable collision with assailants with whom we have no national quarrel. Of the military result of such a collision, if it occurred, there is no doubt, but we fear it would place our respective countrymen resident in the town and their property in an unsafe position, exposed to the ill-will and liable to the outrages of the populace, which, however short-lived might be its anger, could inflict at the moment on our countrymen an

extent of injury from which, at the distance we are necessarily obliged to be from the shore, we have no means of ensuring them.

It also appears to us that we should thereby be committing our respective Governments to an intervention which may not have been contemplated, and which might possibly embarrass them in their intended line of political conduct in Italy. I may add that so long as the Tuscan Government continue to hold these forts (particularly if they speedily occupy by cavalry, &c., the roads leading to the town) the insurgents cannot shake the position of the troops if it is defended; and the Tuscan Government by thus holding the port at its command can at pleasure send in sufficient reinforcements to enable the Governor to put down and disarm his assailants by the agency of their own national forces.

I send this letter up by Mr. Fellowes, midshipman of this ship, who is directed to hold himself at your disposal, ready to return as soon as you have any communication to make to me.

I have &c.

(Signed) H. CODRINGTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 302.

Colonel Cipriani to the British Consul.

Livorno, 3 Settembre, 1848.

IL Sottoscritto si rivolge all' illustrissimo Signor Console d'Inghilterra, affinchè voglia impegnare il Signor Commandante della fregata della sua nazione che trovasi ancorata in questo porto, a voler inviare tutta la truppa che ha disponibile al suo bordo a presidiare per il momento la Fortezza Vecchia, di concerto con un distaccamento de truppa Francese, ponendo così il Sottoscritto medesimo in grado di valersi della truppa Toscana che attualmente vi esiste, e che in seguito degli avvenimenti che quì hanno avuto luogo nella sera decorsa occorrerebbe far escire dalla fortezza predetta.

Dal Governo di Livorno,
(Firmato) CIPRIANI.

(Translation.)

Leghorn, September 3, 1848.

THE Undersigned requests the British Consul to have the kindness to engage the commander of the British frigate that is anchored in this port, to be so obliging as to send all the troops he can spare from his ship to keep guard for the present in the Fortezza Vecchia, in concert with a detachment of French troops, to allow of the Undersigned's making use of the Tuscan troops that are at present in the fort, and which it would be requisite to call out in consequence of the occurrences that took place last night.

From the Government of Leghorn,
(Signed) CIPRIANI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 302.

Sir George Hamilton to Captain Codrington.

Sir,

Florence, September 3, 1848, midnight.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch of this day's date, delivered to me by Mr. Fellowes, midshipman of the "Thetis," and inclosing copy of a letter which had been addressed to you and the Captain of the French steam-frigate "Vauban," by the superior authority of the Tuscan Government at Leghorn, requesting you to land such a force as might securely garrison the Fort Vecchia, and thus enable the Tuscan troops to act against the insurgents now in open revolt at Leghorn.

You state in this despatch that to this course your colleague and yourself see several objections, which at the present moment have induced you to decline entering into it.

Although the state of affairs has materially changed since I last wrote to you on this subject, I see no reason to alter the opinion I then expressed that there are several objections to the direct intervention of Her Majesty's forces, and placing them in a position which might lead to a hostile collision with the Tuscans. But if you are convinced that the holding the town of Leghorn by the Tuscan Government can only be maintained by foreign aid, and you think the force at your disposal sufficient for that purpose, you must in that case comply with the request which has been made to you to occupy the fortress.

I understand however that a considerable reinforcement of troops had gone to-day from Florence by the railway to Leghorn, and I therefore trust that the commanding officer at Leghorn will be enabled to hold the forts without your assistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON.

No. 303.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 12.)

Extract.)

Turin, September 5, 1848.

IN a former despatch I had the honour to forward for your Lordship's information copy of a letter I had received from Mr. Consul Brown, giving an account of the recent disturbances which have taken place at Genoa.

The immediate cause of these riots seems to have been an order issued by the Government at Turin for the arrest and transference beyond the Sardinian frontier of a certain Filippo De Boni, a native of Feltre, a man noted for the exaggerated nature of his Republican opinions.

The populace, upon learning this man's arrest, assembled tumultuously before the Palace of General Sonnaz, the Governor, imperiously demanding the immediate recall of De Boni.

A lawyer of the name of Pellegrini had even the audacity, in the presence of the people, to harangue the Governor, accusing him, when the latter attempted to save his own responsibility by quoting the orders he had received from Turin, of being unfit to hold the situation he did, because he had failed in his duty of distinguishing between a constitutional and unconstitutional order, and between ministerial and judicial authority; and concluded by proposing that some citizen possessed of public confidence should be directly sent to intimate to Filippo De Boni that he might freely return to Genoa.

This proposal was greatly applauded by the populace, was agreed to by the Governor and by the two Commissioners appointed by the late Cabinet, Signors Doria and Bixio, the latter a violent republican lawyer; and an individual of the name of G. Battista Cambiaso was the same evening sent to the Tuscan frontier to execute the mission of the people, and bearer of an order signed by the Governor of Genoa, permitting De Boni's return to that city.

A demand was now made on Signor James Balbi, General of the civic guard, to have that force assembled under arms; this he however declined to do without the order of the Municipality.

The Syndics of Genoa in the meanwhile issued the accompanying proclamation, translation of which is also herewith inclosed.

The disorders of the night did not however terminate here. Two police officers having been attacked retreated into the Police Office, which was immediately stormed, the papers and official documents contained there thrown out into the outer hall of the Ducal Palace, and there, together with the furniture of the office, set on fire.

At this stage of the proceedings appeared the Marquis Lorenzo Pareto, who harangued the people at the Ducal Palace and from the balcony of the theatre.

The speeches of the ex-Cabinet Minister were much applauded, and he was hailed by the populace as General of the civic guard in the place of Signor

James Balbi. On the Advocate Federici coming forward to address the mob assembled in front of the Palazzo Tursi, announcing that the Marquis Pareto accepted the command of the civic guard, that he acquiesced in the public opinion of the necessity of reforming the staff of that force, and that he was about to order "*La Générale*" to be beat, the people dispersed, and the rest of the night was quiet.

The concluding scene of these disturbances took place the following morning.

The legal authorities at Genoa having thought it right to indict certain persons accused of having been the promoters of the demolition of the Fort of St. George, legal proceedings had commenced against them.

The morning following the disturbances I have detailed, a deputation of three persons waited upon the Marquis Pareto and stated that the people desired that the documents connected with this trial should be delivered up to them in order that they might be publicly burnt, and threatened unless this was done to take them by force. The Marquis Pareto, sharing the opinion of the deputation and of those who had sent them, proceeded in company with his ex-ministerial colleague the Marquis Vincenzo Ricci, the two persons doing duty as Syndics, and two deputies of the people, to the hall of the Senate, where that body was assembled at a secret sitting.

The Marquis Pareto having explained the reason of his visit, the President said he had already thought of suppressing the proceedings, and the members of the Court having been called were invited by the President of the Senate to deliver the papers into the hands of the representatives of the people.

After a short consultation together this was agreed to, and the papers consigned into the hands of the Marquis Pareto himself.

The Marquis Pareto reappeared before the populace with these papers, and amidst the hurrahs of the mob the ex-Minister proceeded to burn them on the steps of the Government Palace in the sight of an immense concourse of people.

With this scene the riots of Genoa have for the moment terminated, but at the expense of the dignity and authority of all the branches of the Administrative and Executive Government.

The Governor has I am informed resigned, and no doubt could possibly exist of the expediency of accepting his resignation without loss of time.

It is the intention of the Sardinian Government to dispatch a King's Commissioner on a special mission to Genoa, for the purpose of restoring order, and if necessary to declare the town in a state of siege.

Inclosure in No. 303.

Proclamation of the Syndics of Genoa.

I SINDACI, informati che l'arresto del Signor De Boni, seguito nella scorsa notte, potrebbe considerarsi un atto arbitrario e contrario alle istituzioni liberali che ci governano, si fanno un dovere di rendere noto al pubblico che dessi vanno immediatamente a protestare presso di sua Eccellenza il Signor Governatore, onde avere in proposito le più minute spiegazioni ed una pronta riparazione, quando realmente si riconosca una violazione di legge.

I Sindaci si lusingano che ciò incontrerà l'approvazione de loro concittadini, i quali mentre sono interessati al mantenimento delle loro libertà, vorranno egualmente serbare l'ordine e la tranquillità pubblica.

Genova, 1 Settembre, 1848.

Per i Sindaci,

(Firmato)

DOM. DORIA.

A. MONGIARDINI.

(Translation.)

THE Syndics, informed that the arrest of Signor De Boni, which took place last night, might be considered as an arbitrary act and contrary to the liberal institutions which govern us, feel it to be their duty to notify to the public that

they are immediately going to protest against it, and to obtain from the Governor the most detailed explanations and a speedy satisfaction, should this act prove to be a violation of the law.

The Syndics flatter themselves that this step on their part will meet with the approbation of their fellow-citizens, who it is hoped, while they are interested in maintaining their liberties, will equally maintain order and public tranquillity.

Genoa, September 1, 1848.

For the Syndics,
(Signed) DOM. DORIA.
A. MONGIARDINI.

No 304.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 31st ultimo, relative to the wish of the insurgents at Leghorn to treat with the Government of the Grand Duke, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of your conduct with reference to that matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 305.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 12.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 6, 1848.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions I acquainted his Excellency Baron Wessenberg with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government in the desire expressed by the French Government, that an armistice should be concluded with Venice by the Imperial Government.

I pressed his Excellency to decide the question immediately, stating to him the importance attached by you and by the French to the measure. The Baron said "he would communicate to the Council what I had stated to him."

The Council was about to meet, and I have hopes that what your Lordship has recommended may be done in some way or other, but I cannot yet venture to say more.

It is necessary for me to defer my report upon the subject of the mediation until I have the power to speak with more knowledge of the intentions of this Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 306.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 7, 1848.

I HAVE again this morning seen his Excellency Baron Wessenberg and renewed with him the subjects of the armistice with Venice and of the mediation.

I will do all in my power to bring these affairs to a settlement. The question is one of vast importance here, and is thought to require mature consideration.

I will do myself the honour to write to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 307.

Captain Codrington to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.—(Received from the Admiralty, September 13.)

Sir,

"Thetis," Leghorn Roads, August 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that there have lately occurred in this town certain revolutionary proceedings, which, though happily brought to an end in six or seven days, had at one time a very dangerous aspect indeed. They may be said to have commenced on the 24th instant, when a certain Padre Gavazzi, an agitator who had come from Genoa on board of a Sardinian passage steamer, was forcibly landed in triumph by a party of armed young men, in spite of the Government prohibition, and after having been paraded through the streets had a guard of these young men posted at his doorway for his security.

On the commissary of police presenting himself at the lodging with an official order from the local Governor to Padre Gavazzi, he was violently assaulted and very severely handled by the young men at the door.

On the 25th a mob commencing with at least 100 or 150 of the lowest class went to the railway terminus and broke down the electric telegraph, then possessing themselves of the Governor's despatches they opened and read them. They then went in a body to the residence of the Governor, and in spite of all explanation and expostulation on his part, they seized him and hurried him along through the town with every abuse and insult, and finally lodged him as a prisoner in the Fortezza Nuova. They then went to the feebly guarded storehouse of the arms of the Guardia Civica, and overpowering the resistance of the guard they seized and distributed amongst themselves about 1500 muskets.

They then went to the Arsenal, where they not only possessed themselves of cartridges but also of a still greater number of muskets, it is said 7000 and some field-pieces.

On the 26th some of the Guardia Civica showing a desire to stop this improper abstraction of the public arms and ammunition, a quarrel arose in the course of which six men were shot.

A Provisional Government composed with one exception of the lowest class, and including one or more persons not Tuscans, had been installed on the evening of the 25th. They liberated the Governor on the 26th, after one day's imprisonment, and took him back to his residence with a procession and banners, &c., but they gave him to understand that he was no longer to exercise power. The fortified positions, which are of sufficient importance to controul the town, under actual circumstances passed into the hands of the movement party, and its triumph, as far as the possession of local power, seemed complete. Still it is just to say that to whatever cause it may be owing, no foreigner has suffered in person or property throughout the disturbance.

Things remained in this state for several days, during which the Government at Florence having been made aware of the necessity for prompt exertion was collecting a force to restore its authority. Several propositions had been made to me to induce me to take an active part in Her Majesty's ship under my command in endeavouring to accomplish this object, as also some from the opposite party requesting me to mediate and to obtain from the Government certain conditions of accommodation, but I declined being at all mixed up in the matter, informing the applicants that the ship's services were reserved for the event of any injury to the lives or property of British subjects.

However on receiving from the Government at Florence, from the local Government at Leghorn, and from the Chamber of Commerce, most urgent applications to prevent the landing in the town of bands of armed strangers about to arrive from other countries and serving under no banner, I thought I was justified under all the circumstances of the case, in doing so temporarily, with the view of saving the community from the anarchy and the destruction of property that must otherwise have ensued.

Captain Guès, of the French steam-frigate "Vauban," who had arrived in the night of the 27th, acting on a similar resolution, we requested two steamers, one Sardinian and the other French which arrived on the morning of the 30th,

to anchor in the roads (which they at once did) until the Tuscan Government had made arrangements for the disposal of the armed men they brought.

The first party were sent to land at Gambo, about twelve miles to the northward, the others in the French steamer were retained on board until the town being again in possession of the Grand Duke's troops, it was considered safe to allow them to land at Leghorn, though unarmed. This movement on our part had a considerable influence on shore. In the afternoon of the same day, 30th, after a meeting favourable to the Government, a deputation was sent to invite the troops preparing at Pisa to come to Leghorn and take possession, and thousands of people went out to meet them with banners and to escort them in. Their arrival being unluckily delayed till dark, the people retired into the town in disgust; a reaction took place, excited by the agitators, the tocsin was rung, and the movement party had closed the gates and was proposing to resist with field-pieces, &c., when the troops arrived outside the gate. After some delay on the outside and much tumult and irresolution on the inside, the gate was opened and the leading company of the troops moved in, assisted by the well-disposed among the Guardia Civica and followed by the rest of the troops. The people then began to cheer and to welcome them, and in a moment, from an immense risk of a bloody collision, it became a triumphal procession from the gate through the town, all the houses being lighted up, until they reached the Piazza Grande, where they bivouacked for the night, in number 2,300 with twelve guns.

This morning the Grand Duke's authority is quite established, and the troops, of whom more have since arrived, are in possession of the forts, and thus the disturbances at Leghorn are happily ended for the present.

But as from what I have heard, this attempt had ramifications in many other towns, where a small but active section of the people still dream of a "General Italian Republic," it is not at all improbable that if the Tuscan Government relapse into their former weakness, these revolutionary proceedings may, not long hence, break out afresh and more dangerously than ever.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. J. CODRINGTON.

No. 308.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

(Extract.)

Florence, September 5, 1848.

THE Grand Duke has gone to Pisa, and "an order of the day" announces that it is for the purpose of putting himself at the head of the national guard which have gone from Florence, but who have only mustered in small numbers. Unless the insurgents return of their own accord to their allegiance, I do not see what means the Government possesses to force them to it.

The accounts I have received from Bologna are most appalling: seventeen assassinations of judges, priests, and other citizens have taken place in open day.

No. 309.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 8, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Jasimovitsch, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, arrived at Milan on the night of the 5th instant and immediately proceeded to the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Radetzky, with whom he had a long interview. The object of the General's mission is not yet known.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. ABERCROMBY.

No. 310.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 14.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 9, 1848.

THE French Consul-General at Milan arrived here yesterday afternoon, bringing with him a letter he had received from M. de la Cour, dated Vienna the 3rd instant, announcing the fact that the Austrian Government had just communicated to him their acceptance of the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France for the pacification of Northern Italy, and begging the French Consul-General to convey without loss of time this information to the French Minister at this Court.

M. de Bois-le-Comte lost no time in acquainting me with this important news; but I conclude that your Lordship will also have learnt it from his Excellency Viscount Ponsonby before this despatch can reach you.

No. 311.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 9, 1848.

THE town of Genoa has continued tranquil since I had last the honour to write to your Lordship upon the subject of the recent riots which had taken place there.

General Sonnaz has been removed from the government of the duchy, and General Durando has been sent with full powers to act as Civil Governor of Genoa, the military power remaining in the hands of General Trotti, commanding the division in garrison at Genoa.

General Durando, brother of General Durando who capitulated to the Austrians at Vicenza, has with him a decree by which the town of Genoa is declared to be in a state of siege, but he is instructed not to publish this document unless circumstances should imperatively call for the adoption of strong measures for the purpose of preserving order.

The Government have likewise considered it prudent to increase by 4000 men the original strength of the garrison; and the regular force now quartered at Genoa amounts from 10 to 12,000 men of all arms.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 312.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—Received September 14.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch and of its inclosures which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, respecting the difficulties made by Field-Marshal Radetzky in allowing the departure from Peschiera of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre* as stipulated in the conditions of the Armistice of the 9th ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 312.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Turin, September 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Excellency copy of a note, together with several inclosures, which I have received from his Excellency the Baron de Perron, His Sardinian Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellency will see by the letter of Lieutenant-General Hess to Lieutenant-General Chiodo, dated the 5th instant, that his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky hesitates to comply with the engagements of the Armistice of the 9th of August, in allowing the departure from Peschiera of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*, in consequence of some unfounded complaints which he has received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena.

His Excellency the Field-Marshal announces also, through the medium of Lieutenant-General Hess, that it is his Excellency's intention to lay the complaints of the Modenese Minister for Foreign Affairs before his Government, and that he foresees that orders will be sent to him from Vienna to delay the departure of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre* still remaining in Lombardy.

It will be sufficient for your Excellency to read the inclosed papers to perceive at once that not a shadow of a pretext exists for this direct and open violation on the part of the Austrian Commander-in-chief of the stipulations of the Armistice of Milan, and I have in consequence a well-founded hope that through your Excellency's influence with the Cabinet of Vienna, orders may be sent to his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky for the prompt restitution of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*, which, in spite of the assurances of Lieutenant-General Hess himself, as shown by the inclosed extract of his letter to Lieutenant-General Chiodo of the 30th August, and in defiance of the engagements of the Armistice of Milan, scrupulously and loyally executed by the Sardinian Government, his Excellency now endeavours to retain in his possession.

As regards the complaints of the Modenese Government, on which the Marshal endeavours to justify the course he is following, they are so completely refuted and disposed of by the inclosed report of Major-General Sambuy, that I do not trouble your Excellency with any observations about them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 312.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 8 Septembre, 1848.

DANS une dépêche adressée le 30 Août dernier par le Général Hess, Quartier-Maître-Général de l'armée Autrichienne, au Chef de l'Etat-Major Général de l'armée de Sa Majesté, il est dit, "je ne tarde pas à renouveler la ferme assurance que les ordres relatifs au départ du parc de siège Piémontais (qui se trouve à Peschiera) sont tellement donnés qu'il peut se mettre en mouvement et continuer sa marche en Piémont sans délai et dans la manière convenue, tout de suite après l'arrivée du rapport que la flotte ainsi que les troupes de terre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne se sont retirées des eaux et de la ville et forts de Venise." Après cette assurance renouvelée si formellement, nous ne pouvions aucunement douter que la difficulté relative à Venise une fois levée, les dispositions seraient données pour que notre parc de siège pût aussitôt rentrer en Piémont; et nous étions d'autant plus fondés à y compter, que d'après les termes précis de l'Article 1er de la dite Convention nous étions en droit d'emmener notre parc au moment même où nos troupes évacueraient la forteresse. Nous avons été trompés dans notre juste attente; et une nouvelle difficulté qui vient de nous être objectée

nous confirme dans la pensée que l'Autriche ne veuille continuer à retenir encore le matériel dont il s'agit. Cette difficulté nouvelle s'appuie sur des assertions complètement inexactes, d'après lesquelles on prétend que nous avons emmené de Modène un certain nombre de pièces de canons qui devaient y être laissés en vertu de la Convention de l'Armistice du 9 Août, et que nous retenons en outre de force des militaires Modenais que nous serions tenus de renvoyer. La vérité est, que le 9 Août les quelques pièces Modenaises qui avaient servi durant toute la campagne et le peu de troupes du duché (228 hommes) se trouvaient en Toscane; que tous les officiers et soldats qui témoignèrent le désir de rester à Modène y furent laissés; et qu'après la conclusion de l'Armistice ceux qui avaient suivi l'armée Royale furent de nouveau prévenus qu'ils étaient parfaitement libres de rentrer dans leurs foyers comme ils le sont encore actuellement.

Le Gouvernement du Roi croit devoir porter ces nouveaux incidens à la connaissance des Représentans des Puissances médiatrices d'Angleterre et de France; j'ai en conséquence l'honneur de vous remettre ci-joint, Monsieur, une copie des pièces qui s'y rapportent: 1° de la lettre adressée le 5 Septembre par le Général Hess un Général Chiodo; 2° de la réponse de celui-ci du 7; et 3° d'un rapport de même date de M. le Major-Général de Sambuy. La lecture de ces pièces suffira sans doute pour vous convaincre de l'insigne mauvaise foi avec laquelle l'Autriche, tantôt sous un prétexte, tantôt sous un autre, refuse de remplir les obligations que lui impose la Convention du 9 Août; et je dois en même tems invoquer l'interposition la plus prompte et la plus directe de vos bons offices pour mettre enfin un terme à un système de tergiversation et de chicane à la faveur duquel l'Autriche manifeste assez évidemment l'intention d'attendre l'expiration de l'Armistice avant d'avoir restitué notre parc retenu à Peschiera.

En fixant d'une manière toute spéciale sur cette dernière et si importante circonstance, votre attention, je me flatte qu'appuyé sur la plus évidente justice et animé du bienveillant intérêt que le Gouvernement Britannique n'a cessé de nous témoigner, vous voudrez bien donner à vos nouvelles démarches toute la force nécessaire pour en assurer le succès immédiat.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) BON. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Sir, Turin, September 8, 1848.

IN a despatch addressed by General Hess, Quarter-Master-General of the Austrian army, on the 30th of August last, to the Chief of the Staff of His Majesty, it is said, "I do not delay to repeat the firm assurance that orders relative to the departure of the Piedmontese siege artillery (which is now at Peschiera) have been given in such a manner as to enable it to be put into motion, and to continue its march into Piedmont without delay, and in the manner agreed upon, immediately upon the arrival of the intelligence that the fleet as well as the land forces of His Majesty the King of Sardinia have withdrawn from the waters, the city, and the forts of Venice." After this assurance, so formally repeated, we could in nowise doubt that the difficulty relative to Venice once removed, steps would be taken for enabling our siege artillery to return to Piedmont at once; and we were the more entitled to rely upon this, because, by the precise terms of Article I of the said Convention, we had a right to carry off our artillery the very moment that our troops should evacuate the fortress. We have been deceived in our just expectations; and a new difficulty which has just been presented to us confirms us in the belief that Austria wishes still to retain the military stores in question. This new difficulty is founded upon assertions which are utterly untrue, and according to which it is affirmed that we carried away from Modena a certain number of cannon which ought to have been left there in virtue of the Convention of Armistice of the 9th of August, and that we also retain by force some Modenese soldiers whom we were bound to discharge. The truth is, that on the 9th of August the few Modenese field-pieces which had served through the whole campaign, and the few troops from the duchy (228 men), were in Tuscany; that all the officers and soldiers who expressed a desire to remain at Modena were left there; and that after the conclusion of the Armistice, those who had followed the royal army were again informed that they were perfectly free to return to their homes, as indeed they are still.

The King's Government thinks it ought to bring these new incidents under

the notice of the Representatives of the mediating Powers, England and France. I have consequently, Sir, the honour to inclose you herewith a copy of the papers having reference thereto: 1, of the letter addressed on the 5th of September by General Hess to General Chiodo; 2, of the answer sent by the latter on the 7th; 3, of a report made by Major-General de Sambuy of the same date. The perusal of these papers will doubtless suffice to convince you of the flagrant bad faith with which Austria, first on one pretext and then on another, refuses to fulfil the obligations which the Convention of the 9th of August imposes upon her; and I must at the same time invoke the most prompt and most direct interposition of your good offices to put an end to a system of tergiversation and dishonesty by which Austria shows pretty plainly her intention of waiting for the expiration of the Armistice before she has restored our artillery retained at Peschiera.

In calling in a most marked manner your attention to this last so important circumstance, I flatter myself that being supported by the clearest justice, and animated by the friendly interest which the British Government has not ceased to evince for us, you will be good enough to give to your further proceedings all the vigour necessary for insuring their immediate success.

Accept, &c.

(Signed)

THE BARON DE PERRON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 312.

General Hess to General Chiodo.

Milan, le 5 Septembre, 1848.

LE Maréchal a reçu hier une dépêche de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Duc de Modène, dont le contenu a dû lui causer une vive surprise.

Il y est dit que des soldats Modenais avec un matériel considérable, parmi lequel dix pièces de canons qui avaient été entraînés lors de l'évacuation des duchés par les troupes Sardes, se trouvent retenus de l'autre côté de l'Appenin par les garnisons Piémontaises qui occupent encore le pays de Massa, Carrara, Garfagnana, et la Lunigiana. L'Article III de la Convention conclue à Milan le 9 Août porte :

“Les Etats de Modène, de Parme, et la ville de Plaisance avec le rayon de territoire qui lui est assigné comme place de guerre, seront évacués par les troupes de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne trois jours après la ratification de la présente.”

Il est clair que le terme “les Etats” ne signifie pas le Duché de Modène proprement dit, mais qu'il implique au contraire l'ensemble des territoires soumis de droit au Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Duc de Modène, dans lesquels les pays et districts situés au-delà des Appenins se trouvent nécessairement compris.

Si le Duché de Plaisance n'a pas été nommé, si à l'exception de la place et de son rayon, il a continué à rester occupé par les forces Sardes, je dois faire observer que des considérations d'une nature fort délicate et toute particulière ont seules pu déterminer le Maréchal à faire une concession contraire au principe énoncé par l'Article 1er, et j'en appelle à ce sujet à la mémoire et à la bonne foi du Lieutenant-Général Comte Salasco, chargé par le Roi lui-même de négocier et de signer la dite Convention.

L'empêchement mis au retour des soldats, ainsi qu'à la restitution du matériel et des canons Modenais, est aussi contraire à la lettre de la Convention qu'à l'esprit dans lequel l'Autriche procède envers la Sardaigne.

Nous rendons la liberté indistinctement à tous les prisonniers de guerre faits sur les alliés du Roi, tandis que ses autorités retiennent par force les soldats Modenais, et que, même après la conclusion de la Convention du 9 Août, elles ont emmené, lors de l'évacuation du Modenais, et semblent vouloir s'approprier, un matériel appartenant à Son Altesse Royale l'Archiduc de Modène.

Le Maréchal se croit dans l'obligation de porter ces faits à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, et il prévoit avec regret que les directions qui lui parviendront de Vienne à ce sujet apporteront de nouveaux retards au départ du matériel de guerre Sarde actuellement en Lombardie.

Le fait de la reddition du Fort d'Osopo, qu'on considère comme indépendant des volontés du Gouvernement Sarde, et la circonstance qu'on n'y a pas trouvé de motifs pour suspendre l'exécution des stipulations du 9 Août, démontrent suffisamment que le Maréchal est loin de vouloir s'arrêter à des objets accessoires; mais les plaintes articulées par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Monseigneur le Duc de Modène sont trop graves, elles tendent à des intérêts trop importants, pour que le Commandant-en-chef puisse se dispenser de demander à leur égard tous les éclaircissemens qu'il espère trouver dans la réponse à la présente lettre que votre Excellence voudra avoir la bonté de me faire parvenir au plus tôt.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé) HESS.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 5, 1848.

THE Marshal received yesterday a despatch from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena, the contents of which have naturally greatly surprised him.

It is therein stated that some Modenese soldiers, together with a considerable amount of stores, among which were ten pieces of artillery which were carried off at the evacuation of the Duchies by the Sardinian troops, are detained on the other side of the Appenines by the Piedmontese garrison, which still occupies the country of Massa, Carrara, Garfagnana and Lunigiana. The third Article of the Convention concluded at Milan on the 9th of August stipulates:

"The States of Modena and of Parma, and the town of Piacenza, with the portion of territory which is assigned to it as a fortress, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia three days after the ratification of the present Convention."

It is clear that the term "the States" does not signify the Duchy of Modena properly so called, but that it implies on the contrary the whole of the territories of right subjected to the Government of His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena, in which the countries and districts situated beyond the Appenines are necessarily included.

If the Duchy of Placentia was not mentioned, if with the exception of the citadel and its "rayon" it has continued to be occupied by the Sardinian troops, I must observe that considerations of a very delicate and of an entirely private character have alone been able to induce the Marshal to make a concession contrary to the principle laid down by Article I; and I appeal on this subject to the recollection and good faith of Lieutenant-General Count Salasco, entrusted by the King himself with the negotiation and signature of the said Convention.

The opposition made to the return of the soldiers as well as to the restitution of the Modenese stores and cannon, is as contrary to the letter of the Convention as to the spirit in which Austria acts towards Sardinia.

We restore to liberty without distinction all the prisoners of war taken from the King's allies, whereas his authorities retain by force the Modenese soldiers, and even after the conclusion of the Armistice of the 9th of August they carried off, at the time of the evacuation of the Modenese territory, and seem to wish to appropriate to themselves, military stores belonging to His Royal Highness the Archduke of Modena.

The Marshal considers himself compelled to bring these facts to the knowledge of his Government, and he foresees with regret that the instructions which will reach him from Vienna on this subject will cause fresh delay in the departure of the Sardinian military stores now in Lombardy.

The fact of the surrender of the Fort of Osopo, which is considered as independent of the will of the Sardinian Government, and the circumstance that no motives were found in that transaction for suspending the execution of the stipulations of the 9th of August, sufficiently prove that the Marshal is far from wishing to make a stand on trivial matters; but the complaints put forward by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Duke of Modena are too serious, they relate to interests of too great importance, to admit of the Commander-in-chief abstaining from requiring on this subject all the explanations which he hopes to receive in the answer to the present letter, which your Excellency will be good enough to forward to me as soon as possible.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) HESS.

Inclosure 4 in No. 312.

*General Chiodo to General Hess.**Alexandrie, le 7 Septembre, 1848.*

LE Roi, à qui j'ai dû rendre compte de la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date du 5 courant, a vu avec un sentiment pénible le système de défiance que paraît avoir adopté contre nous le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche.

On impute à mauvaise volonté de notre part et même à infraction de la Convention du 9 Août, des résistances et des faits qui sont tout-à-fait indépendans de notre pouvoir et même de notre influence ; je ne renouvellerai plus les protestations de notre loyauté dans ce qui a rapport à l'évacuation de Venise par nos troupes. Votre Excellence connaît toutes les démarches par nous faites pour que la dite évacuation eût lieu le plus tôt possible : les retards survenus ne peuvent être imputés qu'à des circonstances qu'il n'était pas en notre pouvoir de modifier.

Quant aux plaintes du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Duc de Modène, qui forment le sujet de la susdite lettre de votre Excellence, vous verrez par le mémoire ci-joint que je me suis fait remettre par le Major-Général de Sambuy, qui a été commissaire du Roi à Modène, qu'elles sont tout-à-fait dénuées de fondement ; nos troupes n'occupent aucun point des Etats Modenais ; et il est si loin qu'on ait fait la moindre violence pour éconduire le peu de troupes Modenaises (228 en tout) qui ont suivi les nôtres, qu'elles sont encore à présent en pleine liberté de retourner chezelles si leur première résolution vient à changer.

Le Roi de Sardaigne s'est fait un devoir d'accueillir tous les Italiens qui, craignant avec plus ou moins de raison des réactions dans leurs propres pays, ont voulu se mettre sous sa protection ; votre Excellence comprendra que l'accomplissement d'un tel devoir n'est pas exempt d'inconvénient, et qu'il ne peut y avoir aucun motif de l'exagérer en cherchant à augmenter par la force le nombre de ces émigrés.

Il est vrai que le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas cherché à nous imputer la non-reddition du Fort d'Osopo ; outre la notoriété qu'il n'y avait point de nos troupes dans ce fort, qui s'opposait à ce que nous en rendit responsables, cela aurait été tout-à-fait superflu, puisque pour retenir notre matériel de guerre de Peschiera on a pu avoir recours à d'autres prétextes en apparence plus plausibles. Je reconnais que votre Excellence ne fait en tout cela que nous communiquer avec la politesse et la franchise qui vous distinguent, les ordres du Cabinet de Vienne ; mais je ne puis à moins de vous répéter, pour que vous en fassiez l'usage que vous croirez convenable, que la remise en notre pouvoir de tout ce qui nous appartenait à Peschiera au moment de la reddition, était une condition inhérente à la reddition même de cette place, et qu'on ne pouvait pas en droit accepter la partie utile et se refuser à l'accomplissement de la partie onéreuse ; cela formait un article isolé qui contenait en soi les obligations et les droits des deux parties contractantes, indépendamment des autres Articles de la Convention. Quoiqu'il en soit, j'espère que nous touchons au moment où ces difficultés cesseront, et où les deux Gouvernemens se persuaderont de leur loyauté réciproque dans l'exécution de tout ce qui a été convenu de bonne foi et avec toute la franchise propre aux militaires.

(Translation.)

Alessandria, September 7, 1848.

THE King, to whom I have given an account of the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 5th instant, has seen with a painful feeling the system of mistrust which the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria seems to have adopted towards us.

To unwillingness on our part, and even to the infraction of the Convention of the 9th of August, are attributed obstacles and circumstances which are completely out of our power and even beyond our influence. I will not repeat the protestations of our sincerity in the matter of the evacuation of Venice by our troops. Your Excellency knows all the steps taken by us in order that the

said evacuation might take place as soon as possible; the delays which have arisen can only be imputed to circumstances which it was not in our power to alter.

As for the complaints of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena, which form the subject of the above-mentioned letter of your Excellency, you will see by the memorandum inclosed, which has been forwarded to me by Major-General de Sambuy, who was Commissioner of the King at Modena, that they are entirely destitute of foundation. Our troops do not occupy the Modenese States; and it is so far from being the case that the least violence has been used to retain the few Modenese troops (228 in all) who have followed ours, that they are now at full liberty to return home if they should change their first resolution.

The King of Sardinia has considered it a duty to welcome all Italians who fearing, with more or less reason, reaction in their own country, have wished to place themselves under his protection. Your Excellency will understand that the accomplishment of such a duty is not free from inconvenience, and that there can be no motive for adding to it by seeking to augment by force the number of these emigrants.

It is true that the Imperial Government has not sought to impute to us the non-surrender of the Fort of Osopo; besides the notorious fact that there were no troops of ours in that fort, which would prevent our being responsible for it, that would have been perfectly superfluous, since, as a pretext for retaining our military stores of Peschiera, they have been able to have recourse to other pretexts, apparently more plausible. I acknowledge that your Excellency in all this is only communicating to us with the frankness and courtesy which distinguish you, the orders of the Cabinet of Vienna; but I cannot do less than repeat to you, in order that you may make whatever use of it you may consider advisable, that the delivery into our hands of all that belonged to us at Peschiera at the moment of its surrender, was a condition inherent to the very surrender of that place, and that it was impossible with justice to accept the beneficial part and to repudiate the execution of the onerous part. That formed a separate article, which contained in itself the obligations and the rights of both Contracting Parties, independently of the other Articles of the Convention. However this may be, I hope that we are approaching the time when these difficulties will cease, and when the two Governments will be convinced of their mutual sincerity in the execution of all that was agreed upon in good faith and with the frankness characteristic of soldiers.

Inclosure 5 in No. 312.

General Sambuy to the Chief of the Staff.

Alessandrie, 7 Septembre, 1848.

LES informations qui ont été fournies à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Modène sont de la plus grande inexactitude sous tous les rapports, et je m'empresse de rectifier les faits.

Le 4 Août, à 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ du matin, le bataillon de réserve des Grenadiers aux Gardes se retira de Modène accompagné d'une batterie de six pièces, de quelques recrues de cavalerie sans officiers, de quelques sapeurs, et d'environ 65 fantassins.

La batterie avait fait toute la campagne depuis le mois d'Avril avec les volontaires de Modène et Reggio et venait de rentrer depuis peu de jours à Modène.

Tous les officiers et soldats qui témoignèrent le désir de rester à Modène y furent, laissés et pas un seul ne fut forcé à partir. A Lucques je parlai à MM. les officiers réunis et je leur demandai une note de tous les officiers et soldats qui auraient désiré rentrer, et pas un seul ne se présenta. D'ailleurs, soit dans le Duché de Modène soit en Toscane, tout le monde était dans la plus grande liberté, et ceux qui auraient pu le désirer avaient la plus grande facilité de nous quitter.

La colonne se trouvait à St. Marcello en Toscane le 9, jour de la Convention de Milan, et à Lucques le jour où la nouvelle nous est parvenue par le télégraphe, sans qu'on en connût les conditions. Le départ donc de Modène n'a rien à faire avec l'exécution des conditions de la Convention de Milan. Les

troupes Modenaises n'ont jamais occupé aucune des provinces qui aient appartenu au Duc de Modène; elles attendaient les ordres à Lucques et de là elles firent l'étape à Pietra Santa, ensuite à Sarzana, de sorte qu'elles n'eurent pas même à s'arrêter ni à Massa ni à Carrara.

L'expression "d'un matériel considérable, parmi lequel se trouvent dix pièces de canons," est bien inexacte, puisqu'il n'y a en tout que la batterie qui a fait toute la campagne, composée de 4 canons et 2 obusiers, sans caissons, n'ayant que des charrettes à deux roues, et par conséquent fort peu de munitions, ce dont votre Excellence peut aisément s'assurer, puisque cette batterie se trouve actuellement parquée sur la Place d'Armes d'Alexandrie.

Je puis assurer sur mon honneur que ce que je viens d'exposer est la vérité la plus pure.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé)

Le Major-Général,

EMILE SAMBUY.

(Translation.)

Alessandria, September 7, 1848.

THE information which has been forwarded to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Modena, is altogether inexact, and I hasten to set the facts right.

On the 4th of August, at half-past 2 in the morning, the reserve battalion of the Grenadiers of the Guards retired from Modena, accompanied by a battery of six pieces, some cavalry recruits without officers, some sappers, and about sixty-five foot-soldiers.

The battery had served throughout the whole campaign, from the month of April, with the volunteers of Modena and Reggio, and had only returned to Modena a few days before.

All the officers and soldiers who expressed a wish to remain at Modena were left there, and not one was obliged to depart. At Lucca I spoke to the assembled officers, and I demanded of them a list of officers and soldiers who might wish to return, and not one presented himself. Besides, both in the Duchy of Modena and in Tuscany every person had the most perfect freedom, and those who might have wished it, had the greatest facilities for quitting us.

The column was at St. Marcello in Tuscany on the 9th, the day of the Convention of Milan, and at Lucca on the day on which the news of it reached us by telegraph, without our knowing the conditions of it. The departure therefore from Modena has nothing to do with the execution of the conditions of the Convention of Milan. The Modenese troops have never occupied any of the provinces which have belonged to the Duke of Modena; they were waiting for orders at Lucca, and from thence they marched to Pietra Santa, afterwards to Sarzana, so that they had not even to stop at Massa or at Carrara.

The expression of "a considerable amount of military stores, among which are ten pieces of artillery," is very incorrect, since altogether there is only the battery which had served through the whole campaign, consisting of four cannons and two howitzers without caissons, having only two-wheeled carriages, and consequently very little stores; and of this your Excellency can easily assure yourself, since this battery is actually drawn up on the Place d'Armes of Alexandria.

I can assure you on my honour that what I have just stated is the purest truth.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EMILE SAMBUY,

Major-General.

No. 313.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 5, 1848.

IT is supposed that the Sardinian fleet under Admiral Albini will very shortly leave these waters, for the embarkation of the Sardinian troops on board of the fleet has been going on yesterday and to-day.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 314.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 7, 1848.

LEGHORN still remains in the power of the mob: the forts are no longer held by the Grand Ducal troops but garrisoned by a mixture of rabble and civic guard.

The celebrated Dr. Guerrazzi, who had been imprisoned for many months in the Island of Elba for sedition, and is now one of the Deputies for Florence, went down to Leghorn two days ago, promising the Government that he would bring the Livornese to reason, and he has harangued them and in some measure calmed their violence. He came to Florence yesterday with a deputation from the rebels and presented a petition to the Chamber of Deputies containing many propositions which were to be made to the Government, among which were I understand a general amnesty for the troops as well as for the people; permission for the people to hold the forts in conjunction with the troops; reorganization of the civic guard, and permission to be given to the people to elect a commission of Government to which full powers should be given temporarily, and which might again bring back Leghorn into the bosom of the Tuscan family.

I have heard to-day that these conditions have been granted, but I cannot positively affirm that such is the case.

It has been proposed to the Chambers by the Government, that 4000 Swiss troops should be subsidized for the service of the State, which proposition was immediately granted.

The Grand Duke did not go to Pisa, as I erroneously informed your Lordship in my last despatch. His Royal Highness was supposed to have left Florence, but he changed his mind at the moment of his intended departure.

The accounts from Bologna continue to be of a most horrid character, although the arrival of Cardinal Amati, who has an extraordinary mission from the Pope to the Legations, has been productive of some good.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 315.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 7, 1848.

I HAD the honour to forward to your Lordship copy of a note dated September 4th, sent by M. de la Cour to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, containing a strong expression of the desire of the French Government that the Armistice agreed to between the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky on the 9th of August should be extended to Venice.

I have now to inform your Lordship that M. de la Cour showed me this evening an official note from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour, refusing to extend the Armistice to Venice.

I made my application on the subject verbally to Baron Wessenberg, and I presume his Excellency will answer me verbally when I see him to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 316.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 8, 1848.

I RECEIVED a despatch from Mr. Abercromby, dated Turin, August 30, written in consequence of what Mr. Abercromby found in my report to your Lordship of what had passed at the meeting between his Excellency Baron

Wessenberg, M. de la Cour, and myself, on the 22nd of August, which report I sent to Mr. Abercromby for his information. Mr. Abercromby expressed his regret that certain things were said by the Austrian Government relating to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and adds that he is "happy to be able to place in my hands the means of refuting distinctly and positively each of the accusations;" and Mr. Abercromby for that purpose transmits copies of several letters and notes written by the Sardinian Ministers and others, and says "he trusts I shall be able to find in the inclosed documents, ample means of effectually removing from His Sardinian Majesty and his Government the imputations which have undeservedly been cast upon him by the Austrian Cabinet," and that he (Mr. Abercromby) will learn with great pleasure that I have been able to render justice to the loyalty of the conduct of His Sardinian Majesty and of the Cabinet of Turin, and that he had not failed to communicate to Her Majesty's Government copy of his despatch to me and of its various inclosures.

In consequence of the above I communicated to Baron Wessenberg all the letters and notes inclosed by Mr. Abercomby, and Baron Wessenberg has just now sent back the letters and notes.

When I wrote to Mr. Abercromby acknowledging the receipt of his despatch, I communicated to him the substance of the report made by Mr. Consul-General Dawkins, dated Venice, September 1st, stating the position of the Piedmontese squadron and troops. I do not see that I need trouble him with anything more on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 316.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, September 8, 1848.

MR. DAWKINS mentions in a despatch addressed to me dated Venice the 5th instant, that it was supposed that the Sardinian fleet under Admiral Albinì would shortly leave those waters, as the embarkation of the Sardinian troops had been going on on the 4th and 5th instant.

A telegraphic despatch which has reached the War Department this morning from Vice-Admiral Martini, dated Trieste, the 7th instant, announces that Admiral Albinì "had officially announced there that he had embarked the Sardinian troops and that he would sail from Venice in the course of that day (the 7th.)" He further adds, "The Austrian squadron would sail from Trieste that night for its destination."

No. 318.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note dated September 6th, addressed by Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour, in reply to M. de la Cour's note dated September 4th, requesting the Imperial Government to extend to the city of Venice the Armistice which was agreed on by His Majesty the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky on the 9th of August. The Baron declines compliance with M. de la Cour's request.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 318.

Baron Wessenberg to M. de la Cour.

Vienne, 6 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné a reçu la note que Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires de France lui a adressée en date du 4 du courant, et il n'a pas tardé de la porter à la

connaissance du Conseil de Sa Majesté Impériale. Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires énonce dans cette note le désir de son Gouvernement que des ordres soient donnés pour que l'Armistice conclu avec Sa Majesté Sarde soit étendu à tous les points où des hostilités subsisteraient encore, et pour qu'aucune attaque ne soit dirigée contre les lieux ou places de guerre dont les armes Impériales n'ont pas pris possession, et nommément contre la ville de Venise, afin que la continuation de l'état de guerre n'ajoute pas aux calamités de la Haute Italie.

Le Gouvernement Impérial n'a laissé aucun doute sur le désir qui l'anime pour la cessation de toute hostilité la plus prompte possible dans les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes ; l'initiative qu'il avait prise pour une négociation de paix, bien qu'elle fût sans résultat, en a fourni une preuve irrécusable ; il en a donné une nouvelle en n'hésitant pas d'accorder au milieu de ses succès, l'armistice sollicitée par Sa Majesté Sarde.

Le Gouvernement Français appréciera toutefois la différence qui se présente entre une Puissance belligérante telle que Sa Majesté Sarde, et une ville insurgée : on conclut avec l'une l'armistice, on pacifie l'autre.

Le Gouvernement Impérial désire avec anxiété de prévenir toute nouvelle effusion de sang ; il n'en a pas provoqué. Il offre un moyen à la fois sûr et honorable à cet effet, en se déclarant prêt d'accorder à la population de Venise une amnistie complète, dès qu'elle rentrera sous la domination de son Souverain légitime.

Il offre la même amnistie, aux mêmes conditions, aux populations des autres endroits sur le territoire Lombardo-Vénitien qui ne seraient pas encore occupés par les troupes Impériales. Ces populations jouiront d'ailleurs des institutions libérales, basées et calculées sur leur nationalité, que Sa Majesté s'est engagée à donner aux Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes. Toutes les facilités se trouvent par conséquent offertes par le Gouvernement Impérial pour l'accomplissement de l'œuvre de la pacification.

Ce qui est le plus pressant pour le moment, c'est la stricte et entière exécution de la Convention d'Armistice conclue le 9 Août avec Sa Majesté Sarde.

Quatre semaines se sont écoulées depuis la signature de cette Convention, sans que la ville de Venise et le fort d'Osopo aient été évacués par les troupes Sardes, et sans que l'escadre Piémontaise ait quitté l'Adriatique.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ose réclamer à cet égard l'intervention amicale des Puissances qui lui ont offert leur médiation, afin qu'il ne soit plus mis d'obstacle à l'exécution complète des conditions de la dite Convention d'Armistice.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 6, 1848.

THE Undersigned has received the note which the Chargé d'Affaires of France addressed to him under date of the 4th instant, and he has not delayed to bring it under the notice of His Imperial Majesty's Council. The Chargé d'Affaires announces in this note the desire of his Government that orders should be given for the Armistice concluded with His Sardinian Majesty being extended to all the points where hostilities might still be going on, and that no attack should be made upon those towns or fortresses of which the Imperial arms have not taken possession, and especially upon the city of Venice, so that the continuance of the state of war may not add to the calamities of Northern Italy.

The Imperial Government has left no doubt as to the desire which it entertains for the cessation of all hostilities as speedily as possible in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces ; the initiative which it took for a negotiation for peace, although it was without result, furnished an incontestable proof of this : it has given a further one by not hesitating to grant in the midst of its successes the armistice requested by His Sardinian Majesty.

The French Government will however comprehend the difference which exists between a belligerent Power such as the King of Sardinia, and an insurgent town : with the one an armistice is concluded, the other is pacified.

The Imperial Government anxiously desires to avoid all further bloodshed ; it has provoked none. It offers a means at once certain and honourable for that end, by declaring itself ready to grant to the people of Venice a full

amnesty as soon as they shall return to their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign.

It offers the same amnesty on the same conditions to the people of the other places in the Lombardo-Venetian territory which are not yet occupied by the Imperial troops. Those people will moreover enjoy liberal institutions, based and calculated upon their nationality, which His Majesty has promised to grant to the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces. All facilities are consequently afforded by the Imperial Government for the accomplishment of the work of pacification.

That which is most urgent at the present moment is the strict and entire execution of the Convention of Armistice concluded on the 9th of August with His Sardinian Majesty.

Four weeks have elapsed since the signature of that Convention, without the city of Venice and the Fort of Osopo having been evacuated by the Sardinian troops, and without the Piedmontese squadron having quitted the Adriatic.

The Imperial Government ventures in this respect to call for the friendly intervention of the Powers who have offered it their mediation, so that there may no longer be any obstacle opposed to the complete execution of the conditions of the said Convention of Armistice.

No. 319.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 15, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 3rd instant, I have to state that it is very desirable that the Austrian Government should as soon as it can, explain to the Governments of England and France its own notions as to the basis upon which the affairs of Northern Italy can be settled. It is impossible that the Austrian Government can imagine that all that is necessary to be done is to make a treaty simply restoring a state of peace between Austria and Sardinia; and that because the Austrian troops have reoccupied Lombardy and the Venetian territory, everything in those two provinces can be re-established in the same condition as before. It must be manifest to every impartial observer of events, that in the present state of things some very and essentially different arrangements must be made for the North of Italy, if the peace of those parts and indeed of Europe in general is to be preserved. The Austrian Government cannot give to these matters a too early or a too serious consideration, and I have to instruct your Excellency to press it upon their attention.

Her Majesty's Government observe that the French Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna, in the note which is inclosed in your Excellency's despatch above mentioned, recites the assertion made to him and to your Excellency by Baron Wessenberg, that the King of Sardinia had proposed to the Austrian Government a direct negotiation between Sardinia and Austria. This assertion has been most formally and unequivocally denied by the King of Sardinia, and Her Majesty's Government would wish your Excellency to ascertain upon what grounds the assertion was made.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 320.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, September 11, 1848.

ALTHOUGH M. Heckscher was in fact no longer Minister for Foreign Affairs when I received your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo, I have considered it as well to let him see the difficulties that would attend any admission of another party

into the mediation between Austria and Sardinia, supposing the former to accept the mediation of Great Britain and France. I then inquired of him whether he had made any proposition to that effect to the Austrian Government, and if so, what answer he had received. He replied that the proposition had been made, and that Baron Wessenberg had received it favourably, but required to know, before giving a decided answer, what would be the basis on which the Central Power would be prepared to mediate. An answer was returned that the Central Government, owing its existence to liberal opinions and to the desire felt for the unity of Germany, could not but support the progress of such opinions and such a desire in Italy, and that with regard to the line of frontier to be established hereafter it could not take upon itself to make any proposition.

Notwithstanding this, as it must have been to Austria, unsatisfactory answer, M. Heckscher says that the Austrian Government has recognized the right of the Central Power to participate in any negotiations that may be opened for the settlement of Northern Italy.

I have endeavoured in my conversation with persons who interest themselves in this matter here, to make them understand what I believe to be the views of Her Majesty's Government. That after what has taken place in Lombardy, Austria cannot again hold it but by a military occupation, the expense of which would make that occupation a cause of weakness rather than of strength. That the best thing therefore that could happen would be the formation of a considerable kingdom in the north of Italy, strong enough to maintain itself without being a cause of umbrage to its neighbours. Were this established it might be hoped that tranquillity would be restored to Italy, and the danger which must ever threaten the peace of Europe, as long as Austria holds Lombardy, be removed. If I have understood your Lordship rightly, such are the opinions of Her Majesty's Government, and I think that they have made some converts here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 321.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, September 11, 1848.

WITH reference to Lord Normanby's despatch of the 31st ultimo to your Lordship, a copy of which was forwarded to me, I have the honour to observe that the principal reason I have heard given here for the dislike of Austria to accept the British and French mediation in the affairs of Italy is, that she knows that that mediation will be based on the independence of Lombardy, and that thinking herself now again strong enough to hold Lombardy permanently, she is unwilling to set the example of dismembering the empire by renouncing her rights to that province, lest the example of its independence should tempt other component parts of the empire to aspire after a similar release.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 322.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy and translation of a proposal made by the Provisional Government of Venice for raising a loan of ten millions of Italian livres (400,000*l.*), in 20,000 shares of 500 livres each, bearing interest at 5 per cent., to be called the National Italian Loan.

This loan is to provide for the defence of Venice and to sustain the insurrection in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, by which provinces it is to be guaranteed.

The Ducal Palace at Venice with the works of art therein contained, and the building called the Procuratie Nuove, wherein is the Vice-Regal residence and

that of the Governor, are to be mortgaged to the shareholders as security for the repayment of the loan.

The four Commissioners charged with the negotiation of the loan have already left Venice.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 322.

Plan of the Provisional Government of Venice for raising a Loan of 10,000,000 Italian livres.

Venezia, 31 Agosto, 1848.

SI apre un Prestito Nazionale Italiano di dieci milioni di lire Italiane.

Questa somma verrà impiegata a sostenere l'insurrezione delle Provincie Lombardo-Venete e la difesa di Venezia, e a conservare, colla indipendenza di questa città, la libertà e l'onore di tutta l'Italia.

Il debito è assunto e garantito dalle Provincie Lombardo-Venete.

Per Venezia, si obbligano i Triumviri eletti con potere dittatoriale dall'Assemblea del 13 Agosto; per la Lombardia, il cittadino Cesare Correnti, che, in forza del suo mandato degli 8 Agosto corrente, rappresenta in Venezia il Comitato di Difesa di Lombardia, in cui si concentrarono i poteri del Governo Lombardo, il quale fino dal giorno 18 Luglio dichiarò di assumere e di garantire solidariamente col Veneto tutti i debiti che fosse necessario di contrarre per la guerra dell'indipendenza Italiana.

Il prestito è diviso in 20,000 azioni al presentatore d'Italiane L. 500 ciascuna, fruttanti il 5 per cento.

Chi so sottoscriverà per dieci azioni ne riceverà una gratuitamente; chi per venti, due; e così di seguito.

Gl'interessi del 5 per cento si pagheranno di sei in sei mesi, al quale effetto saranno uniti alle azioni i relativi coupons.

Il primo pagamento d'interessi semestrali si farà il 30 Giugno, 1849, dalla Cassa centrale di Venezia, e nelle città principali d'Italia presso le ditte bancarie che veranno in seguito designate. Saranno in quel giorno pagati contemporaneamente gl'interessi decorsi dal giorno del versamento dell'importo dell'azione a tutto il 31 Dicembre prossimo venturo. Il capitale verrà restituito agli azionisti in cinque rate annuali, con due milioni per ogni rata. Il primo pagamento sarà fatto in Venezia il 31 Dicembre, 1852. Verranno estratte a sorte ai 30 Novembre di ogni anno, nella Loggia di S. Marco, coll'intervento del Patriarca di Venezia, del Municipio e del Presidente della Banca, le quattro mila azioni che devono essere pagate nel Dicembre successivo, e i loro numeri verranno inseriti nella Gazzetta ufficiale. Saranno in seguito distribuite a carico delle varie provincie le somme rispettive di debito.

Sono assegnati in cauzione del prestito il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia, con tutti i capolavori d'arte e quadri che lo adornano, e le Procuratie Nuove di S. Marco. Questi stabili vengono assoggettati dal Governo di Venezia a favore dei prestatori a speciale ipoteca, che, in forza di apposito decreto, verrà iscritta nel Conservatorio di Venezia, depositandone l'originale certificato d'iscrizione nell'Archivio notarile.

Quattro commissarii vengono eletti dal Governo di Venezia per raccogliere le 20,000 azioni formanti il prestito complessivo. Questi sono i Signori Conte Giuseppe Giovanelli, Conte Giovanni Battista Giustiniani, Conte Gherardo Freschi ed Elia Todros.

Essi riscuotono l'importo delle azioni stesse contro la consegna contemporanea dei certificati interinali, che saranno firmati dai tre membri del Governo di Venezia e dal Signor Cesare Correnti, e saranno muniti del suggello del Governo stesso. A lato, oltre il nome dell'originario azionista, dovrà esser fatta la ricevuta del pagamento dagli altri quattro membri della Commissione. Nel più breve termine possibile, verranno emessi i certificati regolari di azione, che a cura del Governo Veneto saranno consegnati ai varii azionisti, in sostituzione agl'interinali.

I sottoscrittori originarii e le città cui appartengono verranno iscritti in un apposito elenco, che sarà pubblicato nella Gazzetta ufficiale Veneta, e copia ne sarà conservata nell'Archivio nazionale di Venezia, affinchè si perpetui la

memoria di quei benemeriti Italiani, il quali in un modo così efficace hanno cooperato all' indipendenza della patria.

S'invita il patriottismo dei redattori di tutti i giornali a riprodurre il presente programma, e ad aprire sottoscrizioni di prenotazione nei loro ufficii, anche prima dell' arrivo dei commissarii nelle rispettive città, ad oggetto di rendere così più sollecito e più facile l'adempimento della loro missione.

(Firmato)

MANIN.

GRAZIANI.

CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

Venice, August 31, 1848.

A NATIONAL Italian loan of ten millions of Italian livres is opened.

This sum is to be devoted to the supporting the insurrection in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces and to the defence of Venice, and by maintaining the independence of that city, to the preservation of the honour and liberty of all Italy.

The debt is taken and guaranteed by the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces.

The Triumvirate elected with dictatorial powers by the Assembly of the 13th August bind themselves for Venice; the citizen Cesar Correnti binds himself for Lombardy, who by virtue of his commission of the 8th August is the representative in Venice of the Committee of Defence of Lombardy, in which are concentrated the powers of the Lombard Government, which from the 18th day of July declared that it would take upon itself and guarantee jointly and severally with Venice all the debts that it might be necessary to contract for the war of Italian independence.

The loan is divided into 20,000 shares of 500 Italian livres each, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

All persons subscribing for ten shares receive one share gratis; those subscribing for twenty shares receive two gratis, and so on in proportion.

Interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum will be paid every six months, for which purpose the necessary coupons will be affixed to the shares.

The first half-yearly payment will be made on the 30th June, 1849, by the Central Bank of Venice, and in the principal cities of Italy by the banking firms to be hereafter specified.

There shall be also paid on that day the interest due on the shares from the date of payment of their purchase-money up to the 31st December next.

The capital of this loan will be repaid to the shareholders in five annual instalments, each instalment to consist of two millions.

The first instalment shall be paid in Venice on the 31st December, 1852.

On the 30th of November of each year the 4000 shares which are to be paid off in the following December shall be drawn by lot in the Loggia of St. Mark, in the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, the Municipality, and the President of the Bank, and their numbers inserted in the official Gazette. The respective shares of the debt shall hereafter be apportioned among the different provinces.

The Ducal Palace in Venice with all the chefs-d'œuvre and pictures that adorn it, and the building called the Procuratie Nuove, are assigned as security for the loan. These are specially mortgaged by the Government of Venice to the shareholders, and this mortgage is to be registered by virtue of a decree to that effect in the Record Office of Venice, and the original deed deposited in the archives.

Four commissioners have been selected by the Government for the purpose of collecting the 20,000 shares forming the entire loan. These are Count Giuseppe Giovanelli, Count Giustiniani, Count Freschi, and M. Todros.

These commissioners will receive in cash the amount of the shares in return for the delivery of the temporary certificates which will be signed by the three members of the Government of Venice and by Signor Cesar Correnti, and will have affixed to them the seal of the said Government. On the side, in addition to the name of the original shareholder, a receipt for the payment must be given

by the four other members of the Commission. The regular certificates will be issued as speedily as possible, which will be delivered to the various shareholders in lieu of the temporary certificates.

The original subscribers and the towns to which they belong will be inscribed in a register opened for that purpose, which will be published in the official Gazette of Venice, and a copy preserved in the national archives, in order that the memory of those well-deserving Italians who have co-operated in such an efficacious manner toward the independence of the country may be preserved.

The patriotism of all editors of newspapers is called upon to republish this plan and to open registers in their offices, even before the arrival of the commissioners, with a view of accelerating and facilitating the object of their mission.

(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

No. 323.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 11, 1848.

LAST night their Excellencies the Marquis Alfieri, President of the Council of Ministers, and the Baron de Perron, called upon me for the purpose of communicating to me the contents of a proclamation issued on the 9th instant at Piacenza, by which Lieutenant-General Count Thurn assumes the civil as well as military authority in that city; and of a despatch from Major-General Alexandre de La Marmora, commanding the advanced guard of the Sardinian army at present stationed in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, in which that officer reports that he has information that it is the intention of Lieutenant-General Count Thurn to raise contributions of food for the Austrian troops in garrison at Piacenza, beyond the military radius of that fortress, and in districts which by virtue of the Armistice of the 9th of August and of the special capitulation of the town of Piacenza, were left in the occupation and under the jurisdiction of the Sardinian troops and civil authorities.

It is to be observed that Lieutenant-General Count Thurn in his proclamation announcing his assumption of the supreme and united civil and military authority, makes no reservation of the rights of the Sovereign of the duchy, and he therefore enters upon his Government solely in the character of an Austrian general officer; an act of usurpation not to be defended by the relations as they formerly existed between the Austrian and Parmesan Governments, nor by the provisions of the Armistice of Milan, or of the Capitulation of Piacenza as concluded with Count Thurn himself.

The Sardinian Ministers informed me that this most unjust violation of the Armistice and of the Sardinian territory obliged them to take prompt and energetic measures, and that the Cabinet had decided, in reply to the demand made by Major-General La Marmora, to instruct that officer to give notice that any attempt to raise contributions in districts beyond the military radius of the fortress would be resisted; and if unfortunately after such notice these exactions were continued, he had orders to repel force by force.

My French colleague happening to call upon me when the Sardinian Ministers were still with me, the same communication was made to him as had been addressed to me, with the additional request that we would endeavour to obtain from Field-Marshal Radetzky a cessation of the proceedings so justly complained of.

M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself being perfectly agreed on the injustice of the conduct pursued by Count Thurn, no doubt in virtue of superior orders from Field-Marshal Radetzky himself, we decided to address a letter upon the subject to the Marshal and send it to Milan by a secretary of the French Mission at this Court.

This has been done and I have now the honour to forward for your Lordship's information copy of the joint note which my French colleague and myself have this day transmitted to the Austrian Commander-in-chief.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 323.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

Turin, le 11 Septembre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ont l'honneur d'exposer à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, Commandant-en-chef de l'armée de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique en Italie, que son Excellence M. le Comte de Thurn s'est constitué Gouverneur de la ville de Plaisance et a assumé en lui tous les pouvoirs civils et militaires, en se substituant aux autorités de cette ville; qu'ils ont appris en outre que cet officier-général était dans l'intention de requérir les denrées nécessaires à la subsistance de ses troupes, jusque dans les pays occupés par l'armée Sarde en vertu tant de l'Armistice que de la Capitulation signée par les Généraux Comte de Thurn et Comte de Bricherasio. Ils savent aussi que des ordres ont été donnés par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne aux généraux qui commandent sur cette frontière, de repousser la force par la force, si les troupes de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique dépassent les limites du territoire réservé par la capitulation spéciale de la ville de Plaisance.

Les Soussignés regardent comme un devoir de représenter à son Excellence que la situation des troupes Impériales dans la ville de Plaisance n'est point un fait anormal et qui nécessite des mesures extraordinaires, puisque ces troupes ont occupé déjà cette ville en temps de paix, et qu'elles subvenaient elles-mêmes alors aux frais de leur entretien; que dans aucun cas le général qui y commande ne peut se substituer aux autorités constituées, et usurper des pouvoirs politiques. La capitulation dont il a été parlé ci-dessus n'autorise nullement de pareils actes; bien plus, elle les repousse, en réglant d'une manière particulière les rapports entre les autorités civiles et militaires; elle ne peut être rompue par la seule autorité d'un Général, ce qui aurait lieu s'il faisait dépasser par ses troupes et par ses agens les limites que cette capitulation a imposées à son commandement, et si d'un autre côté il s'arrogeait des pouvoirs qu'elle ne lui accorde nullement.

De pareilles mesures auraient motivé de la part des Soussignés des représentations, lors même que la médiation offerte par leurs Gouvernemens n'eût pas été acceptée par celui de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique; mais cette acceptation ayant eu lieu et des négociations devant s'ouvrir bientôt pour traiter de la paix, un pareil état de choses risque trop de les compromettre et est trop contraire aux intentions des Gouvernemens, qui ont ainsi manifesté le désir de la conclure, pour que les Soussignés ne fassent tous leurs efforts auprès de son Excellence afin de la prier de faire cesser les mesures prises par M. le Comte de Thurn. Si ces efforts n'étaient pas couronnés de succès, comme ils l'espèrent, les Soussignés se verraient obligés à leur grand regret de protester contre le refus de son Excellence, et de la rendre responsable des malheurs qu'entraînerait ce refus.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 11, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, have the honour to announce to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, Commander-in-chief of His Imperial Royal and Apostolic Majesty's army in Italy, that his Excellency the Count de Thurn has consti-

tuted himself Governor of the town of Piacenza, and has taken upon himself all the civil and military functions, substituting himself for the authorities of that town ; that they have learnt besides that that General intended to demand the provisions necessary for the subsistence of his troops even in the countries occupied by the Sardinian army in virtue of the Armistice as well as of the Capitulation signed by Generals Count de Thurn and Count de Bricherasio. They also know that orders have been given by the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia to the Generals who command on that frontier, to repel force by force, if the troops of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty pass beyond the limits of the territory reserved by the special capitulation of the town of Piacenza.

The Undersigned consider it their duty to represent to his Excellency that the situation of the Imperial troops in the town of Piacenza is not a peculiar case, or one which requires extraordinary measures, since those troops have already occupied that town in time of peace, and then themselves provided for the expenses of their maintenance ; and that in no case can the General commanding there substitute himself for the constituted authorities, and usurp political power. The capitulation above cited in no wise warrants such proceedings ; on the contrary, it repudiates them by laying down in a marked manner the relations between the civil and military authorities ; that convention cannot be violated by the sole will of a General ; yet such would be the case if he were to allow his troops and his agents to overstep the limits which that capitulation has imposed upon his command ; and if, on the other hand, he arrogated to himself powers which it clearly does not concede to him.

Such measures would have called for remonstrance on the part of the Undersigned, even if the mediation offered by their Governments had not been accepted by His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty ; but that acceptance having taken place, and negotiations being soon about to be opened to treat of peace, such a state of things too much tends to compromise those negotiations, and is too much opposed to the intentions of the Governments, who have expressed their desire to conclude a peace, for the Undersigned not to use all their endeavours to persuade his Excellency to put a stop to the measures adopted by the Count de Thurn. If those endeavours, contrary to their hopes, should not be crowned with success, the Undersigned will to their great regret feel themselves compelled to protest against his Excellency's refusal, and to make him responsible for the misfortunes which such a refusal may produce.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY. SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

No. 324.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 11, 1848.

THE Armistice of the 9th August may be denounced on Thursday next the 14th instant, and hostilities may in consequence recommence after such a denunciation on the 21st instant.

In the hope that the offered and accepted mediation of Great Britain and of France may still lead to the termination of successful negotiations for a Treaty of Peace between Sardinia and Austria, although the arrival of a copy *in extenso* of the note of Baron de Wessenberg to M. de la Cour accepting on the part of Austria the mediation of England and of France, under certain at present undefined reservations, which reached my French colleague this morning, has I fear materially diminished the chances of such a result, M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself determined to take advantage of the presence of a French Secretary at Milan to discover the probable intentions of Field-Marshal Radetzky with respect to the recommencement of hostilities on the 20th instant ; and in the event of it appearing probable that such would be the case, or that he was unable to obtain positive information that the Austrian General would consider the Armistice to be *de facto* prolonged until regularly denounced by one or other of the belligerents, to instruct M. Boileau in that case to present to the Marshal the joint letter, copy of which is herewith inclosed, and by which we propose

that the Armistice of the 9th August shall be prolonged for one month from the 20th instant, in order that the mediating Governments may have time to take the necessary steps for entering upon the negotiations for a peace.

Your Lordship will observe that our proposal is the pure and simple prolongation of the existing armistice.

Inclosure in No. 324.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ayant appris que la médiation offerte par leurs Gouvernemens a été acceptée le 3 à Vienne par celui de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, ont l'honneur de faire observer à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, Commandant-en-chef de l'armée de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique en Italie, que l'Armistice qui a été conclu entre les Puissances belligérantes expire le 20 Septembre et peut être dénoncé le 14, et que par conséquent le temps manquerait aux Puissances qui vont traiter de la paix pour prendre les mesures nécessaires à l'établissement des négociations, si l'Armistice suivait son plein effet. Les Soussignés ont la confiance que son Excellence ne voudrait dans aucun cas compromettre l'avenir de cette paix, en recommençant les hostilités à l'époque indiquée; mais pour régulariser la situation ils ont l'honneur de demander à son Excellence la prolongation de cet Armistice pour un mois à dater du 20 Septembre. Ils se sont assurés que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne concourrait entièrement à cette prorogation.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, having learnt that the mediation offered by their Governments was accepted on the 3rd instant at Vienna by that of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, have the honour to observe to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, Commander-in-chief of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty in Italy, that the Armistice which was concluded between the belligerent Powers expires on the 20th September, and may be denounced on the 14th; and that consequently the Powers who are about to treat for peace would not have time to take the necessary steps for the establishment of the negotiations, if the Armistice were to be fully carried out. The Undersigned feel confident that his Excellency would in no case desire to compromise the prospect of that peace by recommencing hostilities at the time indicated; but in order to render the position of affairs more regular, they have the honour to request of his Excellency the extension of that Armistice for a month, to date from the 20th of September. They have assured themselves that the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia would give its entire concurrence to such an extension.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 325.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 11, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 1st instant, inclosing copy of a note from my French colleague and myself to Field-Marshal Radetzky, remonstrating against certain proceedings of the Austrians at Piacenza, I have now the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of the answer we have received from the Austrian Field-Marshal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 325.

Marshal Radetzky to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Milan, le 3 Septembre, 1848.

J'AI reçu l'office que Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser sous la date du 1^{er} de ce mois, et par lequel leurs Excellences réclamaient contre les charges que l'entretien des troupes Impériales et Royales impose à la ville de Plaisance.

Une semblable réclamation de la part des Représentans de France et d'Angleterre à Turin a d'autant plus dû me surprendre, que j'avais appris par les feuilles publiques, et sans qu'aucune communication officielle ne m'ait encore été faite à ce sujet par mon Gouvernement, que la médiation de ces deux Puissances avait été offerte et acceptée pour la conclusion de la paix ; et plus encore, parceque l'objet traité dans l'office précité ne concerne nullement la politique et n'a au contraire qu'un caractère purement militaire et administratif.

Les sujets de cette nature ont jusqu'ici été traités exclusivement par les Généraux chefs d'état-major des armées respectives, dans les attributions desquels ils appartiennent évidemment ; mais vu les égards que je me plais à témoigner à Messieurs les Représentans de France et d'Angleterre, je ne me refuse pas d'entrer envers leurs Excellences dans les éclaircissemens suivans.

Lorsqu'à l'entrée du 4^{me} corps de mon armée à Plaisance il a fallu pourvoir aux besoins des troupes et que les prestations à fournir par cette ville se sont trouvées onéreuses pour ses ressources, j'ai eu soin de les faire répartir sur la totalité des territoires occupés par les troupes Impériales et Royales dans les Duchés de Parme et de Plaisance, mesure qui nécessairement a dû de beaucoup alléger le poids à supporter par ces pays.

Les sacrifices imposés par la guerre sont un mal inévitable dans les conjonctures présentes, et je dois ajouter que si je croyais devoir justifier les mesures prises à cet égard, ce serait vis-à-vis du Souverain légitime qui doit régir ces pays selon les traités existans et d'après le droit public de l'Europe que je me sentirais appelé à répondre de mes actes, et non vis-à-vis du Gouvernement Sarde, qui, contre les lois de l'honneur et le droit des gens, a envahi et tenté de s'approprier les territoires maintenant occupés par les troupes Impériales.

Le mode suivi pour le paiement provisoire des fournitures par bons est celui généralement adopté en temps de guerre. Le paiement effectif est remis à une époque postérieure ; il est plus ou moins probable, et je me permets à cette occasion de citer le fait, que l'armée Piémontaise n'a, pendant des mois, subsisté en Lombardie que moyennant des bons, indiquant certainement une intention de payer, mais dont le paiement ne saurait assurément être considéré comme garanti.

Je me permets de plus de faire observer à leurs Excellences, que si les pays de Parme et de Plaisance, pays riches et abondant de produits, éprouvent à présent quelques difficultés à s'acquitter des charges que leur impose la présence des troupes Autrichiennes, ce n'est point dans les exigences de ces dernières qu'il faut chercher la cause de cette gêne, mais bien dans les mesures que les autorités et les troupes Sardes se sont permises de prendre au moment d'évacuer le pays envahi pour regagner leur frontière.

J'ai la preuve que toutes les caisses publiques ont été vidées, et que de celle de Parme près de 700,000 francs ont été enlevés et transportés en Piémont.

Je crois avoir répondu, par ce qui précède, à tous les points touchés dans l'office que Messieurs les Ministres de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser, et saisis, &c.

(Signé)

RADETZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 3, 1848.

I HAVE received the communication which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic did me the honour to address to me under date of the 1st of this month, and in which their Excellencies complain of the expense to which the maintenance of the Imperial and Royal troops subjects the town of Piacenza.

Such a complaint on the part of the Representatives of France and England at Turin necessarily surprised me the more, from my having learnt through the public papers, and without any official communication to that effect having been yet made to me by my Government, that the mediation of those two Powers had been offered and accepted for the conclusion of peace; and still more because the matter discussed in the above-named communication in no wise touches upon politics, and on the contrary is of a purely military and administrative character.

Matters of this kind have hitherto been treated exclusively by the Generals, chiefs of the staff of the respective armies, to whose functions they evidently belong; but considering the deference which I am willing to show to the Representatives of France and England, I will not decline to enter into the following explanations with their Excellencies.

Upon the entrance of the 4th corps of my army into Piacenza it was necessary to provide for the wants of the troops; and the supplies to be furnished by that town falling heavily upon its resources, I took care to distribute them over the whole of the territory occupied by the Imperial and Royal troops in the Duchies of Parma and Placentia; and this measure must have greatly lightened the burthen to be supported by those countries.

The sacrifices required by war are an unavoidable evil in the present state of things; and I must add, that if I thought myself called upon to justify the measures adopted in this respect, it would be to the legitimate Sovereign who is to govern these countries according to the existing treaties and to the public right of Europe, that I should consider myself bound to answer for my actions, and not to the Sardinian Government, which in opposition to the laws of honour and the rights of nations has invaded and endeavoured to possess itself of the territories now occupied by the Imperial troops.

The mode pursued for the provisional payment of supplies by bills is the one generally adopted in time of war. The effective payment is postponed to a later period; it is more or less probable, and I venture on the present occasion to state the fact, that the Piedmontese army has for months past only maintained itself in Lombardy by means of bills, implying certainly an intention of paying, but the payment of which cannot assuredly be considered as guaranteed.

I venture further to observe to their Excellencies, that if the countries of Parma and Placentia, rich countries and abounding in productions, now experience some difficulty in furnishing the supplies which the presence of the Austrian troops requires from them, it is not in the requisitions of those troops that the cause of that difficulty is to be sought, but in the measures which the Sardinian troops and authorities allowed themselves to adopt on their evacuation of the invaded country in order to regain their frontier.

I have proof that all the public chests were emptied, and that from that of Parma nearly 700,000 francs were carried off and transported into Piedmont.

I think that I have replied in the preceding remarks to all the points touched upon in the communication which the Ministers of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic have done me the honour to address to me; and I avail, &c.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

(No. 326.)

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 11, 1848.

YESTERDAY evening I renewed my application to Baron Wessenberg for an answer upon the subject of the mediation, informing him that I could not detain the messenger beyond 6 o'clock this day (the 11th). His Excellency said he would send a reply, but I know that he has been ill and busy, and it is possible that he may not keep his engagement, and I will report to your Lordship without further delay.

Upon the receipt of your instructions of the 31st ultimo I acquainted Baron Wessenberg fully with your Lordship's opinions and your arguments in support of the policy recommended by Her Majesty's Government in your instructions to me, and by the French Government in despatches to M. de la Cour, the French Chargé d'Affaires. I showed that you were actuated by the conviction that essential benefits to Austria would be the result of the adoption of that policy, and that you were persuaded that its rejection would occasion an intervention in arms by the French in the Italian affairs, and that the means possessed by the French are quite adequate to the end of effecting the proposed object. The opinions and reasonings of your Lordship are perfectly well known to Baron Wessenberg. I requested him to give me an answer, which he said he could not do without having previously consulted the Council.

I have now to say that I entertain no doubt whatever of the nature of the answer which will be given. It will be a refusal to make the concessions of territories recommended by the English and French Governments, but will express the determination of the Imperial Government to establish the most liberal national Governments in the Italian provinces, and probably may make mention of the steps already taken for such a purpose by calling together an assembly of Italians at Verona.

Your Lordship will I presume expect to hear from me what I imagine are the grounds upon which the Austrians act in refusing to accede to the recommendations of Her Majesty's Government and the recommendations and covert menaces of the Government of France.

The Austrians maintain their right to be indefeasible to retain Lombardy, &c.; that the French have no right even upon their own principles to interfere with the domestic affairs of an independent nation; that if such an interference be submitted to once, interference will be again employed whenever the French may choose to promote French views, and therefore interference must be now resisted.

The Austrian Government says that the whole population is decided upon resistance to French menace, and that the German nations have a similar view of the mischief and disgrace which would attend upon submission to dictation.

The Austrians say that were the Imperial Government to order the Austrian Generals and the army to give up the territories required to be ceded, the Generals and troops would disobey the order. They say that 120,000 men are in Lombardy, and that as many more can be sent there, and they assert that, with the exception of the nobility of Milan and others of violent and extreme political opinions, the national feeling in Lombardy is in favour of Austrian connexion rather than in favour of the continuation of the rule under which Lombardy has been during the last four or five months.

The Austrians also feel little doubt of receiving assistance from other Powers if they should be attacked by the French.

The foregoing is a summary of what I hear from everybody, and it is said that the Democratic ultra party can hardly venture to express dissent from the common voice.

I have done my duty in laying before your Lordship the substance of the information I have received, and have only to say that I believe that the feelings and opinions here are pretty correctly embodied in it.

With reference to the subject of mediation I have to acquaint your Lordship that a new difficulty has arisen, occasioned by an assumption at Turin of a

right being inherent in His Majesty the King of Sardinia to possess the Crown of Lombardy, and which right is said to be recognized by the French Government.

This right is said to be founded upon the 1st Article in the memorandum dated May 24th, 1848, proposed by Baron Hummelauer to Her Majesty's Government, in which certain arrangements are suggested as a basis of British mediation, and of which the 1st Article is to this effect, that the Lombards shall have the right to select their own governors and Governments, &c. It is replied to the above that the memorandum was only a project and a rejected project, and never had any force whatever; that no right can be rested upon it; and that the election by the Milanese of Charles Albert to be their King has no relation to it; that to admit this assumed right of Charles Albert would be to establish beforehand some of the most important measures for the settlement of which a mediation would be created, and Austria would not agree to accept a mediation so limited in power.

I have not been called upon to treat this question with any Austrian authority, and I merely report what I know to be the language here. The answer given by Baron Wessenberg to the note addressed to him by M. de la Cour upon the subject of the extension of the Armistice of the 9th of August to Venice has been forwarded to your Lordship from this Embassy. That note seems to me to be decisive of the line taken by the Austrians, and it might be sufficient in its spirit though not so in its form to give a reply to the propositions comprised in your Lordship's instructions to me and in the despatches from the French Government to M. de la Cour, which are to form the basis of the mediation there spoken of.

I hope your Lordship will approve of my not waiting any longer for the answer which the Austrian Government is to give. I presume that delay might add to difficulties, and that the knowledge of the sentiments of the Austrians cannot fail to be acceptable to your Lordship.

I shall have in a few days an opportunity by the messenger from Constantinople of addressing your Lordship again.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 327.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 11, 1848.

I HAVE just received (1 o'clock) the note from Baron Wessenberg, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I do not know whether his Excellency intends to make any further reply which I have asked for on the subject of the mediation.

I think it my duty to send a copy of his Excellency's note to Her Majesty's Minister at Turin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 327.

Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.

Vienne, le 10 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné doit porter à la connaissance de son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique, que suivant un rapport récemment arrivé de Trieste, l'Amiral Albini continue de garder une position hostile dans l'Adriatique contre la flotte Autrichienne, et que le Consul Français Lesparda et le Commandant du vaisseau Français "l'Asmodée" ont déclaré au Gouverneur de Trieste, le Comte de Salm, que la flotte Autrichienne n'oserait entrer en mer, la France ne pouvant consentir à un acte d'hostilité quelconque contre Venise. Il faut ajouter à cette nouvelle celle que le Général Sarde La Marmora, en

quittant Venise a déclaré au Général Baron de Welden, que son Gouvernement regardait Venise compris dans l'Armistice conclu avec le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky, et que l'Article IV de la Convention du dit Armistice devait être expliqué dans ce sens. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait que protester contre une telle interprétation, qui ne peut être justifiée d'aucune manière, l'Armistice en question ne se rapportant explicitement qu'à la cessation d'hostilité de la part des troupes Sardes et de celle de la flotte Piémontaises, et à l'évacuation immédiate de la ville de Venise par les troupes Sardes.

Le Soussigné ose prier son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique de vouloir informer le Représentant de son Gouvernement près Sa Majesté Sarde, des circonstances signalées plus haut, et de réclamer de sa part une démarche près du Ministère Sarde, afin que la teneur de la Convention d'Armistice soit exactement maintenue et littéralement exécutée, et qu'en conséquence l'Amiral Albini reçoive l'ordre précis de ne point mettre d'obstacle aux mouvemens de la flotte Autrichienne.

Il devient de jour en jour plus urgent que le Gouvernement Sarde se décide à entrer formellement en négociation avec le Plénipotentiaire Autrichien, seul moyen d'arriver à un état de paix. Le Gouvernement Impérial ose réclamer à cet effet les bons offices du Gouvernement Britannique, qui, ayant offert sa médiation amicale, médiation qui a été acceptée, pour un arrangement définitif, ne peut que désirer de voir la négociation être entamée le plus tôt possible.

L'Autriche bornant ses exigences à ce qui lui revient de droit, à l'état de possession qui lui a été garanti par les traités, et en s'engageant à donner à ses provinces Italiennes les institutions les plus libérales, basées sur la nationalité de leur population, a offert toutes les facilités qui, il semble, peuvent être réclamées de sa part pour l'accomplissement de l'œuvre de la pacification, pour laquelle le Gouvernement Britannique a manifesté le plus vif intérêt.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ose en conséquence espérer qu'une conduite aussi loyale de sa part obtiendra le suffrage du Gouvernement Britannique et son puissant appui.

(Signé) WESSENERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 10, 1848.

THE Undersigned has to communicate to his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, that according to a report recently arrived from Trieste, Admiral Albini continues to maintain a hostile position in the Adriatic in regard to the Austrian fleet, and that the French Consul Lesparda and the commander of the French vessel "l'Asmodée" have declared to the Governor of Trieste, the Count de Salm, that the Austrian fleet would not venture to put to sea, as France could not consent to any act of hostility whatsoever against Venice. To this news must be added that the Sardinian General La Marmora, on quitting Venice, declared to General Baron de Welden, that his Government considered Venice as comprised in the Armistice concluded with the Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, and that the IVth Article of the Convention of the said Armistice should be interpreted in that sense. The Imperial Government cannot but protest against such an interpretation, which can in no way be justified, the Armistice in question explicitly relating only to the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Sardinian troops and on that of the Piedmontese fleet, and to the immediate evacuation of the city of Venice by the Sardinian troops.

The Undersigned ventures to request his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to have the goodness to apprise the Representative of his Government at the Court of His Sardinian Majesty of the above-mentioned circumstances, and to request him to apply to the Sardinian Ministry, in order that the tenour of the Convention of Armistice may be exactly maintained and literally executed, and that in consequence Admiral Albini may receive positive orders to offer no obstacle to the movements of the Austrian fleet.

It becomes from day to day more urgent that the Sardinian Government should decide upon entering formally into negotiation with the Austrian Plenipotentiary, which is the only means of arriving at a state of peace. The Imperial Government ventures for this purpose to request the good offices of the British

Government, which having offered its friendly mediation, which has been accepted, for a definitive arrangement, cannot but desire to see the negotiation commenced as soon as possible.

Austria limiting its demands to what she is of right entitled to, the state of possession guaranteed to her by treaties, and pledging herself to give to her Italian provinces the most liberal institutions based on the nationality of their population, has offered all the facilities which it seems can be required of her for the accomplishment of the work of pacification, for which the British Government has shown the liveliest interest.

The Imperial Government ventures in consequence to hope that such frank conduct on its part will obtain the approbation of the British Government and its powerful support.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

No. 328.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, September 11, 1848.

IT appears that the telegraphic news from Trieste respecting the departure from Venice of the Sardinian squadron and troops was incorrect, and that they still remain; Admiral Albini having demanded as the condition of his departure that the Austrians should engage not to send any ships of war to Venice.

No. 329.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 16.)

(Extract.)

Paris, September 15, 1848.

I HAD a long conversation this morning with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide on the affairs of Italy and the prospects of our joint mediation. We agreed that it would be necessary before long for the two Governments to come to an understanding as to the scope and limits of that mediation.

The difficulty of precisely defining them had been made obvious both to the heads of the French Government and myself, by the number of Italians from different parts of the Peninsula who are constantly arriving here with the idea that the local interests with which they are connected must form a portion of the questions to be considered.

The General agreed with me that all we were at present engaged in was a distinct mediation between two belligerents, having for its object the arrangement of the territory in dispute between them; that if it was possible to confine our operations to that single object it was easy then to refuse the intervention in that mediation of any third parties; but if we extended our action and agreed to consider the settlement of other parts of the Peninsula which were anxious to submit themselves to our guidance, then other Powers might say that we were raising European questions in which they ought to have a voice.

No. 330.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 16, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 4th instant, inclosing the letter which you had addressed to Captain Codrington calling upon him to land his men at Leghorn, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government cannot approve of any British force interfering in any case in the civil contest between the different political parties in Tuscany except as far as may be absolutely necessary for the protection of British subjects and their property; and I have to instruct you to lose no time in making this known to Captain Codrington.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 331.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 17.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 9, 1848.

TRANSACTIONS of the nature of those which I had the honour to mention to your Lordship in my despatch of the 7th instant have taken place between the Tuscan Government and their revolted subjects at Leghorn, and which have led to the temporary cessation of riot and bloodshed in that town.

A general amnesty has been proclaimed and the civic guard dissolved, the Government having proposed to the Provisional Gonfaloniere of the town to co-operate with the municipal body in forming such a civic force as will secure its safety and protect it from a recurrence of anarchy.

It is impossible, after what has lately occurred, to place much confidence in the maintenance of order among a population who have, so fatally for public peace, learnt their own power and the weakness of their Government.

The Grand Duke left Florence yesterday at an early hour for Pisa, where there was to be a grand review of the civic guard of that and the neighbouring towns, including those of the Duchies of Massa and Carrara. These troops have assembled at Pisa as a mark of their solemn disapproval of what has occurred at Leghorn.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 332.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 8, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship copies and translations of two notes received this day from the Provisional Government of Venice, stating that several Venetian fishing-boats have been captured and detained by the Austrian steamers, and requesting me to interfere to put a stop to such proceedings, as being in opposition "to the arrangements mentioned in the official communication relative to the pacification of Italy made to the Provisional Government by the Consul of the French Republic."

Not having any knowledge whatever of the arrangements referred to, nor of any official communication having been made to the Provisional Government by the French Consul, I have returned an answer to the Provisional Government of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 332.

The Provisional Government of Venice to Consul-General Dawkins.

Venezia, 8 Settembre, 1848.

DA relazioni pervenute jeri sera a questo Governo Provvisorio risulta, che il piroscalo Austriaco "Vulcano," insieme con altri piroscali della Società del Lloyd di Trieste, ha circondato e arrestato parecchi da nostri bragozzi pescherecci, e nè ha forzamente condotto la maggior parte a Cortelazzo, ove li trattiene, vietando loro di proseguire l'esercizio della pesca in queste acque. Quest'atto di ostilità è in opposizione con le disposizioni accenate nella ufficiale comunicazione relativa alla pacificazione di Italia, fatta a questo Governo dal Console-Generale della Repubblica Francese. Nell'atto che noi c'indirizziamo a lei come pure al Console-Generale della Repubblica Francese, con la preghiera di voler compiacersi a far sì che cessi una tale violenza, non possiamo omettere di porle sott'occhio l'infelice condizione della classe di pescatori delle nostre marine, i quali se fosse lor tolto quell'unico mezzo di sussistenza sarrebbero gettati nella

più crudele miseria. Aggiungiamo che per questo motivo di umanità, anche nel tempo del blocco di Venezia fatto dalla flotta Inglese, era permesso ai bragozzi di pescare presso i nostri lidi.

Aggradisca, &c.
(Firmato)

MANIN.
S. GRAZIANI, C.A.
Il Segretario,
I. FOSCOLO.

(Translation.)

Venice, September 8, 1848.

FROM intelligence received yesterday evening by this Provisional Government, it appears that the Austrian steam-boat "Vulcano," in company with other steam-boats of the Austrian Lloyd's Company of Trieste, surrounded and captured several of our fishing-boats, and has carried the greater part of them into Cortelazzo, detaining them there and forbidding them to continue to fish in these waters. This act of hostility is in opposition to the arrangements mentioned in the official communication relative to the pacification of Italy made to this Government by the Consul-General of the French Republic. In addressing ourselves to you, Sir, as well as to the Consul-General of the French Republic, with a request that you will be pleased to cause the cessation of such violence, we cannot refrain from calling your attention to the distressing condition of that class of our fishermen, who if they are deprived of that their sole means of subsistence would be reduced to the greatest misery. We may add that from this motive of humanity, even in the time of the blockade of Venice by the English fleet, permission was given to our fishermen to exercise their calling near our coast.

Receive, &c.
(Signed)

MANIN.
S. GRAZIANI, C.A.
The Secretary,
I. FOSCOLO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 332.

The Provisional Government of Venice to Consul-General Dawkins.

Venezia, 8 Settembre, 1848.

IN relazione alla nota odierna diretta da questo Governo Provvisorio alla Signoria vostra illustrissima, se si fa ancora noto che da rapporto ricevuto in questo punto, rilevasi che il piroscafo Austriaco "Vulcano" arrestò una brazzera à cinque miglia circa dal Lido, e la predò rimorchiandola verso Greco.

Aggradisca, &c.
(Firmato)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
Il Segretario,
G. FOSCOLO.

(Translation.)

Venice, September 8, 1848.

WITH reference to its note of this day's date the Provisional Government of Venice has to inform you, Sir, that from intelligence just received, it appears that the Austrian steam-boat "Vulcano" seized a fishing-vessel six miles off the Lido and carried her off, towing her in a westerly direction.

Receive, &c.
(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
The Secretary,
G. FOSCOLO.

Inclosure 3 in No. 332.

*Consul-General Dawkins to the Provisional Government of Venice.**Venice, September 8, 1848.*

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the notes of the Provisional Government of Venice of this day's date, acquainting him that intelligence received yesterday by the Provisional Government of Venice states that the Austrian steam-vessel "Vulcano" together with other steam-vessels belonging to the Society of Lloyd's of Trieste had captured several fishing-boats belonging to Venice, and had forcibly carried the greater part of them to Cortelazzo, keeping them there, and forbidding them to prosecute fishing in these waters. The Provisional Government of Venice states that this act of hostility is in opposition to the arrangements mentioned in the official communication relative to the pacification of Italy made to the Provisional Government by the Consul-General of the French Republic; and the Provisional Government of Venice (having made a similar request to the Consul-General of the French Republic) request the Undersigned to take measures with the view of causing a cessation of such proceedings, pointing out the unfortunate condition of the fishermen, and adverting to the measures adopted towards Venetian fishermen on a former occasion.

The Undersigned has the honour to state to the Provisional Government of Venice that he has no knowledge whatever of the arrangement mentioned in the official communication relative to the pacification of Italy made to the Provisional Government by the Consul-General of the French Republic, and that he is therefore precluded from forming any opinion as to whether the capture of the fishing-boats in question by the Austrian steamer can be considered as a violation of such arrangements.

The only arrangement bearing upon the pacification of Italy (an object which no one can more earnestly pray for than the Undersigned) of which he has any cognizance, is the Convention concluded between the Austrian and Piedmontese authorities at Milan on the 9th August, the IVth Article of which provides for the evacuation of the city, forts, and ports of Venice by the Sardinian military and naval forces, which are then to re-enter the Sardinian territories.

Under these circumstances, while the Undersigned laments the fate of the unfortunate fishermen, he regrets exceedingly that it is not in his power to take any official steps in compliance with the request from the Provisional Government of Venice, but the Undersigned will transmit by the earliest opportunity both to Her Britannic Majesty's Government and to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna a copy of the communication which the Provisional Government of Venice has done him the honour to address to him.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 333.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Extract.)

Venice, September 8, 1848.

THE embarkation of the Sardinian troops on board of the Sardinian fleet was completed on the 5th instant, on which day the Venetian vessels of war which were in company with the Sardinian fleet came inside the port of Malamocco. The Sardinian fleet however still remains at anchor with the troops on board off the Malamocco entrance to this port.

Yesterday morning the French war steamer "Asmodée" arrived from Trieste. Before coming to an anchor outside the Lido, the "Asmodée" went down to the Sardinian fleet and communicated with Admiral Albini.

The belief that additional French ships of war are on their way hither and that the Sardinian squadron will not leave until their arrival is very general.

There are many French residents in Venice, several of whom take a very active part in supporting the Venetians in their determination to resist.

No. 334.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sardinian squadron got under weigh last night and was out of sight from Venice this morning. It is said that the fleet is gone in the first instance to Ancona.

The Venetian vessels of war which were in company with the Sardinian fleet are outside this port and have been joined by a steam-boat which has been under repair in the arsenal here ever since the Revolution, but which was completed a few days ago.

The steamer is of 120 horse-power, and is the sister ship to the "Vulcano" which is in the hands of the Austrians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 335.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Extract.)

Venice, September 9, 1848.

I HAD a visit this morning from M. de Ricaudy, the Commander of the French steamer "Asmodée."

M. de Ricaudy showed me a copy of a despatch from the French Minister at Vienna, dated 4th instant, to the French Consul at Trieste, announcing that Austria had accepted the mediation of France and England, and that a suspension of hostilities would probably ensue.

No. 336.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

My Lord,

Naples, September 6, 1848.

THE Neapolitan Parliament was prorogued yesterday until the 30th of November.

The corresponding decree inclosed herewith was read in the Chamber of Peers by Prince Torella, and in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Ruggiero, Minister of Finance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure in No. 336.

Decree for the Prorogation of the Neapolitan Parliament.

Ferdinando II, &c.

VISTO l'Articolo 64 della Costituzione ;

Udito il Consiglio de' Ministri ;

Abbiamo risoluto di decretare e decretiamo quanto segue :

Art. 1. La sessione delle Camere Legislative aperta nel dì 1° dello scorso mese di Luglio, è prorogata per la discussione de' corrispondenti lavori ai dì 30 Novembre di questo corrente anno.

Art. 2. Tutti i nostri Ministri Segretari di Stato, ciascuno per la parte che lo concerne, sono incaricati della esecuzione del presente decreto.

Napoli, 1 Settembre, 1848.

(Firmato) FERDINANDO.

[Here follow the names of the Ministers.]

(Translation.)

Ferdinand II, &c.

HAVING considered the 64th Article of the Constitution ;

Having consulted our Council of Ministers ;

We have resolved to decree, and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. The session of the Legislative Chambers, which commenced on the 1st of July, is prorogued to the 30th of November of the present year, then to meet for the dispatch of business.

Art. 2. All our Ministers Secretaries of State, each in his separate department, are charged with the execution of the present decree.

Naples, September 1, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

No. 337.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Extract.)

Naples, September 9, 1848.

THE prorogation of Parliament has given rise to disorders of a peculiar and unprecedented description.

On the forenoon of the 5th instant, about the time at which the Royal Decree was communicated to the Chambers, two agents of the police proceeded to Santa Lucia, a quarter inhabited by the most lawless class of Lazzaroni, and stirred them up to make a demonstration in honour of the King and in contempt of the Constitution.

The Luciani who had not moved spontaneously, as I am assured by an English merchant of most respectable character who was a witness of this proceeding, yielded to the suggestion, and a mob, principally composed of women and children and young lads, was formed round the white flag, and conducted first to the vicinity of the Palace, and then along the Toledo towards the Monte Calvario, with cries of "Long live the King, and down with the Constitution!" Here they were met by a party of the Lazzaroni of that district, a tribe who are imbued with Constitutional opinions, and a battle of stones ensued which terminated in the defeat of the Luciani, who fled homewards in great disorder, endeavouring when they reached the neighbourhood of the Palace to offer their mingled services and lamentations under the windows of His Majesty.

They were prevented doing so by a patrol of Hussars drawn across the square, and they subsequently dispersed without further mischief.

The populace of the Monte Calvario remained however in an excited state, and the troops which were sent to pacify them had to fire several shots, by which one man was killed and several were wounded.

During the night the adjoining houses were searched for arms, and many arrests were made.

On the two following days the Lazzaroni of Monte Calvario and those of the "Porto" again assembled in a tumultuous manner with Constitutional flags, and in some scuffles between the mob and the cavalry the latter were maltreated, and one of their officers was made prisoner.

The town is now quiet, but it has been shown that part of the Lazzaroni are infected with liberal notions.

One of the leaders of the Parliamentary opposition has informed me that at least one-half of that singular race are so disposed.

The shores of Margellina, Chiaja, and Santa Lucia, are aristocratic and Royal quarters, and contain a swarm of fishermen, fruitmen, and vendors of small wares, all of whom are faithful adherents of the Crown.

The population of the "Mercato," the most inaccessible of the city, is equally divided between the opposite factions.

The "Molo," which subsists on foreign commerce, is imbued with the new ideas, and Monte Calvario on the declivity of the Vomero, is the earliest and firmest adherent of the Parliament.

Such is the story circulated at present, for the whole truth of which I cannot vouch.

No. 338.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Extract.)

Naples, September 9, 1848.

THE publication of the Opposition newspapers was stopped on the 6th instant. This arbitrary act was done by no lawful authority or warrant; a verbal intimation was merely made to the printers of the respective journals by the agents of police, forbidding their appearance. The "Libertà Italiana," "Mondo Vecchio," and "Mondo Nuovo," are the principal papers which have been thus suppressed. The "Arlecchino" has been also stifled.

The sources of intelligence open to the public are now the official Gazette the "Tempo," a paper edited to write down the English; the "Araldo," the organ of the military party; and the "Nazione," a timid Constitutionalist.

No. 339.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

(Extract.)

Naples, September 9, 1848.

I SHALL rarely trouble your Lordship with citations from the press of this capital, but at a moment in which the Opposition newspapers are silenced, it may be curious to observe the tone of a military journal printed in a barrack and allowed to continue unchecked.

The inclosed quotation from an article of the 3rd instant has reference to a correspondence of General Nunziante's, who, having complained too violently of certain reflections cast upon him by M. Poerio in the House of Commons, was voted to have insulted that body at the instigation of the above-mentioned Deputy.

Inclosure in No. 339.

Extract from the Supplement of "L'Araldo" of September 3, 1848.

L'ESERCITO nella sua protesta e nella replica del di 15 Luglio, scrisse, "le ingiurie stampate contro gl' individui dell' esercito nell' esercizio dei loro doveri, sono ingiurie fatte all' esercito stesso."

Ora, con l'esercito è vilipesa la nazione.

L'esercito dunque lasciando i riguardi che finora l'han trattenuto, leva la voce, e dichiara offeso, insieme colla nazione; e dichiara offensori dell' esercito

PART 3.

3 B

e della nazione Muratori e Poerio, e con Muratori Poerio i cinquantasei che hanno votato.

Quasi cinquantasei, che non formano, a giudizio dei deputati medesimi, una maggioranza legale, che cosa mai rappresentano?

Una fazione.

Una fazione; perchè hanno offeso il giusto e l'onesto, hanno offeso la nazione e il Sovrano.

E vano omai di nascondere; questi cinquantasei non rappresentano la nazione, ma solo un partito.

I più di loro appartengono alla ribellione del 15 Maggio, alla ribellione delle Calabrie e del Vallo. L'esercito, fremente, gli vede ancora intrusi, per intrigo dei clubs, nella rappresentanza nazionale.

Quest' è un orrore che profanando la rappresentanza nazionale, l'ha trasformata in fazione. L'esercito è fermamente deciso di volerlo distrutto.

Il Deputato Imbriani, nel suo rapporto sulla Guardia Nazionale, disse che non voleva onorare la milizia permanente del nome di nazionale. Disse che la Guardia Nazionale deve opporsi al potere medesimo, quando questo, obbliando l'altezza e la dignità del suo ufficio politico, diveniva ancor esso fazione.

L'esercito ora, senza curare la nullità di queste insolenze, potrebbe accettare questa dottrina parlamentaria, e dire: se la Guardia Nazionale dee frenare il potere esecutivo, quando divenisse fazione; l'esercito deve ora con le armi frenare il potere legislativo, divenuto fazione.

Ma l'esercito è stato finora, e sarà sempre esempio di ordine e di costanza al suo giuramento. L'esercito sdegna di raccogliere questa disfida a lui presentata, e domanda e vuole eseguite le leggi.

L'esercito non può riconoscere che la legittima rappresentanza della nazione; quella che non è in dissaccordo collo Statuto.

L'attuale rappresentanza non è legittima. Essa è composta di molti imputati e imputabili di misfatti contro lo Stato e il Sovrano. E composta di altri eletti illegalmente, privi del censo, delle altre qualità che la legge prescrive.

Questa impura sorgente ha dato quella che si nasconde sotto il falso nome di Opposizione: ch'è una vera fazione, la quale cova continuamente il disegno di sovvertire l'ordine pubblico, la quale di tempo in tempo non può non tradirsi. E così ora, mediante un redivivo Cajo Gracco, calunnia e oltraggia chi tenace ai suoi doveri, difende col sangue la Costituzione ed il Principe.

Ora, mediante un Silvio Spaventa, con la viltà nel cuore e l'audacia sulle labbra, cerca insensatamente di levare il capo contro la Maestà del Sovrano.

Il vituperio oggimai è al colmo. L'esercito è stanco. La beneficenza del Principe sollevò la nazione alle più civili e liberali franchigie; e uomini rotti ad ogni licenza vorrebbero che la libertà fosse un lor patrimonio.

L'esercito è stanco, e dichiara che la rappresentanza attuale è illegittima; ch'è un' attentato contro la legge costituzionale.

Una rappresentanza, in seno alla quale seggono molti di quelli i quali furono primi e veri autori del sangue che l'esercito sparce in difesa dell'ordine e dello Statuto! Vi seggono girovaghi faziosi, nascosti sotto il titolo di Opposizione, i quali, soprattutto colle speciosità delle Leghe, vorrebbero precipitare il paese in un nuovo abisso di mali.

L'esercito domanda che sieno esclusi dalla Camera tutt' i rappresentanti imputati, illegali, imputabili.

Questa domanda dev' essere soddisfatta. Quando nol fosse, l'esercito si appiglierà a quei mezzi che la necessità saprà imporre, secondo il suo irremovibile proponimento, dichiarato nella protesta e ora qui rinnovato.

(Translation.)

THE army in its protest and reply of July 14th wrote as follows:

"The calumnies published against individual members of the army in the exercise of their duty are directed against the army themselves." Now the nation is vilified with the army.

The army, therefore, putting on one side the considerations which up to the present time have restrained it, raises its voice and declares itself offended together with the nation, and also proclaims Muratori and Poerio and the fifty-five who vote with them, to be calumniators of the army and the nation.

These fifty-five, who according to the reckoning of the deputies themselves do not form a legal majority, what do they represent?—A faction.

A faction, because they have calumniated what is just and upright, and vilified the nation and the Sovereign.

It would be vain to hide it; these fifty-five do not represent the nation, but only a party.

Most of them took part in the rebellion of the 15th of May, in the rebellion of Calabria and the Vallo.

The army, furious with indignation, beholds them still intruded upon the national representation by means of the intrigues of the clubs.

This is a horror by which the representation is profaned and transformed into a faction. The army is fully determined that it shall be done away with.

The Deputy Imbriani in his report upon the National Guard said that he would not honour the standing army with the name of national. He said that the National Guard was to oppose itself to the Executive power, when this last, forgetful of the station and dignity of its political office, resolved itself into a faction.

The army now regardless of the futility of these insolences might accept this parliamentary doctrine, and say that if the National Guard is to restrain the Executive power when this becomes a faction, so must the standing army now by force arms restrain the legislative, converted into a faction.

But the army has been hitherto and will ever be an example of order and of faith to its oath.

The army disdains to accept the challenge, but desires and wills the observance of the laws.

The army can only recognise the legitimate representation of the nation and that which is not at variance with the law.

The present representation is not legitimate. It is composed of many persons lying under the imputation of offences committed against the State and Sovereign, and of others illegally elected and destitute of those qualifications which the law requires.

This impure source has given birth to that which hides itself under the name of Opposition, and is no more than a faction which continually nourishes the desire of overturning the existing order of things, and which from time to time cannot help showing itself. Now, by means of a second Caius Gracchus, it calumniates and insults the man who in the exercise of his duties defends with his blood the Constitution and the Prince.

Now, through a certain Silvio Spaventa, with cowardice in his heart and impudence on his lips, it senselessly attempts to lift its head against the majesty of the Sovereign.

The scandal now is at its height; the army is tired. The beneficence of the Prince raised the nation to the most enlightened and liberal privileges; and a set of men of depraved characters would seek to prove that liberty is a patrimony of their own.

The army is weary, and declares that the present national representation is unlawful and contrary to the principles of the Constitution.

A representation in which many of those sit who were the first and real causes of the blood which the army shed in defence of order and the Constitution! Factionous turncoats sit there, masked under the name of Opposition, who chiefly under the specious scheme of the League seek to precipitate the country into a new abyss of evils.

The army demands that all Deputies shall be excluded from the Chamber who are accused of crimes, who are liable to accusation, or have been illegally elected.

This demand must be satisfied. If it be not, the army will make use of those means which necessity may dictate, according to its irrevocable purpose declared in the protest and here renewed.

No. 340.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 18.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 10, 1848.

I AM still without the means of informing your Lordship of the decision of the Imperial Ministers respecting the basis of the mediation proposed by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France.

At this moment a Council is sitting and perhaps some decision may be come to.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 341.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 13, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note I have received from the Baron Perron, inclosing various documents relative to the proceedings at Piacenza of the Austrian General Count Thurn, which formed the subject of my despatch to your Lordship of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 341.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, 11 Septembre, 1848.

LE Chef de l'Etat-Major-Général de l'armée de Sa Majesté ayant fait rapport au Ministre de la Guerre de différentes dispositions prises par le Général Autrichien commandant à Plaisance, dispositions dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir hier, et qui sont une nouvelle infraction de l'Armistice du 9 Août, le Conseil des Ministres vient d'en délibérer et a décidé de faire au Chef de l'Etat-Major la réponse dont j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint une copie.

Je vous envoie également celle du rapport qu'y a donné lieu et de ses annexes, afin que vous puissiez connaître avec détail les infractions dont il s'agit.

J'ai la confiance que vous voudrez bien, ainsi que vous avez eu l'obligeance de me le promettre, employer encore vos bons offices de concert avec M. le Ministre de France, pour faire entendre la voie de la raison et de la justice.

Je vous prie, &c.

(Signé) LE BARON DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, September 11, 1848.

THE Chief of the General Staff of the army of His Majesty having reported to the Minister of War the different arrangements made by the Austrian General in command at Piacenza, arrangements about which I had the honour to speak to you yesterday, and which constitute a new infraction of the Armistice of the 9th of August, the Council of Ministers has had a discussion thereupon, and has determined to return to the Chief of the General Staff the answer of which I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy to you.

I send you at the same time a copy of the document which has given

occasion for it, and copies of its annexes, that you may be able to understand in detail the infractions referred to therein.

I am confident that you will be so good, as you have had the kindness to promise me that you would be, to use all your good offices, in concert with the French Minister, to cause the voice of reason and justice to be heard.

I beg, &c.

(Signed) BARON DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 341.

The Chief of the Staff of the Sardinian army to the Minister of War.

*Dal Quartiere-Generale Principale, Alessandria,
addì 10 Settembre, 1848.*

SUA Maestà, a cui ho avuto l'onore di referire quanto mi scrive il Signor Maggiore-Generale Cavaliere della Marmora nell' annesso foglio, mi ha ordinato di comunicarlo il più prontamente al Ministero, acciò dal medesimo venga determinato come debbasi regolare il sullodetto Signor Maggiore-Generale, e gli vengano date le occorrenti istruzioni.

Quantunque supponga che il Ministero avrà già la notificazione del Tenente Maresciallo Thurn e la protesta fatta dal Governo di Sua Maestà, per ogni caso acchiudo l'una e l'altra a questo mio foglio, pregando l'Eccellenza vostra di quindi restituirmi ogni cosa, mandando per non perdere tempo gli originali.

Ho l'onore, &c.

Per il Capo della Stato Maggiore-Generale,
Il Colonello,
(Firmato) COSSATO.

(Translation.)

Head-Quarters, Alexandria, September 10, 1848.

HIS Majesty, to whom I have had the honour to submit the accompanying letter from Major-General Chevalier della Marmora, has commanded me to communicate the same immediately to the Ministry in order that it may determine in what manner the said Major-General shall proceed, and that the necessary instructions be transmitted to him,

Although I suppose that the Ministry has already received the notification of Lieutenant-Marshal Thurn and the protest issued by His Majesty's Government, I nevertheless inclose both in this letter, requesting your Excellency will return them to me afterwards, as I send the originals to save time.

I have, &c.

For the Chief of the Staff,
(Signed) COLONEL COSSATO.

Inclosure 3 in No. 341.

General de La Marmora to the Chief of the Staff.

*Castel S. Giovanni, il 9 Settembre, 1848,
ora 10 di sera.*

HO l'onore di trasmettere alla Signoria vostra illustrissima copia di una notificazione stata pubblicata in Piacenza questa sera alle ore 4, nonchè della protesta inviata tuttora al Signor Generale I. R. Thurn. Intanto le autorità si ritireranno e saranno stabilite qui o nei contorni di Piacenza le varie sedi dei dipartimenti giudiziarii ed amministrativi, secondo il locale più conforme a ciascuna di loro.

Ho indizzi quasi certi, che gli Austriaci non essendo più da qui sussidiati (indirettamente come sin ora sussidiato il municipio) invieranno ordinanze ed altri per levar viveri ed imporre varie sorta di requisizioni nella provincia al di

fuori del raggio prefitto. Del caso che ciò si avverasse ho l'onore di chiedere alla Signoria vostra illustrissima istruzioni in proposito; se io debba cioè concentrare le poche truppe che sono sotto il mio comando intorno a questo raggio, oppure se ho da continuare a limitarmi nei soli posti attuali fra Podenzano e Rottofreno, con posto avanzato al di là della Trebbia presso S. Antonio, e col grosso a Castel S. Giovanni e Borgomioro.

Ed in questo caso qualora d'essi Austriaci venissero requisire nella provincia, se devo usandare pichetti ad impedirlo, oppure se devo protestare o lasciar fare.

Gradisca, &c.

(Firmato)

DELLA MARMORA,

Maggior-Generale.

N. B.—Non si ha notizia ancora del materiale di Peschiera, a meno che non passi per un'altra via.

(Translation.)

Castel San Giovanni, September 9, 1848,

10 o'clock at night.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you copy of a notification published in Piacenza this afternoon at 4 o'clock, and of the protest sent immediately to the Austrian General Thurn. In the meantime the authorities will withdraw and the several judicial and administrative departments will be established here, or in the environs of Piacenza, according to the localities best suited to each of them.

I have information almost positive, that the Austrians, being no longer supplied from hence (indirectly as the town has been supplied), will issue orders and use other means to levy provisions and to impose various kinds of requisitions in the province beyond the limited circle. If this should be the case, I have the honour to request your instructions in the matter; that is to say, whether I am to concentrate the few troops under my command about the said circle, or whether I am to continue to limit myself to the posts now occupied between Podenzano and Rottofreno, with an advanced post beyond the Trebbia near San Antonio, and the main body at Castel San Giovanni and Borgomioro.

And in case the Austrians should come to make requisitions in the province, whether I am to employ piquets to prevent them, or whether I should protest or allow them to act.

Be pleased, &c.

(Signed)

DELLA MARMORA,

Major-General.

N. B.—No account has yet been received of the *matériel* of Peschiera; perhaps it has passed by another road.

Inclosure 4 in No. 341.

Notification issued by General Thurn.

SI trova necessario di sottoporre alla Podesteria di Piacenza tutti i diversi rami dell'amministrazione civile e giudiziaria.

Ella è dunque incaricata da questo momento, di riunire alle incumbenze del comune ancora quelle del Governo Provvisorio, ed avrà a ricevere in ambedue i riguardi gli ordini di mia parte in qualità di Governatore Militare, sicchè di proporre tutte le misure necessarie per il governo ed il benessere di questa città.

Piacenza, il 9 Settembre, 1848.

In Tenente-Maresciallo comandante del 4° Corpo d'Armata,
(Firmato) IL CONTE DI THURN.

(Translation.)

IT is found necessary to place all the various branches of the civil and judicial administration under the office of the Podestà of Piacenza.

That office is therefore from this moment directed to add to the functions of a Provisional Government those of the commune; in both aspects it will receive orders from me as Military Governor; and it will also be its duty to propose all measures necessary for the government and well-being of this city.

Piacenza, September 9, 1848.

(Signed) **COUNT THURN,**
Lieutenant-Marshal commanding the 4th Division.

Inclosure 5 in No. 341.

Protest of the Sardinian Authorities against General Thurn's proceedings at Piacenza.

CON profonda sorpresa ricevono i sottoscritti notizia che il Generale comandante le truppe Austriache in Piacenza, senza tenere conto della protesta con la quale essi già ebbero il giorno 2 del corrente mese a rivendicare i dritti di Sua Maestà l'Augusto loro Signore vietato ed impedito l'esercizio del potere civile sinora esercitatovi in nome del Rè, ha istituito in quella città un Governo Provvisorio da esso dipendente.

Per dimostrare di quale carattere s'impronti un'atto siffatto conviene ricordare, che le truppe Austriache non occupano altrimenti la città di Piacenza che in virtù della Convenzione d'Armistizio conchiusa in Milano il 9 d'Agosto scorso.

Che questa Convenzione, nel determinare quale sarebbe durante i negoziati di pace la posizione delle armate belligeranti, ha bensì stabilito che una porzione del territorio dei novelli Stati del Rè sarebbe occupata dalle truppe Austriache, ma non ha mutato nè avrebbe potuto mutare la condizione di questo territorio medesimo perciò che alla giurisdizione politica si riferiva, richiedendosi a ciò altre forme ed il concorso di altri poteri.

Essere principio universalmente ammesso, che le cose tutte le quali in atti di questa natura non sono cambiati per patto espresso, debbano intendersi mantenute nello statu quo; nulla essersi stipulato per riguardo al governo civile de' luoghi lasciati all'occupazione militare; farsi dunque evidente che questo Governo doveva essere conservato quale ci si trovava.

La Convenzione di Piacenza poi aver tolto in proposito ogni dubbio e chiaramente definito la natura e gli effetti dell'occupazione, nel riservare all'autorità governativa esistente pel Rè il diritto di continuare la direzione degli affari del paese e nel porre sotto la salvaguardia del comando militare Austriaco i dragoni e carabinieri Reali, i quali dovevano rimanere ai loro posti sotto gli ordini dei proprii superiori.

La sostituzione di un Governo Provvisorio a quello che, a nome di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna, si esercitava in Piacenza, è dunque un fatto che non può in verun modo accordarsi col rispetto ai patti stipulati, ed in cui l'illegalità prende il carattere della usurpazione.

I Sottoscritti pertanto non avendo altro mezzo di sostenere in questa circostanza i diritti del loro Sovrano, protestano energicamente e solennemente contro l'atto per cui, senza riguardo al testo col allo spirito della Convenzione d'Armistizio del 9 d'Agosto scorso, si distrusse il Governo Civile del Rè nella città ed in quella parte del territorio di Piacenza che, in virtù della Convenzione medesima, trovasi occupata dalle truppe Austriache, denunciando questo fatto come contrario ai principii generali del diritto pubblico ed alla fede di trattati.

Gli assessori del Regio Commissario Straordinario, rappresentanti in questo momento il Governo del Rè nel ducato, fanno espresso divieto alle autorità civili residenti in Piacenza di prestare adesione e cooperazione di sorta al Governo Provvisorio stato ivi stabilito dalla forza, ordinando anzi a tutti i regii ufficiali amministrativi e giudiciarii, ai carabinieri reali ed ai contabili di denaro regio ed i generi regali, di trasferirsi tosto in Castel S. Giovanni, dove è interinalmente costituita la sede del Governo.

Trattanto essi pongono sotto la fede del Governo Austriaco i crediti e le razioni competenti alla città di Piacenza per ogni somministrazione di denaro, viveri ed altre cose che essa già fue e potrebbe ancora essere costretta di fare alle truppe di occupazione ricordando e rinnovando qui i riclami che il Commissario del Rè ebbe a dirigere per questo rispetto al comando militare Austriaco, ed unendosi acizi alle città nella protesta votata da suoi rappresentanti colle deliberazione delli 6, 7, ed 8 corrente mese.

I Sottoscritti dichiarano per ultimo che i pubblici stabilimenti i beni oggetti e valori qualunque che nella città di Piacenza e nella parte di territorio occupata dalle truppe Imperiali, appartengono al patrimonio dello Stato, sono posti sotto la salvaguardia del comando militare Austriaco.

Gli Assessori del R. Commissario Straordinario,
(Firmato) G. SAPPÀ, *Intendente Generale*.

A. MATTEIS, *Intendente Generale*.

(L.S.)

Il Maggior-Generale comandante l'avanguardia delle
Truppe Italiane,
(Firmato) ALESSANDRO DELLA MARMORA.
(L.S.)

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned have been greatly surprised at receiving information that the General commanding the Austrian troops in Piacenza, without regard for the protest by which they felt bound on the 2nd instant to assert the rights of His Majesty their august Sovereign, having put down and prevented the exercise of civil power hitherto carried on in that place in the King's name, has instituted there a Provisional Government, dependant upon himself.

In order to demonstrate the real character of this act, it is proper to recollect that the Austrian troops occupy the city of Piacenza merely by virtue of the Armistice Convention concluded at Milan on the 9th of August last.

That that Convention, in determining what should be the position of the belligerent forces during the negotiation for peace, has, it is true, established that a portion of the territory of the new States of the King should be occupied by Austrian troops; but it has not altered, nor could it alter the condition of the territory itself, which was under political jurisdiction; and other forms and the concurrence of other powers were necessary for such a purpose.

That it is an universally admitted principle that all things which in acts of this nature are not changed by express agreement ought to be understood as remaining in *statu quo*; that nothing was stipulated with regard to the civil government of the places left to military occupation; and that it is in consequence evident that the Government ought to be retained in them as it was found.

That the Convention of Piacenza had in this case removed all doubt and clearly defined the nature and effects of the occupation in reserving to the existing governing power of the King the right of continuing to direct the affairs of the country, and in committing to the safeguard of the Austrian military command the royal dragoons and carabineers, who were to remain at their posts under the command of their own officers.

The substitution of a Provisional Government to that which was carried on in Piacenza in the name of His Majesty the King of Sardinia is then a fact which cannot in any manner be reconciled with the respect due to the stipulated treaties, and is one the illegality of which assumes the character of usurpation.

The Undersigned, therefore, having no other means of supporting in this conjuncture the rights of their Sovereign, do protest energetically and solemnly against the act by which, without respect for the letter or spirit of the Armistice Convention of the 8th of August last, the Civil Government of the King was abolished in the city and in that part of the territory of Piacenza which by virtue of the said Convention is occupied by Austrian troops, denouncing that act as contrary to the general principles of public law and to the faith of treaties.

The Assessors of the Royal Extraordinary Commission representing at this moment the King's Government in the duchy, do expressly forbid the civil authorities residing in Piacenza to afford adhesion or co-operation of any kind to the Provisional Government there by force established, commanding, on the

contrary, all the royal administrative and judicial functionaries, the royal carabineers, and those in charge of the royal money or royal property, to proceed forthwith to Castel San Giovanni, where the seat of the Government is temporarily constituted.

In the meantime they commit to the faith of the Austrian Government the due reimbursement to the city of Piacenza for every supply of money, provisions, and other articles which the city has been and may yet be compelled to make to the army of occupation, here repeating and renewing the reclamations which the Royal Commissary addressed in this matter to the Austrian military command, and joining the city in the protest voted by its Representatives in the discussions of the 6th, 7th, and 9th of the present month.

The Undersigned finally declare that the public establishments, the estates, property, and goods of all kinds appertaining to the patrimony of the State in the city of Piacenza and the portion of its territory in the occupation of the Imperial troops, are committed to the safeguard of the Austrian military command.

The Assessors of the Royal Extraordinary Commission,
(Signed) G. SAPPÀ, *Intendent-General*.
A. MATTEIS, *Intendent-General*.
(L.S.)

The Major-General commanding the Vanguard of
the Italian Troops.
(Signed) ALEXANDER DELLA MARMORA.
(L.S.)

Inclosure 6 in No. 341.

The Minister of War to the Chief of the Staff.

Turin, le 11 Settembre, 1848

IN risposta, ho l'onore di comunicare alla Signoria vostra illustrissima le determinazioni del Consiglio del tenore seguente.

In primo luogo il Consiglio non crede possibile, nonostante gli atti precedenti, voglia il Tenente-Maresciallo Conte di Thurn spingere ora la violazione dell' Armistizio sino al punto di levare sul nostro territorio alcune contribuzioni di guerra; e ciò tanto più in tempo che a tutti è noto siccome l'Austria accetti la mediazione dell' Inghilterra e della Francia, quale notizia non è presumibile che a quest' ora non sia pervenuta ufficialmente a cognizione del prefato Generale Conte di Thurn e del Maresciallo Radetzky.

Seconde, il Consiglio dietro a questa intima persuasione, incarica la Signoria Vostra Illustrissima di scrivere al Generale La Marmora di condursi in modo che apparisca dal canto suo di non dubitare della lealtà e buona fede dell' Austria; epperò di non procedere a verun fatto nè ad alcun movimento di truppe che possa indicare per parte nostra l'intenzione di commettere alcun atto ostile. Ma siccome è tuttavia ragionevole il dubitare che possano per parte del nemico succedere fatti analoghi alle manifestate intenzioni di violare ognor più l'Armistizio, così la Signoria vostra illustrissima dovà ordinare al Generale La Marmora di vegliare attentamente agli atti del nemico e di provvedere alla propria difesa ed all' integrità del territorio posto oltre il raggio limitato dell' occupazione militare degli Austriaci, senza che per fatto suo venga data causa al nemico di sospettare delle nostre intenzioni.

Così nel caso che vengano dal nemico mandati uomini a taglieggiare nel nostro territorio, il Generale La Marmora dovrà farli tosto arrestare e mandarli al quartiere-generale come disertori.

Dovrà inoltre il Generale La Marmora diffidare i comuni e gli abitanti del ducato posti oltre il raggio occupato dagli Austriaci di non obbedire ad alcun precetto o sommazione che loro venga fatta dal Comandante delle truppe nemiche.

Finalmente, ove il Generale Thurn fosse per mandare truppe ad eseguir tali violazioni, dovrà il Generale La Marmora respingere la forza colla forza

nel limite del proprio territorio protestando siccome vi sarà stato costretto per propria difesa.

Sovra tali decisioni del Consiglio la Signoria vostra illustrissima darà istruzioni al Generale La Marmora, e si compiacerà di comunicare allo stesso Tenente-Maresciallo Conte di Thurn copia di quegli articoli che riflettono le disposizioni prescritte al prefato Generale La Marmora in ordine alla condotta che avrà da tenere all' emergenza dei casi sopravvenienti.

Ho l'onore, &c.

(Firmato) DABORMIDA.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to you in reply the resolutions of the Council of the following tenor.

In the first place the Council does not believe it possible, notwithstanding what has been already done, that Lieutenant-Marshal Count Thurn will push the violation of the Armistice so far as to levy any war contributions on our territory; and more especially at a time when it is known to every one that Austria accepts the mediation of England and France, intelligence of which there can be no imaginable doubt must have officially reached the aforesaid General Count Thurn and Marshal Radetzky.

Secondly, the Council, actuated by this firm persuasion, requires you to write to General La Marmora, directing him to act in such manner as that it may appear he has on his part no doubt of the honour and good faith of Austria; and that in consequence he will not take any step, nor direct any movement of troops which might indicate on our part the intention of proceeding to any hostile act. But as it is at all events reasonable to suppose that acts may take place on the part of the enemy, corresponding with the intention displayed to violate the Armistice still further, you will command General La Marmora to watch closely the proceedings of the enemy, and to provide for his own defence and for the inviolability of the territory beyond the circle limited for the Austrian military occupation, without affording to the enemy by his proceedings any reason to suspect our intentions.

Thus in case men should come from the enemy with orders to raise contributions in our territory, General La Marmora will forthwith cause them to be arrested and sent to head-quarters as deserters.

General La Marmora will also warn the townships and the inhabitants of the duchy situated beyond the circle occupied by the Austrians, that they do not obey any order or call made upon them by the commander of the enemy's troops.

Finally, in case General Thurn should send troops to execute such violations, General La Marmora will repel force by force within the limit of his own territory, protesting that he has been compelled to do so in his own defence.

Upon these resolutions of the Council, you will give instructions to General La Marmora, and you will please to communicate to the said Lieutenant-Marshal Count Thurn a copy of those articles relative to the directions given to the said General La Marmora as to the steps he will have to take on the emergency taking place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DABORMIDA.

No. 342.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 13, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by my French colleague and myself to his Excellency the Baron de Perron, transmitting to him copy of Marshal Radetzky's note of the 3rd instant,

which I have already forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant, and also copy of the answer which has been returned to me by the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 342.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, le 10 Septembre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, Ministres de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ont l'honneur d'adresser à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne une copie de la réponse que son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, commandant l'armée de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a faite à leurs réclamations concernant les injustes obligations auxquelles est soumise la ville de Plaisance pour nourrir et entretenir les troupes Impériales.

Les Soussignés regrettent vivement que leurs réclamations n'aient pas eu un meilleur succès, malgré toute l'insistance qu'ils y ont mise. Pour éviter que la réclamation de son Excellence M. le Baron de Perron relativement à la retenue du parc de siège à Peschiera ne soit également repoussée, ils se sont empressés de l'adresser aux Ministres Plénipotentiaires des deux Puissances médiatrices à Vienne, en les priant de la faire valoir, ainsi que celles concernant Plaisance, directement auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 10, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Ministers of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, have the honour to forward to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Sardinia a copy of the answer which his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, commanding the army of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, has made to their representations respecting the unjust obligations imposed upon Piacenza to feed and maintain the Imperial troops.

The Undersigned deeply regret that their representations have not had better success, notwithstanding the urgency with which they were made. In order that the representation of his Excellency the Baron de Perron respecting the retention of the siege artillery at Peschiera may not be rejected in the same manner, they forwarded it to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two mediating Powers at Vienna, begging them at the same time to press it, as well as the representations concerning Piacenza, directly upon the Government of His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 342.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 12 Septembre, 1848.

J'AI reçu ce matin la lettre par laquelle vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser une copie de la réponse du Maréchal Radetzky aux réclamations relatives aux charges injustes que le Commandant des troupes Impériales de la ville de Plaisance voudrait imposer aux habitants du territoire formant partie de ce duché. Je crois de mon devoir de soumettre à votre appréciation les obser-

vations suivantes qui viennent à l'appui des démarches que vous aviez bien voulu faire auprès du Commandant-en-chef des troupes Autrichiennes en Italie.

Pour établir de prime abord l'insuffisance des raisons alléguées par lui, je n'ai qu'à indiquer que l'Article III de l'Armistice du 9 Août porte que les troupes de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne ne devront évacuer que la ville de Plaisance et le territoire qui avait été fixé précédemment comme rayon militaire de cette place. Il s'ensuit évidemment que par cet acte le Commandant-en-chef des troupes Impériales s'est interdit le droit d'exercer des actes de juridiction civile ou militaire sur les parties du territoire Plaisantin qui continueraient à être occupées par l'armée Sarde. Il est donc hors de doute que l'adoption, de la part des autorités militaires Autrichiennes, de n'importe quelle mesure de juridiction en-dehors du territoire qu'elles occupent, doit être considérée comme contraire à l'esprit et à la lettre de l'Article dont il s'agit, et par conséquent comme une violation de l'Armistice.

Je sens en même tems le besoin de protester contre l'assertion erronée que les troupes Sardes, pendant leur séjour en Lombardie, avaient payé les fournitures faites à l'armée par des bons en papier. Cette assertion contenue dans la lettre susdite est entièrement démentie par le fait même de l'arrangement conclu entre le Gouvernement du Roi et le Gouvernement Provisoire de Milan pour le paiement des vivres qui a été régulièrement soldé de dix en dix jours.

Il est également tout-à-fait inexacte de dire que les autorités Sardes, en quittant le territoire de Parme et la ville de Plaisance, aient emporté les fonds qui pouvaient appartenir aux caisses publiques de ces deux villes. Au contraire, il est positif qu'une somme considérable et des effets précieux ont été laissés au Trésor de Parme au moment du départ, ainsi qu'il doit résulter par les registres des comptables.

Je profite de cette occasion pour vous renouveler mes remerciemens de l'intérêt que vous voulez bien mettre à la stricte exécution de l'Armistice du 9 Août pour ce qui regarde le parc de siège retenu à Peschiera, et je vous prie en même tems d'agréer, &c.

(Signé)

Pour le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
Le Président du Conseil,
C. ALFIERI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, September 12, 1848.

I RECEIVED this morning the letter in which you have done me the honour to forward to me a copy of the answer made by Marshal Radetzky to the representations respecting the unjust charges which the Commander of the Imperial troops at Piacenza wishes to impose upon the inhabitants of the territory forming a part of that duchy. I consider it my duty to submit to you the following observations in support of the steps you have been so good as to take with the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in Italy.

To establish at the outset the insufficiency of the reasons which he has alleged, I have only to point out that Article III of the Armistice of the 9th of August stipulates that the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia are only to evacuate the town of Piacenza and the territory which had been previously fixed as the military rayon of that place. It evidently follows that by that act the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops precludes himself from the right of exercising civil or military jurisdiction in such portions of the territory of Piacenza as might continue in the occupation of the Sardinian army. There is therefore no doubt that the assumption on the part of the Austrian military authorities of any jurisdiction whatever beyond the territory which they occupy, must be considered as contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Article in question, and consequently as a violation of the Armistice.

I feel at the same time the necessity of protesting against the erroneous assertion that the Sardinian troops during their stay in Lombardy had paid for the provisions supplied to their army by bills. That assertion, which is contained in the letter above referred to, is completely disproved by the fact of an arrangement having been agreed upon between the King's Government and the Provisional Government of Milan for the payment for provisions, which was regularly discharged every ten days.

It is equally incorrect to say that the Sardinian authorities, when quitting the territory of Parma and the town of Piacenza, carried away the monies in the public treasuries of those two places. On the contrary it is a positive fact that a considerable sum of money and objects of value were left at the treasury at Parma at the moment of their departure, as may be proved by the books of the accountants.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you my thanks for the interest you take in the strict execution of the Armistice of the 9th of August, as concerns the siege artillery at Peschiera, and I request, &c.

For the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
The President of the Council,
(Signed) C. ALFIERI.

No. 343.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 15, 1848.

HIS Sardinian Majesty arrived at Turin from Alexandria yesterday morning at half-past 3 A.M.

No. 344.

Count Revel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)

Mon cher Lord Palmerston,

Londres, le 19 Septembre, 1848.

NE pouvant avoir l'honneur de vous voir je me décide à vous transmettre ci-jointes copies de deux dépêches que j'ai reçues tout dernièrement de mon Gouvernement, et sur le contenu important desquelles je prends la liberté de réclamer un moment de votre attention.

Je vous serai infiniment reconnaissant si vous vouliez avoir la bonté de me mettre à même de faire connaître vos vues à ce sujet à mon Gouvernement, et je saisis, &c.

(Signé) A. DE REVEL.

(Translation.)

My dear Lord Palmerston,

London, September 19, 1848.

BEING unable to have the honour of seeing you, I have determined to transmit to you the accompanying copies of two despatches which I have just received from my Government, and to the important contents of which I take the liberty of calling your attention for a moment.

I shall be exceedingly obliged if you would have the goodness to enable me to make known to my Government your views upon this subject; and I avail myself, &c.

(Signed) A. DE REVEL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 344.

The Baron de Perron to Count Revel.

Monseur le Comte,

Turin, le 11 Septembre, 1848.

MAINTENANT que la médiation Anglo-Française a été acceptée par l'Autriche, il est d'une haute importance et d'un intérêt commun que l'on suive, pour arriver au but proposé, la marche la plus propre à l'atteindre aussi promptement et d'une manière aussi satisfaisante que possible. Nous ignorons encore si l'intention des Puissances médiatrices est de continuer à traiter directement auprès de chacune des parties belligérantes, ou bien s'il sera ouvert des con-

férences auxquelles interviendront des Plénipotentiaires Sardes et Autrichiens et si peut-être on aurait l'idée d'y admettre en outre des Représentans d'autres Etats Italiens. Nous désirons vivement connaître la pensée des Puissances médiatrices à cet égard, et en vous priant d'en entretenir Lord Palmerston je dois vous engager à lui faire observer que des négociations ouvertes tout à la fois à Vienne et à Turin ne pourraient arriver que fort lentement à leur terme; car les propositions et les objections successives auxquelles donnerait naturellement lieu la discussion des grands intérêts qu'il s'agit de concilier, devraient être chaque fois communiquées et examinées à Turin et à Vienne, ce qui entraînerait une perte de tems considérable; tandis que si les conférences des Représentans des Puissances médiatrices avaient lieu dans un seul endroit et avec l'intervention des Plénipotentiaires Sarde et Autrichien, le résultat que l'on a en vue serait bien plus promptement atteint.

Je présume que cette même observation aura été faite par Lord Palmerston, et que ce Ministre se sera en conséquence déjà occupé des dispositions les plus convenables à adopter dans cette importante conjoncture. Je recevrai avec empressement les notions qu'il voudra bien vous communiquer à cet égard, et dans lesquelles se trouvera sans doute l'indication du lieu où on aurait déterminé de tenir les conférences.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé)

BARON DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, September 11, 1848.

NOW that the British and French mediation has been accepted by Austria, it is of great importance, and for the common interest, with a view to attaining the wished-for end, that the course should be pursued which is best suited for arriving at it as quickly and in as satisfactory a manner as possible. We are still ignorant whether the intention of the mediating Powers is to continue to treat directly with each of the belligerent Powers, or whether conferences will be opened at which Sardinian and Austrian Plenipotentiaries will be present; and whether there may be a notion of admitting there the Representatives of other Italian States. We are exceedingly anxious to learn the intentions of the mediating Powers on this point; and while requesting you to speak to Lord Palmerston on the subject, it is my duty to instruct you to point out to him that negotiations opened at the same time at Vienna and at Turin, could only arrive very slowly at their termination; for the successive proposals and objections to which a discussion of the great interests which it is desired to conciliate, must naturally give rise, would require each time to be communicated to and to be examined at Turin and at Vienna, which would involve a considerable loss of time; whilst if the conferences of the Representatives of the mediating Powers took place in one spot, and if Sardinian and Austrian Plenipotentiaries were present, the result in view would be more quickly attained.

I presume that this same observation will have been made by Lord Palmerston, and that that Minister will in consequence have already occupied himself with the arrangements best suited to be adopted at so important a conjuncture. I shall receive with attention the views which he shall think fit to communicate to you on this subject, and amongst which no doubt will be an intimation as to the spot where it may be determined that the conferences shall be held.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

BARON DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 344.

The Baron de Perron to Count Revel.

Monsieur le Comte,

Turin, ce 12 Septembre, 1848.

NOUS avons reçu de Paris la confirmation de la nouvelle de l'acceptation par l'Autriche de la médiation Anglo-Française. Nous l'avons apprise certainement avec satisfaction, comme un acheminement possible vers la paix; mais nous n'avons pu nous défendre, d'un autre côté, de quelque surprise et d'une juste appréhension devant l'observation que renferme une dépêche de l'Ambassa-

deur de Sa Majesté à Paris, que le consentement de l'Autriche n'implique pas l'acceptation, même partielle, des propositions des médiateurs, c'est-à-dire que le Cabinet Impérial aura pu se réserver la faculté de ne pas admettre ou de modifier les conditions proposées par les Puissances médiatrices.

A ce sujet je dois vous faire connaître que le Cabinet du Roi ayant voulu, lorsque l'offre de la médiation lui a été faite, proposer quelques changemens et faire quelques réserves aux conditions qui en sont la base, les Ministres des Puissances médiatrices ont refusé d'y consentir, en nous faisant l'observation qu'en maxime générale la médiation devait être acceptée ou déclinée, mais que par le fait même de l'acceptation, nous admettions implicitement les conditions proposées par les médiateurs.

L'esprit de conciliation que nous voulons apporter dans cette affaire nous a engagés à ne pas élever des difficultés sur ce point, mais dès-lors nous sommes naturellement en droit de croire qu'on n'accordera pas à l'Autriche une latitude que nous n'avons pu avoir, et qu'elle ne pourra pas refuser ou modifier à son gré les conditions proposées.

Nous devons en exprimer d'autant plus vivement la confiance que s'il en était autrement, et qu'il n'y eût pas parité de position pour la Sardaigne et pour l'Autriche, c'est-à-dire si l'une pouvait changer les conditions proposées, tandis que la faculté en a été refusée à l'autre, l'opinion publique s'élèverait ici avec une grande force contre les négociations, auxquelles nous ne pourrions peut-être plus alors donner ce concours qui doit nécessairement être appuyé par l'assentiment du pays. Cette complication ne deviendrait pas seulement un embarras pour le Gouvernement du Roi, elle pourrait encore être le prélude de désordres et d'un véritable danger pour la tranquillité de notre pays et de l'Italie, déçus dans l'espérance qu'ils avaient mise dans les négociations, qui ne seraient plus à leurs yeux qu'un sujet de reproches et de récriminations.

Je vous prie, M. le Comte, de vouloir bien faire ces observations à Lord Palmerston, en lui témoignant la confiance dans laquelle nous sommes à raison des marques nombreuses d'intérêt et de bienveillance que nous avons reçues du Gouvernement Anglais, qu'il voudra bien nous en donner un nouveau témoignage en refusant d'admettre de la part de l'Autriche des réserves ou des modifications que les Ministres médiateurs n'ont pu recevoir de la part du Cabinet du Roi; en traitant, en un mot, les deux parties contractantes avec cette égalité de justice et de bon vouloir que nous devons attendre de son impartialité.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé)

BARON DE PERRON.

P.S.—D'après un avis que nous venons de recevoir, les Autrichiens ont fait transporter à Sesto Calende un équipage de pont et y ont réuni plusieurs pièces de canon.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, September 12, 1848.

WE have received from Paris a confirmation of the news of the acceptance by Austria of the British and French mediation. We certainly learnt it with satisfaction as a step towards peace; but, on the other hand, we could not but feel some surprise and just apprehension at an observation contained in a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, that the consent of Austria does not involve the acceptance even partially of the propositions of the mediators, or, in other words, that the Imperial Cabinet may possibly have reserved to itself the power of not admitting or of modifying the conditions proposed by the mediating Powers.

On this point I must state to you that the King's Cabinet having desired, when the offer of mediation was made to it, to propose some alterations and to make some reservations in the conditions on which it is based, the Ministers of the mediating Powers refused to consent thereto, observing that, as a general maxim, a mediation must be either accepted or declined, but that by the very fact of its being accepted we admitted by implication the conditions proposed by the mediators.

The conciliatory disposition with which we desire to enter upon this business prevented us from raising difficulties as to that point, but we are therefore naturally justified in believing that they will not grant to Austria a latitude which we have not been able to obtain, and that Austria

will not be allowed to refuse or modify, according to her own pleasure, the proposed conditions.

We must express with the greater energy this conviction, inasmuch as were this not the case, and were there no parity of position as regards Sardinia and Austria,—that is to say, if one were at liberty to change the proposed conditions whilst the power of doing so was refused to the other, public opinion here would express itself most strongly against the negotiations to which perhaps we could not then give that concurrence which must necessarily be backed by the assent of the country. Such a complication would become not only an embarrassment to the King's Government, but might also be the precursor of disorder and of real danger to the tranquillity of our country and of Italy, deceived in the hopes which they had placed in the negotiations, which would thenceforward in their eyes be only a matter of reproach and recrimination.

I request you, M. le Comte, to make these observations to Lord Palmerston, expressing to him at the same time the confidence which we justly feel, after the numerous proofs of interest and good will which we have received from the British Government, that he will give us yet further proofs thereof by refusing to allow on the side of Austria reservations or modifications which the mediating Ministers have not been in a position to receive on the part of the King's Cabinet; in a word, by treating the two contracting parties with that equal justice and good-will which we must expect from his impartiality.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) BARON DE PERRON.

P.S.—By advices just received we learn that the Austrians have caused pontoons to be taken to Sesto Calende, and have collected there several pieces of artillery.

No. 345.

The Baron de Perron to Count Revel.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Revel, September 20.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, le 15 Septembre, 1848.

LE Ministre de France vient de me communiquer une lettre qu'il a reçue d'une personne qu'il avait envoyée à Milan de concert avec le Ministre d'Angleterre, pour y faire au Maréchal Radetzky et au Général Hess des réclamations relativement aux affaires de Plaisance et au retard que notre matériel de guerre éprouve pour pouvoir sortir de la forteresse de Peschiera.

Dans leur réponse au sujet de Plaisance ces généraux se sont jetés dans des généralités et ont évité de s'expliquer catégoriquement, en émettant des doutes sur les dispositions prises par le Général de Thurn, qui sont cependant des faits avérés. Celle qu'ils ont faite relativement à la retenue du matériel de Peschiera n'est qu'une preuve de plus de leur mauvais vouloir et du soin qu'ils mettent à chercher toujours de nouveaux prétextes pour y apporter de nouveaux retards. En résumé ils ont dit que cette difficulté ne peut plus être levée par eux, et que c'est à Vienne que la question se terminera.

D'après cette réponse je dois vous engager, M. le Comte, à vouloir bien prier Lord Palmerston de nous donner une nouvelle preuve du bienveillant intérêt qu'il n'a cessé de nous témoigner, en faisant faire de pressantes instances à Vienne pour obtenir que cette difficulté soit levée dans le plus court délai possible. Un plus long retard de la part des autorités Autrichiennes à exécuter une clause ainsi précise de l'Armistice serait désormais un procédé tout-à-fait injustifiable, puisqu'elles ne peuvent même plus invoquer le prétexte de Venise; car, ainsi que vous le savez déjà, le Général Hess dans sa lettre du 30 Août, adressée à M. le Général Chiodo, a donné sa ferme assurance que "le parc de siège Piémontais pourrait rentrer en Piémont sans délai tout de suite après l'arrivée du rapport que les troupes de terre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne se seraient retirées des eaux et de la ville et forts de Venise." Or, comme vous en verrez la nouvelle dans la Gazette officielle d'aujourd'hui, ces troupes étaient déjà arrivées à Ancône le 9 de ce mois.

J'ai la confiance que Lord Palmerston voudra bien avec son obligeance accoutumée se prêter au désir que je vous prie de lui témoigner.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) BN. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Turin, September 16, 1848.

THE French Minister has just communicated to me a letter which he has received from a person whom, in conjunction with the British Minister, he had sent to Turin to make to Marshal Radetzky and General Hess representations respecting the affairs of Piacenza, and the delay in permitting our military stores to be removed from the fortress of Peschiera.

In their answer on the subject of Piacenza, those Generals have confined themselves to generalities, and have avoided giving a categorical explanation, by throwing out doubts as to the measures adopted by General Thurn, which nevertheless are established facts. The explanation which they have given as to the retention of the stores at Peschiera is only a proof of their bad inclination, and of the pains they constantly take to find fresh excuses for making further delays. Lastly, they have said that this difficulty can now no longer be put an end to by them, and that it is at Vienna that the question must be decided.

In consequence of this answer, it is my duty to instruct you, M. le Comte, to be so good as to beg Lord Palmerston to give us a fresh proof of the benevolent interest which he has never ceased to show us, by making pressing representations at Vienna, in order that this difficulty may be removed with as little delay as possible. A longer delay on the part of the Austrian authorities in the execution of so precise a clause of the Armistice, would henceforward be an entirely unjustifiable proceeding, since they cannot now even make Venice an excuse; for, as you are already aware, General Hess in his letter of the 30th of August, addressed to General Chiodo, has given his solemn promise that "the Piedmontese siege artillery may return to Piedmont without delay, immediately after intelligence shall have arrived that the land troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia have retired from the waters, the city, and forts of Venice." Now as you will see stated in the official Gazette of this day, those troops had already arrived at Ancona on the 9th of this month.

I trust that Lord Palmerston will with his usual goodness comply with the wish which I request you to express to him.

Receive, &c.

(Signed)

BARON DE PERRON.

No. 346.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 15, 1848.

M. BOILEAU, the gentleman attached to the French Legation at this Court who was sent off by my French colleague to Milan with our despatches for Field-Marshal Count Radetzky relative to the affairs of Piacenza and to the renewal of the Armistice of Milan of the 9th of August, writes on the 13th instant to M. de Bois-le-Comte to report the conversation he and Lieutenant Campbell had had, in the absence of the Marshal who was confined to his room by indisposition, with Lieutenant-General Hess, upon the latter of the two above-mentioned subjects.

General Hess was of opinion that it was not necessary formally to prolong the Armistice, which he considers *de facto* to be continued by the mutual acceptance of the mediation by the belligerent parties. He considered this tacit prolongation of the Armistice to be preferable to a new Convention fixing a new term, which after all might not be sufficient. "We have," he said, "consulted the Cabinet of Vienna upon this point, but no answer has yet been returned, which for us is a proof that our Government adopts our view of the question of the acceptance of the mediation as it affects the Armistice."

General Hess likewise observed that there could not be a greater proof of the good faith of the Austrians upon this subject than the fact that they had abstained from all denunciation of the Armistice, which according to right they were entitled to have done on the 12th instant, the day previous to that upon which he was conversing with M. Boileau.

PART 3.

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M. Boileau however pressed the expediency of preserving the right of eight days' notice on either side for the denunciation of the Armistice, in order to prevent all possibility of surprise, and General Hess seemed to agree to the reasonableness of that suggestion.

M. Boileau is still at Milan, and it is to be hoped that before leaving that city he will have been able to obtain some positive engagement from the Austrian General commanding-in-chief upon this point.

(Signed) I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 347.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 15, 1848.

THE following details respecting the present condition of Milan, which appear to me to bear all the character of moderation and impartiality, will no doubt interest Her Majesty's Government, and I do not therefore hesitate to send them for your Lordship's information.

The town of Milan is quiet under the pressure of an army of occupation of nearly 30,000 men, perfectly organized and provided with artillery. Discipline is strictly maintained, and the reports circulated of pillaging, robbing and spoliation of museums are incorrect so far as regards the town of Milan; but it is possible that in the country this is not equally the case, and loud complaints are made against the Croats.

Martial law has been proclaimed at Monza, and the same measure is threatened to be carried into execution at Como, Varese, and Lecco.

The appearance of Milan is extremely melancholy; the streets in the day-time are nearly deserted, owing to the extent of the emigration, and they are completely so the moment it becomes dark. Strong patrols of troops, with an advanced and rear-guard as on a march in an enemy's country, keep constantly moving through the streets; cannon with lighted matches are placed in position at all the gates of the town, but pointed it is true towards the open country.

No political reaction seems up to the present moment to have taken place, but extreme severity is exercised against all fresh crimes, and people are shot and bastinadoed without pity.

The commerce of the town is extinct and the distress is already very great.

As regards the condition of the public mind, what is chiefly remarkable is that in Milan the irritation is already so great that it may easily lead to another conflict, the results of which would be deplorable; and that in the country the feeling of exasperation against the Austrians is even stronger than in the town.

Your Lordship will have no difficulty in judging how far the above facts coincide with the assertions of the Austrian partisans, that the re-establishment of the Austrian rule in Lombardy is the anxious wish of its population.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 348.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 20, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 9th instant, reporting the refusal of the Austrian Government to extend to the city of Venice the Armistice which was agreed on by His Majesty the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky on the 9th of August, I have to instruct your Excellency to represent to Baron Wessenberg that the Austrian Government, having accepted the mediation of England and France, must of course be understood as accepting that cessation of hostilities, which is the necessary foundation upon which the

mediation was offered; because it is evident hostilities must cease before negotiations can begin. But the cessation of hostilities proposed by the two Governments was of course intended to be complete, and to apply not merely to the Piedmontese army but to all the Italian troops and populations in arms against the Austrians, and it was the intention of the two Governments that fighting should cease everywhere in Northern Italy, in order that negotiation might begin.

The spirit therefore of the Armistice which the two Governments proposed and which must in substance be considered as having been acquiesced in by the Austrian Government in virtue of its acceptance of the joint mediation, renders that Armistice applicable to Venice as well as to other places; because Venice, though evacuated by the Sardinian troops and squadron, is still defended by an armed Italian force, and cannot be entered by the Austrians except by assault. But even setting this argument aside, the force of which however Baron Wessenberg will surely not deny, Her Majesty's Government would put it to the humane and dispassionate judgment of the Austrian Government, whether it can be worth their while to make a hostile attack upon one of the Emperor's cities, and to shed the blood and destroy the lives and properties of many of the Emperor's subjects in order to get possession some short time sooner of a position which, some little time later, must return into their possession.

If the arrangement proposed to Austria by England and France involved any change in regard to the sovereignty of the Emperor over Venice, the Austrian Government might feel that they could negotiate with more advantage by having military occupation of that town; but they should remember that if they should agree to everything which the two Governments have proposed, Venice would still remain to Austria; and therefore it cannot be supposed but that by a little patience and forbearance the Austrian Government will resume its authority in the city of Venice by peaceful means, and without that sacrifice of life and that embitterment of feeling with which an assault upon the town would be sure to be followed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 349.

Baron Wessenberg to M. de Thom.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Koller, September 18.)

(Extract.)

Vienne, le 3 Septembre, 1848.

ATTAQUEE dans ses Provinces Italiennes par des troupes provenant de toutes les parties de la Péninsule, l'Autriche avait incontestablement le droit, non seulement de repousser les agresseurs, mais de les poursuivre jusques dans leurs foyers, et d'exiger des Gouvernemens qui avaient été les auteurs ou les complices, soit volontaires, soit involontaires, de ces attaques, des garanties efficaces contre le retour d'hostilités qui ont couvert nos provinces de sang et de ruines, et forcé le Gouvernement Impérial d'imposer à ses peuples d'immenses sacrifices. L'Autriche a usé du droit de légitime défense avec une modération dont l'histoire offre peu d'exemples. A ce sujet nous pouvons hardiment en appeler au témoignage de l'opinion publique en Europe, qui, mieux éclairée sur la véritable nature des faits, commence à nous rendre la justice que nous avons la conscience d'avoir méritée. Après avoir repoussé l'ennemi, nos armées victorieuses se sont arrêtées à nos frontières, et si quelques corps détachés les ont franchies, c'est que nos calculs militaires de premier ordre nous faisaient la loi d'occuper des pays qui avaient pris une part active à la guerre, et qui, privés de Gouvernemens réguliers, seraient devenus la proie d'une complète anarchie, compromettant gravement le repos intérieur de nos provinces limitrophes et la position de notre armée. Ces mouvemens militaires ont en même tems eu pour effet de rétablir en partie l'état de possession territoriale tel qu'il existait avant la guerre et qu'il avait tout récemment été reconnu par toutes les Grandes Puissances, la France y comprise. Nos troupes, au reste, n'attendent pour repasser le Pô que le moment où la consolidation de l'ordre et de la tranquillité sera de nature à nous offrir des garanties nécessaires à notre sûreté.

Les difficultés qu'avait fait naître l'expédition du Général Welden ont été aplanies par la Convention de Rovigo, qui a paru pleinement satisfaire le Plénipotentiaires Pontificaux qui l'ont signée.

Vous trouverez ci-joint, Monsieur, un résumé des traités qui ont fixé la position des Duchés de Parme et de Modène dans le système Européen en général et qui ont spécialement déterminé leurs relations avec l'Autriche. Loin de porter atteinte à l'indépendance de l'un ou de l'autre des Gouvernemens Italiens, ces traités, à nos yeux, ne sont qu'une émanation directe et une preuve éclatante de cette même indépendance, puisqu'ils les ont conclus dans la plénitude de leur souveraineté et de leur liberté. Ne portant d'ailleurs aucun préjudice aux droits de Puissances tierces, ces traités peuvent à juste titre être considérés comme étant à l'abri de toute objection fondée.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de porter cette dépêche à la connaissance de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. Il verra, nous l'espérons, dans la franchise de notre langage une nouvelle preuve de la confiance que nous vouons à ses lumières et à la droiture de ses intentions, ainsi que de notre désir de conserver à nos relations mutuelles le caractère amical que réclament les graves intérêts de la paix et de la société.

(Translation.)

ATTACKED in her Italian Provinces by troops arriving from all parts of the Peninsula, Austria had unquestionably the right not only to repel the aggressors but to pursue them even to their homes ; and of exacting from the Governments who had been the authors or the accomplices, either voluntary or involuntary, of these attacks, effectual guarantees against the renewal of hostilities which have covered our provinces with blood and ruins, and forced the Imperial Government to impose immense sacrifices on its subjects. Austria has exercised the right of legitimate defence with a moderation whereof history offers few instances. On this point we can boldly appeal to the testimony of public opinion in Europe, which, better enlightened in regard to the true nature of the circumstances, is beginning to do us the justice of which we are conscious that we are deserving. After having repelled the enemy, our victorious armies have halted on our frontiers ; and if some detached corps have crossed them, it is because our military calculations of the highest order imposed upon us the necessity of occupying countries which had taken an active part in the war, and which, deprived of regular Governments, had become a prey to complete anarchy, seriously endangering the internal tranquillity of our bordering provinces and the position of our army. These military movements have at the same time had the effect of partially re-establishing the state of territorial possession in existence before the war, and which had very recently been recognized by all the Great Powers, including France. Our troops besides are only waiting, in order to repass the Po, for the moment when the consolidation of order and tranquillity shall be such as to offer us the guarantees requisite for our security.

The difficulties to which General Welden's expedition had given rise, have been completely removed by the Convention of Rovigo, which has seemed to be entirely satisfactory to the Papal Plenipotentiaries who signed it.

You will find, Sir, annexed, a summary of the treaties which have established the position of the Duchies of Parma and Modena in the general European system, and which have specially determined their relations with Austria. Far from affecting the independence of either of the Italian Governments, these treaties, in our estimation, are only a direct consequence and a striking proof of that very independence, since those Governments concluded them in the plenitude of their sovereignty and of their liberty. Moreover, as these treaties do not prejudice the rights of third Powers, they may justly be considered as beyond the reach of any well-founded objection.

I request you, Sir, to communicate this despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He will see, we trust, in the frankness of our language, a new proof of the confidence which we repose in his enlightened views and in the rectitude of his intentions, as well as of our desire to maintain in our mutual relations the friendly character required by the important interests of peace and society.

Inclosure 1 in No. 349.

Aperçu succinct des Droits de Reversion existant en vertu des Traités et touchant les Etats de Parme et de Modène.

PAR le Traité conclu à Vienne le 11 Mai, 1753, entre l'Empereur François I, l'Impératrice Marie-Thérèse, et François III, Duc de Modène, sous la médiation de George II, Roi d'Angleterre, cosignataire en sa qualité de Chef de la Maison d'Este, le droit de succession dans les Etats de Modène fut conféré, en cas d'extinction de la souche mâle de la dite maison ducale, au troisième fils de l'Empereur François et de Marie-Thérèse, destiné pour époux à la Princesse Marie Richarde, petite-fille du Duc de Modène.

L'Article VI du Traité susmentionné établit que le Duché de Modène ne doit jamais être réuni aux Etats Autrichiens, mais qu'il formera toujours un Etat séparé.

Par l'Article VII il fut convenu que dans le cas d'extinction de la souche mâle de l'Archiduc, déclaré héritier immédiat, les autres branches de la Maison Archiducal, à l'exception de la branche régnante, succéderont l'une après l'autre dans le Duché de Modène.

En vertu de l'Article XCVIII de l'Acte Final du Congrès de Vienne, la famille d'Autriche-Este fut réintégrée dans les possessions qu'elle avait perdues pendant les guerres de la Révolution Française ; et par le dernier paragraphe de cet Article les droits éventuels de succession de la Maison d'Autriche quant aux Etats de Modène furent rétablis. Ce paragraphe est ainsi conçu :

“ Les droits de succession et réversion établis dans les branches des Archiducs d'Autriche relativement au Duché de Modène, de Reggio et Mirandole, ainsi que des Principautés de Massa et Carrara, sont conservés.”

Touchant la réversion des Duchés de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalle, échus à Sa Majesté l'Archiduchesse Marie-Louise, l'Article XCIX de l'Acte du Congrès de Vienne porte que les Cours d'Autriche, de Russie, de France, d'Espagne, d'Angleterre et de Prusse conviendront des déterminations y relatives, en ayant toutefois égard aux droits de reversion appartenant à l'Autriche et à la Sardaigne.

Cette dernière stipulation eut effectivement lieu par le Traité conclu le 10 Juin, 1817, à Paris, entre les dites Cours, et dont les Articles III et VII disent en termes propres :

“ Art. III. Les Duchés de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalle, après le décès de Sa Majesté l'Archiduchesse Marie-Louise, passeront en toute souveraineté à Sa Majesté l'Infante d'Espagne Marie-Louise, l'Infant Don Charles Louis, son fils, et descendants mâles en ligne directe et masculine, à l'exception des districts enclavés dans les Etats de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique sur la rive gauche du Po, lesquels resteront en toute propriété à Sa dite Majesté, conformément à la restriction établie par l'Article XCIX de l'Acte du Congrès.”

“ Art. VII. La réversion des Duchés de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalle, en cas d'extinction de la branche de l'Infant Don Charles Louis, est explicitement maintenu dans les termes du Traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle de 1748 et de l'Article Séparé du Traité entre l'Autriche et la Sardaigne du 20 Mai, 1815.”

Par le Traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle du 23 Octobre, 1748, on avait établi pour le cas d'extinction de la branche des Bourbons à Parme, que les Duchés de Parme et de Guastalle seraient reversibles à l'Autriche, et celui de Plaisance à la Sardaigne.

L'Article Séparé du Traité de Vienne conclu le 20 Mai, 1815, entre l'Autriche et la Sardaigne, dont la teneur est ci-jointe, détermine qu'en cas d'extinction de la branche mâle des Bourbons à Parme, la ville de Plaisance avec un rayon de 2000 toises demeurera à l'Autriche, et qu'en revanche la Sardaigne obtiendra un équivalent pris sur le territoire Parmesan ou sur les pays avoisinant ses frontières.

Cet équivalent éventuel fut plus particulièrement déterminé par le Traité de Délimitation conclu à Florence le 28 Novembre, 1844, entre les Cours de Lucques, de Modène, de Toscane, d'Autriche et de Sardaigne, et dont les stipulations relativement à la régularisation des frontières entre les trois premiers des dits Etats étaient déjà en vigueur avant que la guerre actuelle eût éclaté.

Par l'Article VIII ci-annexé de ce Traité* il fut établi que la base de l'équivalent pour la ville de Plaisance consisterait dans les districts de Pontremoli et de Bagnone.

* See Part 1, p. 257.

Il faut encore attribuer une valeur importante à l'Article VII du même Traité, dont copie ci-jointe, par lequel l'Empereur d'Autriche consent à ce que le droit de reversion qui lui revient sur Guastalle, lequel duché, d'après les échanges de territoires faits par le Traité plusieurs fois cité, au lieu d'appartenir à Parme échoit à Modène, soit reporté sur l'équivalent destiné à Parme, savoir, les Vicariats de Pontremoli et de Bagnone. En même tems l'Empereur d'Autriche garantit au Duc de Modène et à ses successeurs la possession paisible de Guastalle.

Il suit de ce qui précède, que toutes les Puissances co-signataires du Traité de Paris du 10 Juin, 1817, sont intéressées au maintien des droits de souveraineté de la branche Espagnole des Bourbons à Parme.

Les droits de souveraineté de la famille d'Autriche-Este, non moins que les droits éventuels de succession appartenant aux autres branches de la Maison Archiducal, quant aux Etats de Modène, ont été reconnus de toutes les Puissances co-signataires de l'Acte du Congrès de Vienne et confirmés par elles.

Mais l'Autriche se trouve en outre placée dans une position toute particulière envers les Duchés de Parme et de Modène. Cette position est basée sur le Traité d'Alliance Défensive conclu à Modène le 24 Décembre, 1847, entre l'Autriche et Modène, et sur celui de même nature et de même teneur conclu à Parme le 17 Février, 1848, entre l'Autriche et la Cour de Parme.

(Translation.)

Succinct Review of the Rights of Reversion existing in virtue of Treaties, and affecting the States of Parma and Modena.

BY the Treaty concluded at Vienna on the 11th of May, 1753, between the Emperor Francis I, the Empress Maria Theresa, and Francis III, Duke of Modena, under the mediation of George II, King of England, co-signatory in his character of head of the d'Este family, the right of succession in the States of Modena was conferred, in the event of the male branch of the said ducal family becoming extinct, on the third son of the Emperor Francis and Maria Theresa, destined to be the husband of the Princess Maria Richarde, grand-daughter of the Duke of Modena.

Article VI of the Treaty above mentioned stipulates that the Duchy of Modena is never to be joined to the Austrian States, but shall always form a separate State.

By Article VII it was agreed that in case of the extinction of the male branch of the Archduke, who was declared heir apparent, the other branches of the Archducal House, with the exception of the reigning branch, should succeed one after the other in the Duchy of Modena.

By virtue of Article XCVIII of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, the family of Austria-Este was reinstated in the possessions which it lost during the wars of the French Revolution; and by the last paragraph of that Article the eventual rights of succession of the House of Austria as regards the States of Modena were re-established. This Article is worded as follows:—

“The rights of succession and reversion attaching to the families of the Archdukes of Austria as concerns the Duchy of Modena, of Reggio, and Mirandola, as well as the Principalities of Massa and Carrara, are preserved.”

Touching the reversion of the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which devolved upon Her Majesty the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Article XCIX of the Act of the Congress of Vienna stipulates that the Courts of Austria, Russia, France, Spain, England, and Prussia, will agree as to the arrangements to be made thereupon, due regard being paid to the rights of reversion belonging to Austria and Sardinia.

This last stipulation was in fact carried into effect by the Treaty concluded on the 10th of June, 1817, between the said Courts, and Articles III and VII of which state in express terms:—

“Art. III. The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, after the decease of Her Majesty the Archduchess Maria Louisa, shall pass in entire sovereignty to Her Majesty the Infanta of Spain Maria Louisa, the Infant Don Charles Louis, her son, and the male descendants in direct male line,

with the exception of the districts surrounded by the States of His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty on the left bank of the Po, which shall remain in entire sovereignty to His said Majesty, in conformity with the restriction laid down by Article XCIX of the Act of Congress."

"Art. VII. The reversion of the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, in case of the extinction of the branch of the Infant Don Charles Louis, is explicitly maintained by the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, and of the Separate Article of the Treaty between Austria and Sardinia of the 20th of May, 1815."

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of the 23rd of October, 1748, it was established, to meet the case of the branch of Bourbons at Parma becoming extinct, that the Duchies of Parma and of Guastalla should revert to Austria, and that of Placentia to Sardinia.

The Separate Article of the Treaty of Vienna concluded on the 20th of May, 1815, between Austria and Sardinia, the tenour of which is annexed, determines, that in case of the male branch of the Bourbons at Parma becoming extinct, the town of Piacenza, with a circuit (rayon) of 2000 toises, should remain to Austria, and that in return for it Sardinia should obtain an equivalent taken from the territory of Parma, or from the country near its frontiers.

This eventual equivalent was determined with greater accuracy by the Treaty of Delimitation concluded at Florence on the 28th of November, 1844, between the Courts of Lucca, of Modena, of Tuscany, of Austria, and of Sardinia, and the stipulations of which concerning the laying down of the frontiers between the three first of the said States were already in force before the present war broke out.

By Article VIII of this Treaty, hereunto annexed, it was arranged that the basis of the equivalent for the town of Piacenza should consist of the districts of Pontremoli and of Bagnone.

An important weight must also be assigned to Article VII of the same Treaty, of which a copy is annexed, by which the Emperor of Austria consents that his right of reversion to Guastalla (which duchy, according to the changes of territory made by the Treaty already frequently quoted, in place of belonging to Parma, devolves upon Modena) should be transferred to the equivalent destined for Parma, that is to say, to the Vicariats of Pontremoli and of Bagnone. At the same time, the Emperor of Austria guaranteed to the Duke of Modena and his successors the peaceful possession of Guastalla.

It follows from what has been said, that all the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris of the 10th of June, 1817, are interested in the maintenance of the rights of sovereignty of the Spanish branch of the Bourbons at Parma.

The rights of sovereignty of the Austrian-Este family, no less than the eventual rights of succession which belong to the other branches of the Archducal House, as regards the territories of Modena, have been acknowledged by all the Powers parties to the Act of Congress of Vienna, and been confirmed by them.

But further than this, Austria finds herself placed in a very peculiar position as regards the Duchies of Parma and of Modena. That position is based on the Treaty of Defensive Alliance concluded at Modena on the 24th of December, 1847, between Austria and Modena, and on the Treaty of the same nature and same tenor concluded at Parma on the 17th of February, 1848, between Austria and the Court of Parma.

Inclosure 2 in No. 349.

Article Additionnel et Séparé du Traité de Vienne.

LE droit de reversion de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne sur le Duché de Plaisance, stipulé par le Traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle de mil sept cent quarante-huit, et par le Traité de Paris du dix Juin, mil sept cent soixante-trois, est confirmé. Les cas où ce droit devra se réaliser seront réglés d'un commun accord, lorsque les négociations relatives aux Etats de Parme et de Plaisance seront achevées.

Il est toutefois entendu que le cas échéant de cette reversion, la ville de

Plaisance et un rayon de deux mille toises, à partir de la crête du glacis extérieur, resteront en toute souveraineté et propriété à Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, ses héritiers et successeurs, et qu'il sera cédé en compensation à Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne une autre partie des Etats de Parme ou autre contiguë à ses Etats en Italie, à sa convenance, et équivalente en population et revenus à la ville de Plaisance et au rayon ci-dessus.

Le présent Article Additionnel et Séparé aura la même force et valeur que s'il était inséré mot à mot au Traité patent de ce jour. Il sera ratifié et les ratifications en seront échangées en même tems.

En foi de quoi les Plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signé et y ont apposé le cachet de leurs armes.

Fait à Vienne, le 20 Mai, l'an de grâce 1815.

(Signé)
LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
(L. S.)
LE MIS. DE ST. MARSAN.
(L. S.)

(Signé)
LE BON. DE WESSENBERG.
(L. S.)
LE COMTE ROSSI.
(L. S.)

(Translation.)

THE right of reversion of His Majesty the King of Sardinia to the Duchy of Placentia, stipulated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, and by the Treaty of Paris of the 10th of June 1763, is confirmed. The cases in which this right is to take effect shall be determined by common consent, when the negotiations respecting the territories of Parma and Placentia shall have been completed.

It is however to be understood, that in case of the reversion taking place, the town of Piacenza with a circuit (rayon) of 2000 toises, commencing at the crest of the outer glacis, shall remain in the entire sovereignty and possession of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his heirs and successors, and that there shall be ceded in compensation to His Majesty the King of Sardinia another portion of the territories of Parma or some other territory contiguous to his territories in Italy, as may suit him, equal in population and revenue to the town of Placentia and the circuit above mentioned.

The present Additional and Separate Article shall have the same force and value as if it were inserted word for word in the patent Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed it with their arms.

Done at Vienna, May 20, 1815.

(Signed)
LE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
(L.S.)
LE MIS. DE ST. MARSAN.
(L.S.)

(Signed)
LE BON. DE WESSENBERG.
(L.S.)
LE COMTE ROSSI.
(L.S.)

No. 349.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 13, 1848.

M. DE LA COUR and I this day proposed to Baron Wessenberg, in obedience to the directions of our respective Governments, that the Armistice of the 9th of August between the Austrians and Piedmontese should be continued for one month from the 21st of September, at which time the existing armistice will expire, and his Excellency Baron Wessenberg consented to the request.

I have written to Mr. Abercromby at Turin to acquaint him with the above-mentioned fact, and M. de la Cour makes a similar communication to the French Minister at Turin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 351.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 13, 1848.

I HAVE received information from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, that the Sardinian fleet had arrived at that port from Venice, and that from the preparations made it is supposed they will remain there.

Since I last had the honour of addressing your Lordship, public tranquillity has not been disturbed at Leghorn, but the state of that town is far from satisfactory, as it is virtually in the hands of the insurgents.

The forts are occupied by equal numbers of Tuscan troops who have fraternized, national guards, and armed insurgents.

The Deputy Dr. Guerrazzi continues to act as Governor of Leghorn, although the Grand Duke's Government have formally disavowed his authority and proceedings; and yesterday in the Senate a resolution was proposed and agreed to that the present state of Leghorn was contrary to all rules of law and government, and must be put an end to.

How this resolution of the Senate is to be carried into execution is a more difficult question, for the Grand Duke has no troops on whom he can rely, and although there is a strong muster of the civic guards at Pisa, it is expressly understood that they are not to be called upon to act against the people.

It is I believe the intention of the Tuscan Government to endeavour to obtain a corps of Swiss troops to the amount of 4000 men, but some time must elapse before these troops can arrive.

At one time it was proposed to call in the aid of the Piedmontese, and the Sardinian Minister at Florence was applied to on the subject, but for the present this project has been so far abandoned that the Piedmontese auxiliary force will be limited to the 1500 men who are now in Pontremoli, and who are to continue to occupy the newly-acquired territories of the Grand Duke on that side of Tuscany.

When my opinion has been asked with respect to Piedmontese occupation, I have expressed my doubts as to its being a well-considered measure, for it appears to me that Piedmontese troops occupying disputed districts which were awarded to the Duchies of Modena and Parma by the Treaty of Vienna, may complicate the Italian question now under consideration; and I think your Lordship will probably view the subject in the same light.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 352.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 15, 1848

I MENTIONED to your Lordship that thinking it advantageous to the cause of peace to gain time, M. de la Cour and I agreed to endeavour to engage the Austrian Ministers to propose terms for a mediation by France and England. I have now to inform your Lordship that at our interview with Baron Wessenberg, when we obtained the prolongation of the Armistice, M. de la Cour recommended that the Austrian Government should bring forward propositions of some sort or other. I have since learned that his Excellency imagined then that we wanted him to make proposals containing concessions of territory, and that he was not the least disposed to do anything of the sort. I have therefore taken measures to explain to his Excellency that our meaning was, that he should propose anything he chose to propose as to territory, but should declare officially in the formal manner of a project, the determination of the Imperial Government to agree to and to aid in the establishment in Italy of a Constitutional Government of the most liberal kind, and by so doing should give to the French Government an argu-

ment in support of pacific policy, and should by that means gain time for all parties to act in aid of peace.

With reference to what I before said to your Lordship on the point of the obstacle formed by the opinions so strongly entertained by the Austrian army to the adoption by the Imperial Government of the policy recommended by your Lordship and the French Government, I add now a circumstance which I omitted to state and to comment upon.

It is the fact, that the Austrian military in Italy were about to make a protest against the abandonment of Lombardy,—a “round robin.”

Your Lordship well knows that a step of that sort taken by an army might be followed by other expressions of feeling and opinion; and that there is hardly any danger greater than that would be for the Austrian or any other Government. If your Lordship should think thus, you will not be surprised that the Imperial Ministers resist your proposals, and I think (as I believe they do think) that foreign war against the French or any other Power would be preferable to accepting them at the risk of such consequences.

To-day I heard that Kossuth has fallen or rather has been forced from the Hungarian Ministry, and that Count Batthyany is employed in forming another; that nevertheless the Bann is advancing towards Pesth.

Well-informed people here do not suppose that the Bann will deviate from his plans on account of Kossuth's fall; he will, it is thought, reach Pesth in less than a week, and there are no means, it is said, of opposing him with any success. He may then show the extent of his power and influence, and he is fully as hostile to the abandonment of Lombardy as the Italian army is known to be.

I put your Lordship in possession of facts which if you credit them will afford grounds for an opinion as to the ultimate determination of the Imperial Government and of the Austrian Empire upon the subject of Lombardy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 353.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, September 15, 1848.

YOUR Lordship's instructions of the 8th instant reached me by post this day. In reply I have the honour to inform you that I have repeatedly desired his Excellency Baron Wessenberg to send an answer containing the declarations of the Imperial Government with regard to the proposals made by the Governments of England and France. I have acquainted your Lordship that I have done so, and I have done it in conjunction with M. de la Cour, the French Chargé d'Affaires, as well as singly.

Your Lordship will find in a despatch I have addressed to you already this day, that M. de la Cour and I have urged upon Baron Wessenberg to send an answer, no matter what that answer should contain, with relation to the particulars of the proposals made by France and England for the cession of territory by Austria; and you will there also find an account of additional motives which induced the Chargé d'Affaires and myself to urge the Austrian Minister to make a reply and to set forward a project of his own for the guidance of those who shall be entrusted with the mediation, just as your Lordship has set forward in your project certain bases on which the mediation contemplated by the Governments of France and England should be founded. I have told your Lordship over and over again, in the most explicit language, that I do not believe the Austrian Government or nation will agree to your proposals, and I know that M. de la Cour has the same opinion as mine is of that matter.

No. 354.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 15, 1848.

THE Archbishop of Carthage (late Nuncio) has arrived here on a mission for the maintenance of the relations between His Holiness the Pope, as head of the Church, with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 355.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 15, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of the joint note in which the French Chargé d'Affaires and I pressed upon Baron Wessenberg a prolongation for one month of the Armistice between the belligerent parties in Italy, and of his Excellency's reply which I have just received, acquiescing in our recommendation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 355.

Viscount Ponsonby and M. de la Cour to Baron Wessenberg.

Vienne, le 13 Septembre, 1848.

LE Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne et celui de la République Française, animés du même désir qui les a portés à offrir leur médiation pour arrêter l'effusion du sang dans la Haute Italie, et pour négocier la paix entre le Roi de Sardaigne et l'Empereur d'Autriche; considérant que l'Armistice conclu le 9 Août dernier pour quarante jours touche à sa fin sans que la paix soit rétablie; jugeant également que la reprise des hostilités à l'expiration de l'Armistice aurait pour effet d'ajouter aux calamités dont souffrent les contrées qui ont été le théâtre de la guerre et de faire naître de nouvelles complications, sont convenus d'interposer encore une fois leurs bons offices pour obtenir que les deux Puissances belligérantes consentent à un nouveau délai qui permettra de s'entendre sur les clauses du traité à conclure.

En conséquence, les Soussignés, se conformant aux instructions de leurs Gouvernemens, ont l'honneur de demander à son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empereur d'Autriche, de vouloir bien soumettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale une proposition ayant pour objet de prolonger l'Armistice dont il s'agit encore pendant trente jours à partir du 22 Septembre prochain, pour que le dit Armistice expire le 22 Octobre suivant.

Les Soussignés, dans l'espoir que cette proposition, faite également à la Cour de Turin, ne rencontrera pas d'opposition de la part du Gouvernement Impérial, demandent à son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg de vouloir bien provoquer l'expédition ainsi prompte que possible des ordres propres à prévenir le renouvellement des opérations militaires en Italie pendant la durée du nouvel Armistice.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

PONSONBY.

DE LA COUR.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 13, 1848.

THE Government of Great Britain and that of the French Republic, animated with the same desire which has induced them to offer their mediation for putting a stop to the effusion of blood in Upper Italy, and for the nego-

tiation of peace between the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria ; considering that the Armistice concluded on the 9th of August last for forty days is on the eve of expiring, without peace being restored ; judging likewise that the resumption of hostilities on the expiration of the Armistice would have the effect of adding to the calamities from which the countries that have been the theatre of war are now suffering, and of giving rise to fresh complications ; have resolved once again to interpose their good offices in order to obtain the consent of the two belligerent Powers to a further delay which shall admit of an understanding being come to as to the clauses of the treaty to be concluded.

Accordingly, the Undersigned, in conformity with the instructions of their Governments, have the honour to request his Excellency Baron de Wessenberg, &c., to have the goodness to submit to His Imperial Majesty's Government a proposition having for its object still further to prolong the Armistice in question for thirty days from the 22nd of September next, so that the said Armistice shall expire on the 22nd of October following.

The Undersigned, in the hope that this proposition, which is equally made to the Court of Turin, will meet with no objection on the part of the Imperial Government, request his Excellency Baron Wessenberg to have the goodness to urge the dispatch as speedily as possible of orders calculated to prevent the renewal of military operations in Italy so long as the new Armistice shall be in force.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.
DE LA COUR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 355.

Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.

Vienne, le 15 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur l'accuser la réception de la note que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique et M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France lui ont adressée en date du 13 Septembre, ayant pour objet la prolongation de l'Armistice conclu le 9 du mois d'Août entre l'armée Impériale en Italie et l'armée de Sa Majesté Sarde.

Le Soussigné, s'est empressé de porter cette note à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, et il est à même d'annoncer à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique et à M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France, que les ordres et l'autorisation nécessaires ont été transmis sans délai au Général-en-chef de l'armée Impériale en Italie, pour convenir avec les autorités Sardes d'une prolongation de l'Armistice conclu le 9 Août, pendant trente jours, à partir du 22 Septembre.

Le Gouvernement Impérial aime à voir dans la démarche faite à cette occasion par le Gouvernement Britannique et le Gouvernement Français une preuve manifeste de leur désir de concourir par leurs bons offices à une entente prochaine entre les deux Puissances belligérantes, et le Soussigné est chargé d'en exprimer ici sa vive satisfaction.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 15, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador and the Chargé d'Affaires of France addressed to him on the 13th instant, having for its object the prolongation of the Armistice concluded on the 9th of August between the Imperial army in Italy and the army of His Sardinian Majesty.

The Undersigned has communicated this note to his Government, and he is able to announce to his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador and to the Chargé d'Affaires of France, that the necessary orders and authorization have been transmitted without delay to the General-in-chief of the Imperial army in Italy, to come to an agreement with the Sardinian

authorities for a prolongation of the Armistice concluded on the 9th of August, for thirty days commencing from the 22nd of September.

The Imperial Government is willing to see in the step taken on this occasion by the British and French Governments, an evident proof of their desire to co-operate by their good offices for bringing about an early understanding between the belligerent Powers, and the Undersigned is instructed here to express its lively satisfaction thereat.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

WESSENBERG.

No. 356.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 13, 1848.

SINCE I had the honour of addressing your Lordship in my despatch of the 4th instant, the ill-feeling on the part of the inhabitants of Milan and of the other cities and parts in Lombardy against the Austrians has considerably increased.

Of the numerous demonstrations which were given out, only those of not smoking and refraining from theatres have been strictly attended to ; the others, not falling in with the general wish, have been disregarded. Although the people abstain from smoking, they seldom interfere with the military when so doing. Some few cases, however, have occurred in the Porta Ticinese, a quarter of the city in which the lowest classes principally reside, where the military have been insulted when smoking.

On the 9th instant a mason named Angelo Comolli, aged twenty-five years, was condemned to eight months' imprisonment in Mantua, as a disturber of the public peace, he having attempted to take cigars out of the mouths of two soldiers ; his punishment to be farther increased by being kept in irons and in solitary confinement, once a-week on bread and water during that period.

With respect to remaining away from theatres, I can assure your Lordship as to the large Imperial theatre called "La Canobbiana," which is now open, that none but the military frequent it, with the exception of some forty to fifty employés and Government spies. Some few of the boxes are occupied by Austrian Generals, the rest are empty. Night after night a long double row of people are seen stationed outside the doors of this theatre to take down the names of those who enter.

In Milan numbers have resumed their velvet dresses and many wear tricoloured handkerchiefs. The Vienna merchants have written to their correspondents here to beg they will give their usual commissions for goods, offering them every accommodation ; but none of the latter have availed themselves of these offers. The greatest distress prevails in the towns in consequence of the stagnation of trade. There is universal discontent not only in the towns but in the country. In the rural district called the Brianza, the peasantry are infuriated against the Austrians, and also in Varese and those parts in its vicinity. The same feeling exists in all the line of country from Luino to Sesto Calende on the Lake Maggiore, and from thence to the south beyond the country towns of Gallarate and Busto Arsizio. Monza, the chief town in the Brianza, has within these last few days been proclaimed under martial law ; no one is permitted to be out of his house after 10 o'clock at night. Not more than three persons are allowed to be together after sunset ; and should a greater number assemble and not instantly disperse when ordered by the soldiery, they are to be fired on. All persons wearing any tricolours in their dress and hats *alla Calabrese* or *all' Ernani*, or with the buckles of the ordinary hats in front, are to be instantly arrested. In spite of these prohibitions, however, the peasantry out of the town of Monza go about openly with tricoloured cockades, and many wear the uniform of the National Guard, in defiance of the gendarmerie, who are afraid to interfere.

In the town of Varese and the villages in its neighbourhood the Government caused all the bell-ropes to be removed from the steeples, and the belfries to be locked up, to prevent the peasantry from sounding the tocsin.

There are now in Milan upwards of 30,000 troops, which are not in

barracks, but quartered in the houses of the absent rich families. The Palaces Borromeo, Trivulzio, and Sormani, have been converted into hospitals ; and the churches of San Pietro-in-Gessate, belonging to the Orphan Asylum situated in Porta Tosa, the Crociferi in the Contrada del Durino, between Porta Orientale and Porta Tosa, and St. Angelo near Porta Nova, are to be used for the same purpose, the different curates having received orders to remove from these churches whatsoever may be in the way of the sick.

The discipline of the troops is excellent and their conduct in general good. Large bodies of horse and foot patrol the streets of Milan during the night, some of which amount to as many as eighty men. Yesterday cannon were placed at the Porta Orientale, the Porta Ticinese, and the Porta Vercellina, close to the gates, pointed towards the country. A body of artillerymen with lighted matches are stationed near these guns. This measure has greatly disquieted the citizens, so much so that many of them who did not think of leaving Milan took the sudden resolution to emigrate without delay.

The only important changes in the civil administration of Lombardy that have taken place lately consist in the re-establishment of the public lottery and a further reduction in the price of salt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 357.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 11th instant, reporting the language held by you with reference to the proposed mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy, I have to inform your Lordship that you have rightly understood the opinions of Her Majesty's Government upon these matters ; but it is of course assumed by Her Majesty's Government that Lombardy on separating herself from Austria and on being united with Piedmont, would charge herself with a fair and just proportion of the public debt of Austria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 358.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 21, 1848.

WITH reference to the despatch addressed to your Excellency by Mr. Abercromby on the 9th instant, respecting the difficulties made by Field-Marshal Radetzky in allowing the departure from Peschiera of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*, I have to instruct your Excellency to represent to Baron Wessenberg how desirable it is that the conditions of the Armistice should be faithfully performed by the Austrians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 359.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 11th of September, I have to instruct you to present a note to Baron Wessenberg, saying that Her Majesty's Government in conjunction with the Government of France offered to Austria as long ago as the 7th of August the mediation of

the two Powers for the purpose of putting an end by negotiation to the warfare then going on in the North of Italy, and by that offer the two Governments proposed an immediate cessation of all hostilities between the parties then in arms in Northern Italy; and they also stated the outlines of the arrangements by means of which they conceive that a permanent state of peace might be established.

The Government of Sardinia, to which the same offer had been simultaneously made, accepted it without reserve. The Austrian Government replied that an armistice had already been concluded, and that they were about to enter into negotiations with the Sardinian Government direct for the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace. But the overtures to that effect which the Austrian Government made to the Government of Sardinia not having led to any result, inasmuch as the Sardinian Government having accepted the mediation of the two Powers, declined to treat directly with Austria, the Austrian Government thereupon informed the Governments of England and France that it accepted the offered mediation, but that it was not prepared to adopt the final arrangements proposed by the two Powers.

Here the matter has hitherto rested, but it is evident that this verbal reply of the Austrian Government is not a sufficient or satisfactory answer. The Austrian Government accepts the mediation, but objects to the proposed arrangements; but it has not explained what it would propose in their stead. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, being anxious that no time should be lost unnecessarily in bringing these matters to some conclusion, would be glad if the Government of Austria would have the goodness to state not only what are its reasons for declining the arrangements proposed by the two Powers, but what are the arrangements which it would itself propose in their room. The Austrian Government will no doubt bear in mind that the proposal made by M. de Hummelauer was apparently founded upon what the Austrian Government conceived to be a long-sighted view of the permanent and well-understood interests of Austria, and was made at a time when reinforcements were about to be sent to the Austrian army in Italy, and when the Austrian agents gave out that their Government was looking for some striking military success, in order to show that the arrangements to which they were willing to consent were not extorted by necessity, but were dictated by well-considered policy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 360. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 11th instant, I have to say that undoubtedly whatever right the King of Sardinia may have acquired in some point of view to the sovereignty of Lombardy by reason of the vote of the people of Lombardy to be united with Piedmont, that right is not one which the Government of Austria can be expected to acknowledge now that the Austrian troops again occupy the whole of Lombardy; but certainly the vote so pronounced by the Lombards at a time when they were not under any constraint and were entirely free to express their wishes, must be considered as a strong indication of what the desire of the people of Lombardy really is; and that vote must carry more weight with it as an expression of national sentiment, than can be attached to any demonstrations of farmers and peasants who may have thought that by cheering the arrival of Austrian troops they were likely to conciliate conquerors, and to escape ill usage.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 361. X

Viscount Palmerston to Count Revel.

M. le Comte,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 19th instant, inclosing copies of two despatches from your Government, the one dated the 11th and the other the 12th instant, and requesting to be made acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government with respect to their contents.

With reference to the despatch of the 11th instant, I have to state that nothing is yet definitely settled in regard to the place where the negotiations should take place, but that both the British and the French Governments are inclined to think that the best arrangement would be that Plenipotentiaries from the parties concerned should meet at some central point, perhaps in some town in Switzerland, from whence any communications which might become necessary with Italy, France, Austria, and England, might be carried on.

With respect to the contents of the despatch of the 12th instant, I would beg to remark that if the military situation of the Sardinian and Austrian forces in Italy was nearly equal at the time when the offer of mediation was sent off from London and Paris, that relative position had entirely changed at the time when the offer was accepted by the Government of Austria, and the then inequality of the military position of the two parties may not unnaturally have been admitted as leading to some difference as to the manner in which they respectively accepted the joint offer of the two Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 362. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, reporting your conversation with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide, respecting the joint mediation of Great Britain and France in the affairs of the North of Italy.

The points to which your Excellency adverts in that despatch are highly important, and afford matter for very serious and deliberate consideration, but as time presses I will state to you at once the present impressions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to them.

As a general principle, it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere further in the affairs of other countries than they may be urgently called upon to do by the force of circumstances, nor further than they can see their way to do with advantage to the general interests of Europe and to the special interests of the parties directly concerned. In the case of the war in Northern Italy between Austria and the Italians, the British Government was invited by the Government of Austria to interpose by friendly mediation between the contending parties, and the Government of France having been applied to by the Italians for military aid, and having, from its wish to preserve the peace of Europe, preferred to propose to the British Government to join with France in an offer of joint mediation, Her Majesty's Government cheerfully agreed to undertake the office of mediator in conjunction with the Government of France, with the hope of accomplishing a peaceful settlement of the affairs which had been the cause of hostilities in Northern Italy. Her Majesty's Government still hope that the endeavours of the two Powers to re-establish permanent peace in that part of Italy which is to the north of the Po will be successful. But it having become known in Italy that the two Powers have undertaken this work, applications have, as your Excellency says, been made both at Paris and at London from other States of Italy, for the interposition of the two Powers to settle the affairs of those States; but Her Majesty's Government very much concur in what from your Excellency's despatch seems to be the opinion of

General Cavaignac, that it would be inexpedient for the two Governments to engage themselves hastily in the transactions to which such applications relate. In the first place it is well not to have more affairs on hand at once than may be unavoidable, and both the two Governments have to deal at present with other matters enough to occupy their attention. But in the next place the questions which would thus be pressed upon the two Governments for settlement might be such that other Powers of Europe would put in their claim to have a voice in determining the arrangements to be adopted; and while, on the one hand, if those claims were negatived, bad feeling might thereby be created between those Powers and the two Governments; on the other hand, if those claims were admitted, an European Congress would be established to settle the affairs of Italy, and such a congress might be led to assume in its character and bearing more of authority and dictation than might be consistent with the spirit of the policy of England and of France.

There are indeed some questions connected with the Duchies of Parma and Modena which were spontaneously mooted by the Austrian Government in the memorandum presented by M. Hummelauer, and those questions would necessarily come under discussion in the course of the negotiations which are about to take place; but it seems to Her Majesty's Government that for the present at least it would be prudent for the two Governments not to undertake the settlement of any other Italian questions, but rather to leave such questions to be settled by the parties immediately concerned in them; and Her Majesty's Government are the more disposed to entertain this opinion because it seems to be in accordance with the bent of General Cavaignac's own mind.

The contest between the King of Naples and the Sicilians is indeed an exception to this proposed determination, but the French Government has already had communication of the instructions sent to Lord Napier and to Sir William Parker, and has been invited to send corresponding instructions to its Minister and Admiral at Naples.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 363.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord, Venice, September 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note I have just received from the French Consul here, stating that he has received intelligence of 3000 troops being ordered to embark at Toulon for Venice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 363.

The French Consul at Venice to Consul-General Dawkins.

Venise, 12 Septembre, 1848.

J'AI reçu l'avis que le Gouvernement Français, ignorant l'acceptation de la médiation des Cabinets d'Angleterre et de France, avait donné des ordres pour que des frégates-à-vapeur embarquassent à Toulon trois mille hommes de troupes pour être ensuite dirigées sur Venice, mais probablement elles n'arriveront pas, car je crois qu'on aura eu le tems de les retenir; la nouvelle de l'acceptation de l'Autriche ayant dû se connaître à Paris assez à tems pour changer cette disposition.

Je suis heureux de savoir que nos deux Gouvernemens marchent parfaitement d'accord.

(Signé) VASSEUR.

(Translation.)

Venice, September 12, 1848.

I HAVE received intelligence that the French Government, not aware that the mediation of the Cabinets of England and of France had been accepted, had given orders that some steamers should embark at Toulon 3000 troops, to be thereupon sent upon Venice, but probably they will not arrive, for I think there will have been time to stop them, as the news of the acceptance of Austria must have been known at Paris in sufficient time to alter that arrangement.

I am glad at learning that our two Governments are acting on a perfect understanding with one another.

(Signed) VASSEUR.

No. 364.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 13, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date I have the honour to inform your Lordship that orders were issued yesterday by the Provisional Government here to prepare quarters for 5000 French troops.

The American war-steamer "Princeton" arrived off the Lido yesterday afternoon, but the weather is so bad she has not had any communication with Venice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 365. X

Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th instant inclosing copies of two notes you had received from the Provisional Government of Venice, stating that several Venetian fishing-boats had been captured and detained by the Austrian steamers, and requesting you to interfere to put a stop to such proceedings, as being in opposition "to the arrangements mentioned in the official communication relative to the pacification of Italy made to the Provisional Government by the Consul of the French Republic;" and I have to state to you my approval of the answer which you returned to the Provisional Government of Venice, a copy of which is inclosed in your before-mentioned despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 366.

Mr. Bidwell to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1848.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches to that of the 13th instant inclusive, and to state to you that his Lordship approves of your proceedings as reported in those despatches.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BIDWELL.

No. 367.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 16, 1848.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant, that I was about to forward to Mr. Abercromby at Turin, by the request of his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, his Excellency's note to me dated September 10th, copy of which I forwarded to your Lordship. The renewal of the Armistice made me think it unnecessary to forward the note to Turin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 368.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 16, 1848.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions I have made a new application to his Excellency the Baron Wessenberg for an official exposition of the intention of the Imperial Government respecting the further progress of the mediation for the establishment of peace.

I saw M. de la Cour, and he agreed to send in a similar note to Baron Wessenberg, of which fact I informed the Baron in my note.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 369.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 17, 1848.

I HAVE not yet received from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg any reply to my official note requesting that he would give an answer to Her Majesty's Government and to the French Government on the subject of the mediation, &c.

I hope your Lordship will excuse me for bringing again under your notice the old project for placing on the Throne of Lombardy, or raising in some other way an Archduke to the government of that country.

You may remember that at Innspruck M. de la Cour told me that the French Government was not likely, some time previously to the moment of his speaking, to object to an Austrian Archduke.

I imagine the French would now act prudently in accepting such a government.

Charles Albert having brought forward his claim of right founded upon his election, and supported by such arguments as have been adduced, will hardly be worth consideration except under the head of political expediency, which does not seem to be in its favour, but it may be well to get rid of it by taking the Austrians as a gage for peace.

The Austrians cannot consent to a Republic in Lombardy. The spirit here is strong in favour of the retention of Lombardy at any cost.

Austrian credit is improving, the Government is gaining strength and will be strong enough if it exerts its legal authority.

I am told that out of Vienna the population, generally speaking, cares little about the questions agitated by the Opposition in this city.

I think the Austrian Empire is rising, and the ancient power it once had may be nearly restored ere long to its military. I see but little chance that the Diet of Frankfort will be allowed to interfere here; I hope it will not with the affairs of Italy and peace. Mischief would be the effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 370.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

My Lord.

Milan, September 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following translation of a circular which has just been communicated to the respective Austrian authorities here in order to be by them carried into execution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

To the Imperial Royal General Provincial Delegation of Milan.

Milan, September 15, 1848.

The spirit of open hostility continually shown by the authorities in the Canton Tessin has compelled the Field-Marshal to adopt the following measures:

1. All the natives of the Canton Tessin residing in the Lombard Provinces will be ordered to return to their country within the 18th of the present month. In intimating this order to the respective individuals it must also be communicated to them that the hostile conduct of the Government towards that of Austria is the sole reason of their being sent away.

2. On that day all postal communication and commercial intercourse will cease with the said canton.

3. No passport delivered by the authority of the Canton Tessin for Lombardy will be considered valid if the same be not countersigned by the Imperial Royal Chargé d'Affaires at Berne.

This Imperial Royal Provincial Delegation will make known without delay those arrangements depending on it in order to ensure a full and energetic execution of the present order.

The I. R. Intendent-General of the Army,
(Signed) PACHTA.

No. 370.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a copy of a note addressed by M. Sain de Bois-le-Comte and myself to his Excellency the Baron de Perron to inform him of our intention to apply to Marshal Radetzky for a prolongation of the Armistice, together with a copy of the answer returned to it by the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 371.

*The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.**Turin, le 10 Septembre, 1848.*

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ont l'honneur de faire connaître à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Sarde, que leur intention est de demander à son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky, commandant les troupes Impériales en Italie, une prolongation d'un mois de l'Armistice conclu le 9 Août entre les Puissances belligérantes.

Ils se fondent sur ce que l'acceptation de la médiation par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale ayant eu lieu, et l'Armistice expirant le 20 Septembre, il ne resterait pas aux Puissances médiatrices un temps assez long pour suivre les négociations qui doivent être la conséquence de cette acceptation.

Les Soussignés espèrent que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde n'aura aucune objection à faire à cette demande, et ils profitent de cette occasion pour offrir, &c.

(Signé) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 10, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have the honour to acquaint his Excellency His Sardinian Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, that they intend to request from his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, commanding the Imperial troops in Italy, a prolongation for one month of the Armistice concluded on the 9th of August between the belligerent Powers.

They rest their proceeding upon the circumstance that His Imperial Majesty's Government having accepted the mediation, and the Armistice expiring on the 20th of September, the mediating Powers would not have sufficient time remaining to follow up the negotiations which would be the consequence of this acceptance.

The Undersigned trust that His Sardinian Majesty's Government will have no objection to make to this request, and they profit, &c.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 371.

*The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.**Turin, le 11 Septembre, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française lui ont fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date du 10 de ce mois, pour lui faire connaître que leur intention étant de demander à son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky une prolongation d'un mois de l'Armistice conclu le 9 Août, ils désirent savoir si le Gouvernement du Roi n'aura aucune objection à faire à cette demande.

En se faisant un devoir empressé d'offrir à Messieurs les Ministres d'Angleterre et de France des sincères remerciemens pour leur obligeante attention, le Soussigné doit leur faire observer que le Gouvernement du Roi, informé par eux que l'Autriche a accepté la médiation qui lui a été offerte par leurs Gouvernemens, ignore cependant encore si le Cabinet Impérial a accédé aux conditions proposées telles que lui-même les a acceptées. Dans ce doute il ne saurait lui paraître convenable qu'une trêve aussi prolongée fût accordée à son ennemi.

D'ailleurs la manière oppressive dont les autorités militaires Autrichiennes pèsent sur les populations de la Lombardie et des Duchés, comme le peu d'exactitude qu'elles mettent à remplir les clauses de l'Armistice, doivent être des raisons de plus de ne pas prendre l'initiative d'une détermination dont le résultat serait de prolonger encore ce fâcheux état de choses.

Au reste, la reprise des hostilités devant, aux termes de l'Armistice, être

annoncée huit jours d'avance, le Soussigné s'empresse de donner à Messieurs les Ministres d'Angleterre et de France l'assurance la plus positive que le Gouvernement du Roi ne dénoncera point l'Armistice sans avoir pris préalablement leur avis, et sans s'être entendu avec eux à cet égard, afin de ne point troubler le cours des négociations entreprises par les Puissances médiatrices.

Le Soussigné, en exprimant encore ici les sentimens de gratitude du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté pour le bienveillant intérêt dont il aime à reconnaître le témoignage dans la médiation de l'Angleterre et de la France, laisse d'ailleurs avec confiance à la sage appréciation des Ministres de ces Puissances de juger des moyens les plus efficaces pour assurer le succès des négociations.

Il saisit, &c.

Pour le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires
Etrangères, le Président du Conseil,
(Signé) C. ALFIERI.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 11, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which the Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic did him the honour to address to him on the 10th instant, in order to acquaint him that it being their intention to request from his Excellency Marshal Radetzky a prolongation for one month of the Armistice concluded on the 9th of August, they are desirous of knowing whether the Government of the King has any objection to make to this demand.

In offering to the Ministers of England and of France sincere thanks for their obliging attention, the Undersigned must observe to them that the King's Government, apprized by them that Austria has accepted the mediation which was offered to her by their Governments, is nevertheless still ignorant whether the Imperial Cabinet has acceded to the conditions proposed, such as the King's Government has itself accepted them. In this uncertainty it cannot appear to it proper that a truce of such long duration should be granted to its enemy.

Moreover, the oppressive manner in which the Austrian military authorities act towards the people of Lombardy and of the duchies, as likewise the little exactness with which they execute the clauses of the Armistice, must constitute additional reasons for not taking the initiative of a determination, the result of which would be still further to prolong this grievous state of things.

Besides, as the resumption of hostilities must, according to the terms of the Armistice, be announced eight days beforehand, the Undersigned gives the Ministers of England and France the most positive assurance that the King's Government will not denounce the Armistice without having previously taken their opinion, and without having come to an understanding with them in this respect, in order not to interrupt the course of the negotiations undertaken by the mediating Powers.

The Undersigned, in expressing once more on this occasion the sentiments of gratitude of His Majesty's Government for the benevolent interest of which it recognizes the evidence in the mediation of France and England, leaves, moreover, with confidence to the wisdom of the Ministers of those Powers to judge of the most effectual means for ensuring the success of the negotiation.

He avails himself, &c.

For the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
the President of the Council,
(Signed) C. ALFIERI.

No. 372.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by M. Sain Bois-le-Comte and myself to his Excellency the Baron de

Perron, transmitting to him copy of Marshal Radetzky's answer to our application to him to prolong the Armistice for one month from the 20th instant, copy of which I have already forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 372.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, 17 Septembre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, &c., ont l'honneur de transmettre à son Excellence M. le Baron de Perron, Ministre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, une copie de la réponse que son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, commandant les armées Impériales en Italie, a faite à leur demande d'une prolongation de l'Armistice pendant un mois. Après avoir pris connaissance de ce document et de l'engagement qu'il renferme de conserver le *statu quo* relativement aux huit jours qui doivent précéder la dénonciation de l'Armistice, son Excellence comprendra sans doute qu'il y a nécessité aussi bien que convenance à demander à son Gouvernement de prendre un engagement semblable.

Les Soussignés ont l'honneur de porter également à la connaissance de son Excellence le Baron de Perron, que son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky a répondu à leurs réclamations concernant les charges qui avaient été imposées à la ville de Plaisance, que des mesures seraient prises pour exonérer provisoirement cette ville des frais que lui coûte la subsistance des troupes Impériales, et que la question serait portée à Vienne pour établir une règle définitive à cet égard. Mais par la traduction jointe à la présente d'une pièce remise par M. le Général de Hess, chef d'état-major de l'armée Impériale, son Excellence verra que le Commandant-en-chef du 4^{me} corps d'armée, Comte de Thurn, proteste contre toute interprétation de ses ordres qui pourrait faire croire qu'il a voulu violer la Capitulation de Plaisance en étendant son autorité au-delà du rayon stratégique.

Les Soussignés, &c.
(Signé) RA. ABERCROMBY. SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 17, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have the honour to transmit to his Excellency Baron Perron, &c., a copy of the answer which his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, commanding the Imperial armies in Italy, has returned to their request for a prolongation of the Armistice for one month. After having become acquainted with this document, and with the engagement contained in it to maintain the existing state of things in regard to the eight days which are to precede the denunciation of the Armistice, his Excellency will doubtless understand that it is necessary as well as proper to request his Government to take a similar engagement.

The Undersigned have likewise the honour to acquaint his Excellency Baron Perron that his Excellency Marshal Radetzky has replied to their representations respecting the burdens imposed on the town of Piacenza, that measures would be taken provisionally to exempt that town from the expenditure occasioned to it for the subsistence of the Imperial troops, and that the question would be referred to Vienna, in order that a definitive rule might be laid down in that respect. But his Excellency will perceive by the annexed translation of a paper delivered by General de Hess, chief of the staff of the Imperial army, that Count Thurn, commander-in-chief of the fourth corps d'armée, protests against any interpretation being given to his orders which might cause it to be supposed that he had been disposed to violate the Capitulation of Piacenza by extending his authority beyond the military limits.

The Undersigned, &c.
(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 372.

*Marshal Radetzky to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.**Milan, le 13 Septembre, 1848.*

AYANT reçu l'office par lequel Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre et de France proposent de prolonger l'Armistice entre l'Autriche et le Piémont pour la durée d'un mois à dater du 20 Septembre, afin de faciliter les négociations de paix entre ces deux Puissances, j'ai l'honneur de faire la réponse suivante :—

L'Armistice devant être dénoncé huit jours avant la reprise des hostilités, et le terme fixé par la Convention du 9 Août expirant le 20 de ce mois, c'est hier le 12 que la dénonciation aurait dû se faire. Comme elle n'a eu lieu ni d'une part ni de l'autre, l'Armistice se trouve prolongé par le fait.

Si la dénonciation ne vient pas de la part de la Sardaigne, je compte laisser les choses *in statu quo*, l'Armistice continuera, et la dénonciation devrait se faire de cette façon huit jours avant la reprise des hostilités.

De cette façon les négociations de paix ne seront nullement gênées par les opérations de guerre.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 13, 1848.

HAVING received the note by which the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of England and of France propose to prolong the Armistice between Austria and Sardinia for the space of one month, dating from the 20th of September, in order to facilitate the negotiations for peace between the two Powers, I have the honour to make the following reply :—

As the Armistice is to be denounced eight days before the resumption of hostilities, and as the term fixed by the Convention of the 9th of August expires on the 20th of this month, the Armistice ought to have been denounced yesterday the 12th. As that has not been done on either side, the Armistice is in fact prolonged.

If the denunciation does not proceed from the side of Sardinia, I contemplate leaving matters in their present state; the Armistice will continue, and it must in this manner be denounced eight days before the resumption of hostilities.

In this way the negotiations for peace will in no degree be interfered with by the operations of war.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

No. 373.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note together with a translation of its inclosure which my French colleague and myself have received from Field-Marshal Radetzky in answer to our communication to him respecting the proceedings of General Count Thurn at Piacenza, of which I have already transmitted a copy to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 373.

*Marshal Radetzky to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.**Milan, le 12 Septembre, 1848.*

JE viens de recevoir l'office que Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre et de France ont cru devoir m'adresser le 11 de ce mois relativement aux pouvoirs que M. le Comte de Thurn exerce dans la ville de Plaisance,

ainsi que ses intentions de requérir les denrées nécessaires à la subsistance de ses troupes jusques dans les pays occupés par l'armée Sarde, en vertu tant de l'Armistice que de la capitulation signée par les Généraux Comte de Thurn et Comte de Bricherasio.

Quoique je ne puisse ni expliquer comment les sujets en question me procurent l'honneur de correspondre avec Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de France et d'Angleterre, je ne veux cependant pas laisser ignorer à leurs Excellences qu'elles ont été mal informées sur tous les points touchés dans le dit office.

Le Lieutenant-Général Comte de Thurn n'a point assumé d'autres pouvoirs dans la ville de Plaisance que ceux expressément spécifiés par l'Article VII de la Convention conclue le 13 Août entre les Généraux Comtes de Thurn et de Bricherasio. Cet Article porte :—

“ Siccome in Piacenza l'autorità militare ha da governare, questa non può aver relazioni che colle autorità comunali, alle quali trasmetterà i suoi ordini, e nessun atto governativo di altra autorità potrà aver luogo.

“ Tuttavia se l'autorità governativa ora esistente in Piacenza fissera la sua residenza in altro luogo del ducato, essa potrà del luogo medesimo continuare la direzione degli affari del paese.”

Quant à l'intention du Lieutenant-Général Comte de Thurn de requérir les denrées nécessaires à la subsistance de ses troupes jusques dans les pays occupés par l'armée Sarde en vertu des conventions conclues, je puis affirmer que jamais un ordre à cet effet n'a été donné par moi, et que je n'ai aucun motif de croire que le Comte de Thurn agira pour son compte d'une façon contraire aux stipulations arrêtées.

Dans les temps ordinaires le Gouvernement Impérial et Royal subvenait à ses frais à l'entretien de ses troupes garnisonnées à Plaisance, mais en temps de guerre les charges occasionnées par le séjour des troupes doivent au moins en partie être supportées par le pays occupé.

J'ajoute que les prestations à fournir par la ville de Plaisance ont été notablement diminuées dans ces derniers jours dans le but de soulager les habitants.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 12, 1848.

I HAVE just received the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of England and France deemed it their duty to address to me on the 11th instant, relative to the powers which the Count de Thurn exercises in the town of Piacenza, as well as to his intentions to make requisitions for the supplies necessary for the subsistence of his troops, even within the country occupied by the Sardinian army, in virtue as well of the Armistice as of the Capitulation signed by Generals Count de Thurn and Count de Bricherasio.

Although I am unable to explain to myself how the matters in question procure me the honour of a correspondence with the Plenipotentiaries of France and England, I am nevertheless unwilling to allow their Excellencies to remain ignorant that they have been misinformed on all the points referred to in the said note.

Lieutenant-General Count de Thurn has not assumed other powers in the town of Piacenza than those expressly specified in Article VII of the Convention concluded on the 13th of August between Generals Count de Thurn and Count de Bricherasio. That Article says:

“As the government in Piacenza is to be under the military authority, this can only have relations with the communal authorities, to whom it will transmit its orders, and there can be no governing act on the part of any other authority.

“However, if the governing authority now existing in Piacenza shall fix its residence in another part of the duchy, it shall from such place continue to direct the affairs of the country.”

As regards the intention of Lieutenant-General Count de Thurn to make requisitions for the supplies necessary for the subsistence of his troops even within the country occupied by the Sardinian army in virtue of the Conven-

tions which have been concluded, I can affirm that I have never given any such order, and that I have no reason to suppose that Count de Thurn will act on his own account in a manner contrary to the stipulations agreed upon.

In ordinary times the Imperial and Royal Government provided at its own expense for the maintenance of its troops in garrison at Piacenza, but in time of war the expenses occasioned by the residence of the troops must at least in part be supported by the country occupied.

I add that the supplies to be furnished by the town of Piacenza have been sensibly diminished within the last days with the view of relieving the inhabitants.

I avail myself, &c.
(Signed) RADEZKY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 373.

Count Thurn to Marshal Radetzky.

(Translation.)

Piacenza, September 13, 1848.

WITH reference to the communication dated Milan, September 12, I lose no time in informing the Commander-in-chief's department, that neither have any requisitions been made by the 4th corps d'armée in the territory occupied by the Piedmontese, nor has anything been demanded from this part of the country; any statement in opposition to this is therefore false.

(Signed) THURN,
Field-Marshal Lieutenant.

No. 374.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 19, 1848.

THE efforts made by the present Cabinet to acquire the confidence of the country by giving to their measures the character of a sincere and honest desire to administer the affairs of this kingdom in a truly liberal and constitutional manner, have been met by renewed efforts to impress the people in the provinces with the idea that the present Ministers are unfavourable to the principles of a constitutional form of government, and that in order to obtain peace they are willing to sacrifice the cause of Italian independence.

I need not assure your Lordship again that more unfounded accusations as regards both points never existed, but I see with regret that the active and organised system of opposition and misrepresentation which has been set in motion throughout the country is meeting with more success than I had anticipated.

It is very unfortunate that the Government should not have considered themselves to have been strong enough to have made a stand on the occasion of the late disturbances at Genoa, for they had indisputably every right upon their side, and they had not outstepped the limits of their constitutional power; but by permitting as they have done the legality of their acts to be disputed by a street mob, and the course of justice to be violently interrupted by a riotous band, without exposing the hollowness of the accusations and vindicating the supremacy of the law, they have, it cannot be denied, afforded to their opponents a strong argument in support of their unfounded and mischievous insinuations against the acts and intentions of the present Cabinet.

This advantage has not been lost by the opponents of the Government, and their emissaries have been of late going through the provinces in every direction stirring up the minds of the people, and representing in particular the Minister of the Interior as a retrograde and a supporter of arbitrary and despotic principles.

I have lately seen private letters addressed by country gentlemen to some of their friends and relations in the capital giving an account of the change of

feeling that has been produced in their several provinces, and I regret to say that these confirm the reports that I had heard from other quarters.

In describing the condition of this country in such unsatisfactory terms, I nevertheless adhere to the opinion I have throughout expressed to your Lordship, that the great majority of the population are at heart sincerely loyal and opposed to anarchical principles.

But although the mass of the people entertain the best opinions, those opinions are overruled by the minority.

There is also another subject which has been worked and still continues to work with considerable effect, and which perhaps offers the most real danger for the present Government. This is the question of the negotiations of peace, and the impression that the terms which Austria insists upon obtaining are incompatible with the independence of Italy and the success of the Italian cause.

The hesitation shown by Austria in accepting of the joint mediation of England and France; the want of good faith which the acts of the Austrian authorities in Italy have evinced; the language used by the public journals in Germany supposed to convey the opinions and intentions of the Cabinet of Vienna; and the delay which no doubt has unavoidably occurred in opening the negotiations under the offered mediation of the Governments of Great Britain and of France; are all points that have been perseveringly used as proofs that the interests of Italy are about to be sacrificed, and that the honour of the Italians positively requires that the reins of government should be withdrawn from the hands of Ministers who are accomplices in such a course of policy, and should be confided to those who will prove themselves to be more faithful guardians of the public interests.

I should be misleading your Lordship were I to conceal from you my belief that sufficient impression has been made upon the people of this country with regard to this point, to render impossible any arrangement which did not fully secure at least the basis upon which the Cabinets of London and Paris have offered their mediation to the two contending parties, and which have been accepted by Sardinia.

Any modification of those propositions unfavourable to the cause of Italian independence would be rejected by the nation, nor would this nor any other Cabinet venture to propose a Treaty so constituted to the approbation of the Sardinian Parliament, the sanction of which body is necessary before such a document can be finally notified.

I have reason to suspect that any deviation from the proposals made by the two Cabinets to that of Turin with regard to the terms of the basis of negotiation would probably lead the latter to decline to be parties to the mediation upon such altered grounds, and that their retirement from office would follow.

Under such circumstances it is not difficult to foresee that the policy of their successors would undoubtedly be to involve this country again in war, in the hope that the force of public opinion in France will be sufficiently strong to overcome the wiser and more moderate policy of the present French Government; and that thus in spite of the repugnance of the French Cabinet to run the risk of involving Europe in a general war, they will be constrained to accord military assistance on this side of the Alps in support of Italian independence.

I must not either withhold from your Lordship the fact that the Revolutionary party in Italy are using every effort in their power to discredit the good faith and sincerity of England with regard to Italian affairs.

The best proof which we can produce to refute these attacks and unjust insinuations is the disinterested sympathy which we have shown for the Italian cause by offering, in conjunction with France, to the contending parties, the bases which have been proposed; but it cannot be denied that various circumstances have contributed of late to countenance in the opinion of certain classes of society, a distrust of the sincerity of our desire to assist the cause of the Italians.

The prompt commencement of the negotiations under the mediation of the Cabinets of London and of Paris upon the bases as proposed to Sardinia would greatly contribute to allay this feeling of want of confidence, and would enable the Cabinet of Turin successfully to reply to the attacks of its political enemies; but I am anxious that your Lordship should clearly understand that

the preservation of our influence in Italy depends in a very great degree upon the Italians feeling that on the British nation they can rely with confidence for sympathy and support, and that in trusting to England as one of the mediating Powers, the settlement of the future destinies of Italy, their national interests will be protected and preserved.

I regret to say that the recent invasion of Sicily and the attack upon Messina have not contributed to increase the confidence of the Italians in our declarations of interest and good will to the cause of Italian independence.

There had existed a hope that neither England nor France would have permitted this struggle to be renewed, and that by their united influence hostilities would have been avoided. The news, therefore, of the sanguinary contest which has taken place, and the momentary success of the King of Naples' arms, have cast a gloom over the politics of Southern Italy; and it is to be regretted that the impression that is left upon the public mind of the course followed in this instance by the two Powers charged with the mediation for the pacification of the North of Italy, is not one that is calculated to augment their influence and consideration with the Italian population.

Your Lordship will I trust excuse me if I have ventured to express in strong terms my opinion as to the state of public feeling in Italy with regard to England; but where great and generous interests are at stake I think it best that the whole but perhaps not the most agreeable truth should be fearlessly told rather than that I should mislead you by incomplete reports.

No. 375.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 24.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 23, 1848.

SINCE I have returned from General Cavaignac I have had a visit from M. Peruzzi, the Tuscan Minister, who says he had made a representation to the French Government as to the admission of Tuscany as a party to whom the mediation applies. M. Peruzzi added that M. Ridolfi had been desired to urge the same desire upon your Lordship.

The grounds upon which I understood this demand is made, are these. It is asserted that Tuscany was an ally of Sardinia and a party to the war; that, like her ally, she had had new territories conferred upon her by the will of the population, with this distinction, that she was still in the possession of them; and as that possession had been left undisturbed by the Austrians in consequence of the interposition of the English and French Ministers, it seemed peculiarly within the province of the mediation of those Powers to arrange these questions definitively.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 376.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Paris, September 23, 1848.

THE moment I received this morning your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, I communicated its contents to General Cavaignac. The General quite entered into your Lordship's views of the reasons why it would be desirable to limit as much as possible the objects of the joint mediation in the affairs of the North of Italy.

The General expressed a great desire that the negotiators should as soon as possible enter upon their functions, as delay rendered it doubly difficult to resist applications both for additions to the parties concerned and extension of the objects contemplated.

No. 377.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 25.)

(Extract.)

Berlin, September 21, 1848.

COUNT BULOW has informed me that he has received from Vienna the acceptance of a proposition made by him to enter into the mediation for the affairs of Italy.

The Prussian Minister, Count Bernsdorff, reports from Vienna that M. de Wessenberg in accepting the proposal he had been charged to make to him, informed him that he should transmit the notice of this acceptance to London, to Paris, and to St. Petersburg. M. de Wessenberg informed Count Bernsdorff that he should propose Innsbruck as the town in which the discussion of the Italian affairs could most conveniently take place.

No. 378.

M. Schmerling to the Baron de Andrian-Werberg.—(Communicated by Baron Andrian, September 25.)

(Translation.)

Monsieur l'Envoyé,

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, September 16, 1848.

THE impending negotiations relating to the pacification of Italy affect essentially the interests of Germany. The Government of this empire was at the very time of their entering on business convinced that they were called on to take part in them chiefly if Austria and the Italian States should agree to a mediation by foreign Powers. As long as this was not positively to be expected, it was only incumbent on the Central Government to concert with Austria about their claim to co-operation. This has been done, and the Government of Her Britannic Majesty will be already informed by a communication from Vienna, and by the note directed to you dated 15th instant, that Austria considers the joining of the German Central Government in the negotiations alluded to, to be quite proper and to the purpose. His Imperial Highness the Regent of the German Empire having conferred on me the responsible administration of Foreign Affairs, I hasten to request you formally to state to the British Government our claim to share in the said pacification, and to support this wish by the following arguments.

Austria may be supposed to base her proposals for peace on military, commercial, and financial considerations, and the interests of Austria are to the same extent also German interests, which may claim the support of the whole weight of Germany. It is the southern boundary of Germany which is in question, and the attacks to which the territory of the German Empire in the Adriatic, Littoral, and in the Tyrol, was exposed, prove that not only that part of Austria which is not part of Germany, but the German Empire generally, want for their safety a strong position between the Alps and the Po. These attacks alone suffice to establish the claim of Germany to being heard in the pacification of Italy. But of hardly less importance for us, chiefly for Southern Germany, is the commercial intercourse of Austria with Italy, and the rather as the uniting of the commercial interests of the whole of Germany is a leading object of our exertions. It is also a fact that Lombardy and Venice share in the liability of paying the national debt of Austria, a large proportion of whose creditors belong to the States of Germany. It is therefore important to us that Upper Italy should not acquit itself of its share in the Austrian national debt, and that the financial state of Austria should be relieved by making good the expenses of war.

Even if the Constitution of Germany were now the same as at the time of former European questions, still the Federal Diet would be entitled to a participation in the said work of pacification, on account of the importance of the interests which are in question. British statesmen cannot fail to have observed that public opinion loudly condemned the preposterous practice of the late

German Diet relinquishing in favour of the two most powerful States of Germany, its participation in deliberating on European questions. But by the recent change in the central power of Germany, further decisive reasons of public law are superadded to the mentioned political grounds. The Central Government is now not only the lawful keeper of the attributions of the Federal Diet, but possesses in much greater extent the right and the duty of managing the joint interests of Germany. The Law of the 28th June instant places in her hands the supreme management of the whole armed force, the international representation, and the direction of her commercial policy ; invests her with the right of declaring war, concluding peace, and making treaties. These powers extend undoubtedly over the German provinces of Austria which took an active part in the Italian war. A large portion of the troops in arms in Italy are at present troops of the empire, and it is for the Regent of the German Empire to dispose of them. Although Germany, led by grave considerations, did not make a general war of that which had begun as an Austrian, and Austria herself did not demand it, we still have now a positive right to object against a peace exclusively Austrian, which might have been concluded without us and was not in accordance with our position. They would charge us with having relinquished the privileges which we hold in the whole of the German territory, and prostituted the dignified position which it is our duty to maintain in Europe, if in this important question England and France mediated alone, to the exclusion of Germany from the deliberations on her own interests.

They will ask you to state the formal quality in which Germany intends to join the mediating Powers in their transactions. With respect to this point I charge you to declare that on account of our close connexion with Austria we cannot consider the form of mediation as suitable for us, nor do we suppose that Italy will acknowledge in us an impartial agent. We are then to deliberate on peace and sign it not as taking part in the mediation, but as a party co-interested (*partie cointéressée*). This formal character of co-operation will not prevent the Central Government from independently urging the views and claims of Germany, and from acting in a mediating and conciliatory manner, if not formally, still in fact. I am not now prepared to detail such proposals for peace which Germany would support or assent to, nor am I acquainted with the basis adopted now by England and France. Still I do not hesitate frankly and confidently to state to the English Government, the line in which the Government of the Regent of the German Empire intends to exert its influence. What I am about to say on this subject will prove to England and France that our claim is as conducive for the purposes of peace and the pacification of Italy, as it is proper and just.

The Central Power will vote for the most liberal Constitution of Lombardy and Venice. It will support all that may bring Italy nearer to the only safe goal of a strong Federative Constitution. As for any territorial cession for the sake of adjusting boundaries, but varying from established treaties, the Central Government will neither propose it nor make to it any other objection but that which the safety and the evidently just interest of the German Empire clearly demand. For the present I limit myself to the statement of those three leading points.

I may mention here, that the Representatives here accredited of the Governments of Sardinia and of the Two Sicilies gave it as their opinion, that the participation of the Central Power of Germany in the negotiations of peace was in accordance with the wishes of the Governments of those States.

You will particularly direct the attention of the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs to this communication, and recommend that England should recognize our participation by a special Representative in the negotiations of peace as suitable and proper. In an invitation to this purpose from England, Germany will see an important proof of a friendly consideration of her present situation.

You are authorized to communicate a translation of this note and, if wanted, a copy of the original.

(Signed) SCHMERLING.

No. 379.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 25.)

(Extract.)

Berne, September 21, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a communication from the Marshal Radetzky to the Government of Tessin, announcing that from the 18th of this month all natives of that canton will be obliged to quit the Lombardo-Venetian States, and that all intercourse, whether postal or commercial, will cease from the same date between the two States ; as likewise the answer of the latter.

Ever since the Austrians re-entered Milan and the Armistice was concluded with the King of Sardinia, complaints, to which I have already had the honour of calling your Lordship's attention, have been made, not without reason, to the Government of Tessin by Marshal Radetzky, upon the want of proper restrictions over the intrigues of the Italian refugees who infest the Swiss frontiers of Lombardy, arising either from lukewarmness or inability to check them, and which, if not discontinued, would oblige the Marshal to intercept all communications between the two States.

Such a measure, and as it appears to me, my Lord, justified by circumstances, has now been taken, and has given rise to violent discussion in the Diet which assembled this morning to treat the subject.

The Directory have certainly shown a desire all along to act in a straightforward manner towards the Austrians ; but their good intentions have to a certain degree been neutralized by the conduct of the Government of Tessin.

The Deputations of many cantons are irritated with what they call the presumption of Radetzky, and recommend the placing on foot of a considerable army to call the Marshal to his senses and impress him with proper respect to Switzerland ; however, the majority will doubtless reject—for the sitting of unusual length, still continues—such a measure, and adopt a motion based on the report of a Commission named for the purpose, to the intent that Federal Commissioners be again sent to obtain precise information upon the facts which have led to the adoption of such steps by the Austrian authorities at Milan ; that the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna be charged to obtain information thereupon ; and that two battalions be sent to the frontiers of Tessin.

As I have already stated, the complaints of Radetzky appear well grounded. I think however that it would have been more advisable if the complaints had come through the Austrian Minister to the Confederation now at Zurich, and addressed to the Directory, than from a soldier, who has no diplomatic character.

I have just left the Hall of the Diet, and a motion of M. Luvini, the Deputy of Tessin, to adjourn the debate being negatived, the report of the Commission was put to the vote and I understand adopted.

Inclosure 1 in No. 379.

Marshal Radetzky to the Government of Tessin.

Milan, 15 Septembre, 1848.

IL résulte des rapports officiels qui me sont parvenus, que des insurgés en armes continuent à insulter par des paroles menaçantes les troupes Impériales et Royales qui stationnent le long de la frontière du Canton du Tessin, et que des réfugiés sur le territoire Tessinois manifestent publiquement l'intention de tenter une invasion. Il est de plus notoire qu'on imprime dans ce canton un grand nombre d'écrits incendiaires, et que l'on a recours à tout moyen pour les introduire en Lombardie, afin d'y répandre le mécontentement et la crainte et y troubler la tranquillité publique. Le journal le "Repubblicano" ne cesse de publier des articles contre le Gouvernement Autrichien, et son dernier numéro du 11 de ce mois en renferme un qui fourmille d'invectives et de calomnies les

plus infames, accusant le corps d'officiers de mon armée de lâcheté et de rapine.

Tous ces faits démontrent que le Gouvernement Tessinois n'a pas la volonté ou le pouvoir de réprimer ces hostilités qui ont lieu journellement dans son canton, et que les assurances que le Conseil d'Etat m'a données à plusieurs reprises touchant son intention d'entretenir les rapports de bon voisinage, sont illusoires et de nul effet.

Je me trouve donc de nouveau dans la nécessité de mettre à exécution, sans autre délai, les mesures indiquées par ma note du 12 Août dernier, se fondant sur le droit qu'a tout Etat de se prémunir contre toute attaque directe ou indirecte de la part d'un Etat voisin.

Je déclare donc au Conseil d'Etat, qu'à dater du 18 de ce mois :

1. Tous les Tessinois qui habitent les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes recevront l'ordre de retourner immédiatement dans leur patrie.

2. Qu'à partir du jour susdit, toutes les communications postales et commerciales qui existent entre la Lombardie et le Canton du Tessin cesseront.

3. Qu'aucun passeport délivré par le susdit Gouvernement pour entrer en Lombardie ne sera considéré comme valable s'il n'est revêtu du visa de l'Ambassadeur Impérial et Royal accrédité près la Confédération.

Il dépendra du Conseil d'Etat de mettre un terme à ces mesures rendues indispensables pour le maintien de la tranquillité publique de ces provinces dont je suis chargé, et cela en donnant suite à mes justes demandes fondées sur le droit inviolable des peuples.

(Signé) RADETZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 15, 1848.

IT appears from official representations which have reached me, that insurgents in arms continue to insult by menacing language the Imperial and Royal troops which are stationed along the frontier of the Canton of Tessin, and that refugees in the Tessinese territory publicly declare their intention of attempting an invasion. It is furthermore notorious that a great number of incendiary writings are printed in that canton, and that all means are resorted to in order to introduce them into Lombardy, with a view of spreading therein discontent and alarm, and of disturbing the public tranquillity. The journal the "Repubblicano" does not cease to publish articles against the Austrian Government, and its last number of the 11th of this month contains one replete with invectives and most infamous calumnies, accusing the body of officers of my army of cowardice and of rapine.

All these facts show that the Tessinese Government has not the will or the power to repress these hostilities which daily take place in its canton, and that the assurances which the Council of State has at different times given me respecting its intention of maintaining relations of good neighbourhood, are illusory and of no effect.

I find myself therefore again obliged to put into execution without further delay, the measures pointed out in my note of the 18th of August last, founded on the right which every State has to protect itself against every attack, direct or indirect, on the part of a neighbouring State.

I declare then to the Council of State, that from the 18th of this month :

1. All the Tessinese who inhabit the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces will receive orders to return immediately to their own country.

2. That after the above-named day all letter-post and commercial communications which exist between Lombardy and the Canton of Tessin will cease.

3. That no passport delivered by the above-named Government for entrance into Lombardy, will be considered available unless provided with the visa of the Imperial and Royal Ambassador accredited to the Confederation.

It will depend on the Council of State to put an end to these measures, which are rendered indispensable for the maintenance of the public tranquillity of those provinces which are intrusted to me, by complying with my just demands, founded on the inviolable right of nations.

(Signed) RADETZKY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 379.

*The Council of State of Tessin to Marshal Radetzky.**Lugano, 16 Septembre, 1848.*

NOUS recevons aujourd'hui la lettre datée d'hier, par laquelle votre **Excellence**, se fondant sur diverses nouvelles, nous annonce qu'à partir du 18 de ce **mois**, elle veut mettre à exécution plusieurs mesures hostiles contre ce canton.

Dans le sentiment de nos droits et de notre dignité il ne nous reste qu'à **déclarer** pour toute réponse,—

1. Que l'imputation d'après laquelle le Gouvernement Tessinois n'aurait **pas** rempli ses devoirs est dénuée de fondement.

2. Qu'aucune faute individuelle, ni article de journal, sur lequel le **Gouvernement** d'un pays libre n'exerce la moindre influence ne sauraient motiver **de** pareils actes d'hostilité.

3. Que le Gouvernement a la conscience d'avoir dans le libre exercice de **ses** attributions pris toutes les mesures tendant à l'accomplissement de ses **obligations** internationales, mesures dont il n'a à rendre compte qu'aux **représentans** de son peuple et aux autorités Fédérales.

4. Que nous, Gouvernement de cette République, partie intégrante de la **Confédération**, protestons formellement contre les mesures annoncées dans la **note** de votre Excellence, mesures qui viennent interrompre les relations entre **deux** Etats voisins et qui ne se fondent que sur des avis supposés ou sans **importance**.

5. Nous déclarons enfin que nous allons porter tout ceci à la connaissance **des** autorités Fédérales, afin qu'elles avisent à sauvegarder les intérêts et la **dignité** de la Confédération.

(Suivent les Signatures.)

(Translation.)

Lugano, September 16, 1848.

WE receive to-day the letter dated yesterday, in which your Excellency, relying upon certain rumours, announces to us that from the 18th of this month you intend to put into execution several hostile measures against this canton.

In the consciousness of our rights and of our dignity it only remains for us to declare as our only answer:—

1. That the imputation according to which the Tessinese Government has **not** fulfilled its duties, is destitute of foundation.

2. That no fault on the part of individuals, nor newspaper article over which the Government of a free country does not exercise the slightest influence, **can** justify such acts of hostility.

3. That the Government is conscious of having, in the free exercise of its attributes, taken every measure tending to the execution of its international obligations, measures of which it has only to give an account to the representatives of its people and to the Federal authorities.

4. That we, the Government of this Republic, an integral part of the Confederation, formally protest against the measures announced in your Excellency's note, measures which interrupt the relations between two neighbouring States, and which are only founded on imaginary or unimportant reports.

5. We finally declare that we will bring all this under the notice of the Federal authorities, to the end that they may take steps to protect the interests and the dignity of the Confederation.

[Here follow the Signatures.]

No. 380. X

Viscount Palmerston to Baron Koller.

M. le Baron,

Foreign Office, September 25, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 18th instant, communicating to me a despatch from Baron Wessenberg to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, on the subject of the occupation by Austrian troops of the Legations and of the Duchies of Parma and Modena.

In returning to you this despatch with its inclosures, I have to say that without entering into the question of treaties and more especially of those of recent date, I must be allowed to observe that it is very desirable for many reasons which must no doubt present themselves to the mind of the Government of Vienna, that the Austrian troops should be withdrawn within the boundaries of Lombardy and of the Venetian State.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 381. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 25, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st instant instructing your Excellency to represent to the Austrian Government how desirable it would be to fulfil all the terms of the Armistice, in allowing the departure from Peschiera of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*, I transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* from the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Count Revel, requesting the interference of Her Majesty's Government in obtaining the restoration of the stores in question; and I have to instruct your Excellency to urge the Austrian Government to comply with this request.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 382.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 25.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of an official note dated September 17th which I have just received from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, containing the answer from his Excellency's Government to the repeated requests made by M. de la Cour and myself for some explicit declaration of the intentions of the Imperial Government with regard to the negotiations for peace, &c.

I have not time to offer to your Lordship any comments upon this note, as the post is just going out and I will not delay the transmission of the note.

I may add that I wish the note had stated more at large the liberal, political, and civil rights intended to be established by the Austrian Government in Italy. I did not expect, as your Lordship may know, that the territorial question would be touched on; I hope that this answer may have the effect of gaining time, and that time may facilitate measures favourable to peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

* No. 345.

Inclosure in No. 382.

*Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.**Vienne, le 17 Septembre, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a reçu la note que son Excellence M. le Vicomte Ponsonby, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, lui a adressée en date du 15 de ce mois, et où elle lui exprime au nom de son Gouvernement le désir de connaître les vues du Gouvernement Impérial relativement aux arrangements qu'il croit propres à faciliter les négociations pour le rétablissement de la paix en Italie.

Le Gouvernement Impérial a fait connaître à plusieurs reprises son désir sincère d'arriver à une prompt solution des différends survenus entre lui et le Gouvernement Sarde, afin de pouvoir accomplir l'œuvre de pacification dans le Nord de l'Italie, qu'il n'a cessé d'avoir en vue. Ayant accordé l'armistice que Sa Majesté Sarde avait sollicité, le Gouvernement Impérial s'était flatté qu'une négociation serait entamée incessamment pour un traité de paix définitif, et cela d'autant plus que cet armistice avait été sollicité lui-même comme un prélude d'une telle négociation. Trompé jusqu'à présent dans son attente, le Gouvernement Impérial ne peut que renouveler aujourd'hui le désir exprimé plus haut, et il s'adresse à l'effet de son accomplissement aux Puissances qui lui ont offert leur médiation amicale.

Le Soussigné est chargé d'inviter de nouveau le Gouvernement Sarde à nommer sans délai des Plénipotentiaires pour se réunir aux Plénipotentiaires déjà nommés par Sa Majesté Impériale, afin d'entrer dans une négociation ayant pour but d'arriver à un traité définitif entre les Puissances belligérantes. Il est chargé en même temps d'adresser une égale invitation au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ainsi qu'à celui de la République Française, qui voudront concourir par leur médiation amicale à l'œuvre de la paix, objet de leur but commun. Le Gouvernement Impérial propose pour lieu de réunion la ville d'Innsbruck.

Quant à l'œuvre de la pacification du Nord de l'Italie, le Gouvernement Impérial ose se flatter qu'elle se trouvera infiniment facilitée par l'assurance réitérée qu'il a donnée et qu'il renouvelle à cette occasion, d'étendre à ses Provinces Italiennes le bénéfice des institutions libérales dont jouissent déjà les autres parties de l'Empire Autrichien, ayant égard à la nationalité et aux intérêts particuliers de leur population.

Le Soussigné prie son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique de vouloir porter ces déclarations à la connaissance de son Gouvernement et de recevoir, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, September 17, 1848.

THE Undersigned, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Royal and Apostolic Majesty, has received the note which his Excellency Viscount Ponsonby, Ambassador Extraordinary of Her Britannic Majesty, addressed to him on the 15th of this month, and in which he expresses in the name of his Government a wish to be made acquainted with the views of the Imperial Government relative to the arrangements which it considers calculated to facilitate the negotiations for the re-establishment of peace in Italy.

The Imperial Government has on several occasions evinced its sincere desire to come to a speedy settlement of the differences which have arisen between it and the Sardinian Government, in order to be able to effect the pacification of the north of Italy, which it has never lost sight of. Having granted the armistice which His Sardinian Majesty asked for, the Imperial Government flattered itself that a negotiation would be immediately opened for a definitive treaty of peace, and the more so because the armistice itself was asked for as a prelude to such negotiation. Deceived up to the present time in its expectations, the Imperial Government can only again repeat the desire expressed above, and with a view to its accomplishment it addresses itself to the Powers who have offered their friendly mediation.

The Undersigned is instructed again to invite the Sardinian Government to appoint without loss of time Plenipotentiaries to meet the Plenipotentiaries already appointed by His Imperial Majesty, in order to enter upon a negotiation having for its object the conclusion of a definitive treaty between the two belligerent Powers. He is instructed at the same time to address a similar invitation to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty as well as to that of the French Republic, who will be desirous of co-operating by their mediation in the work of peace which is the object of their common wish. The Imperial Government proposes the town of Innsprück as the place of meeting.

As regards the pacification of the north of Italy, the Imperial Government ventures to flatter itself that it will be very greatly facilitated by the frequent assurances which it has given, and which it again repeats upon the present occasion, that it will extend to its Italian provinces the advantages of liberal institutions which are already enjoyed by the other portions of the Austrian Empire, keeping in view the nationality and individual interests of their population.

The Undersigned requests the Ambassador of Her Britannic Majesty to be good enough to bring these declarations under the notice of his Government, and to accept, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

No. 383.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 20, 1848.

I REPRESENTED to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg the many inconveniences which might be found in Innspruck as the place where negotiations for peace should be carried on, and I further suggested that some town in Italy should be selected, and particularly Milan, because the object being to establish a solid and lasting peace, the attainment of it might probably be aided considerably by the personal exertions of the agents of the mediating Powers to point out to the Italians the bearing that such measures as might be adopted were likely to have upon the particular interests of the Lombards. The agents of the mediating Powers would naturally be listened to by the Italians with less prejudice and more favour in the discussion of such topics than would be the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerents.

Baron Wessenberg, as I believe, admits the inconvenience attending Innspruck, and is disposed to approve of Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

P.S.—I have spoken to M. de la Cour on the subject of this despatch, and I find that he has the same opinion as I have expressed above.

No. 384.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 20, 1848.

IN my despatch of yesterday I had the honour to report to your Lordship the position of the present Ministry, and the state of public feeling in this country, and you will I trust excuse me if I venture shortly to offer some remarks as to what may possibly be the effect with regard to the preservation of tranquillity in Italy, if delay occurs in commencing the negotiations for the pacification of the North of Italy, or if the spirit and principles of the bases as proposed to and accepted by Sardinia, should be modified or changed.

His Majesty King Charles Albert by engaging in the war with Austria has *de facto* not only placed himself at the head of the Piedmontese movement, but has also declared himself the leader of the cause of Italian nationality and independence, and with the exception of the Neapolitan States, he has been recognized in that character throughout the Peninsula of Italy.

In estimating the fears which each of the States of Italy might experience should Austrian dominion in Italy be re-established, Sardinia is certainly the country that would have the least to apprehend from such a result; but if she has less to fear for herself individually, she has, in consequence of the engagements she has entered into, to bear more than any other Italian State the heavy responsibility of exerting all her influence to obtain redress and protection for those weaker countries which have united with her in defence of the common cause of Italy.

Sardinia has, therefore, in accepting a peace, certain engagements of honour to fulfil towards the rest of Italy as well as to secure that which is merely for her own particular interests.

I have on a former occasion observed to your Lordship that when it was known throughout Italy that the Cabinet of Turin had accepted the mediation of England and of France and the bases offered by those Powers for the pacification of Italy, a feeling of general confidence was created that those bases would not have been agreed to by King Charles Albert and by his Government, had they not afforded good grounds for believing that a peace founded upon such proposals would secure honourably and permanently the national interests of Italy as well as those of Sardinia herself.

The announcement, therefore, that the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France had been accepted was received in general and with but partial exceptions in a favourable manner.

The partisans of peace are no doubt numerous in Italy, but there is no concealing the fact that such is the hatred felt to everything that can recall Austrian domination in this peninsula, that any attempt at an arrangement that would perpetuate such a state of things would be received throughout Northern and Central Italy with general dissatisfaction.

The conduct of the Austrian authorities in those countries which have been re-occupied by the Imperial arms has been such as to increase the hatred of the populations of those districts to the Austrian sway, and in provinces where formerly the peasantry had been at least indifferent to Austrian rule, that feeling has now given place to a deep and rooted antipathy, that must effectually destroy all prospect of re-establishing for the future the Imperial authority with any hope of its being tranquilly maintained.

To the feeling of nationality, and to the desire to obtain release from foreign dominion which existed more or less throughout the whole of the Italian Peninsula previous to the commencement of the war, there is now added the desire to expel the Imperialists, on account of the private wrongs and acts of oppression that have been inflicted upon the people whose countries have been re-occupied by the Austrian troops.

It is true, and only just to the Austrians to declare, that to my knowledge they have not as yet been guilty of personal acts of severity on account of past political offences; but this may possibly in some measure be accounted for by the terrible extent to which emigration has spread, and the Austrian authorities have marked all the bitterness of their feelings against the Italians by the conduct they have pursued with regard to the properties of emigrants.

But if political reaction for past offences has as yet been fortunately avoided so far as individuals are concerned, the acts of the Government sufficiently prove in what spirit the future administration of the country is to be conducted in cases where fresh cause of complaint may occur.

Milan, as your Lordship knows, from the reports which have been forwarded for the information of Her Majesty's Government, has all the appearance of a town taken by force and of which possession is alone maintained by the imposing garrison which it contains; Monza is already placed under martial law; Como, Lecco, Varese, Pavia, and latterly I believe the town of Plaisance, have all been menaced with the same fate; and the only remedy which the Austrian authorities appear disposed to apply in any cases where the irritated feelings of the Italians have led to the expression of their opinions, is the immediate threat of the application of martial law.

Your Lordship will easily believe that accounts not only of what actually does occur in pursuance of such a policy are widely spread throughout the peninsula, but that those details are also much exaggerated as they travel from town to town. The consequence is, that the presence in Italy of the Austrians becomes daily more and more insupportable, and that the feeling of exasperation

against the Imperialists, so far from having been subdued by the results of the late campaign, has on the contrary increased, and the determination on the part of the Italians to get rid of their foreign enemy is more fixed than ever.

Such being the condition of public feeling in Italy, it is easy to foresee how hopeless it would be to attempt the pacification of Italy upon principles different from those which have led to the offer of the bases proposed by the Cabinets of London and of Paris.

The continued presence in Lombardy of the Imperialists and the maintenance of their political influence and domination in the Duchies would lead to the perpetuating of the present feeling of exasperation of the inhabitants, which could only be kept down by the imposition of a powerful military administration; and the country would be reduced to the condition of one in a state of war.

It would be a fallacy to imagine that such a state of things could long be maintained; insurrections would break out, acts of severity on the part of the Austrians would follow, the people would at length be driven to despair, and in the end the struggle would be renewed with increased vigour on the part of the Italians.

For Sardinia to remain a tranquil spectator of such a contest would be impossible, however much it might be the wish of the Sardinian Government of the day to do so; her part in recent events has been too marked to permit of the adoption of such a policy; and the more moderate party in this country which might possibly desire to avoid complicating the State still further than has been the case, would be too weak to oppose an effectual resistance to the pressure that would be brought to bear in support of the cause of national independence, not only by the ultra-Liberals of Sardinia but by those of the whole of Italy.

It results therefore from the preceding statement of the present condition of Italian feeling, that no real pacification of Italy will be effected unless large and comprehensive concessions are made in favour of the principle of Italian nationality; and it is equally certain that Sardinia cannot, for the reasons which I have already mentioned, become, with honour or safety to herself, a party to any peace by which that principle is sacrificed.

The renewal of the contest in Italy would in all human probability be followed ere long by the commencement of hostilities elsewhere, for other countries would be drawn into the struggle commenced by Italy against the Austrian rule.

If such are the results which the re-establishment of the Imperial sway in Italy is likely to produce, I am I think justified in making the assertions which open this despatch, that to preserve the tranquillity of Italy with any prospect of making it durable or satisfactory to the Italians, it is desirable that no unnecessary delay should occur in opening the negotiations for peace under the mediation of England and of France; and that no modification as to principle should be made in the bases which have been proposed by the mediating Powers as those which are to regulate the details of the negotiations.

It results also from the preceding remarks which I have ventured to lay before your Lordship, that Sardinia cannot either with honour or with safety to herself separate her cause from that of the rest of Italy, and that upon her adherence to the declarations she has made and the engagements she has entered into depends the preservation of her influence in Italy and the security of her institutions and of her monarchy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 385.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 26.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 21, 1848.

I REGRET to say that the accounts received to-day from Florence are far from being satisfactory.

Colonel Cipriani has arrived here this morning, bringing with him a letter from the Grand Duke for His Sardinian Majesty, to request that the Sardinian troops under the command of General Albert de La Marmora, which have

been landed at Ancona from Venice, preparatory to their return to the States of His Sardinian Majesty by way of Tuscany, may be permitted to halt for some time at Florence, and by their presence in that capital help if possible to prevent the outbreak of any disturbance.

It seems that although there exist external appearances of tranquillity, still there is a hidden revolutionary movement going on in Tuscany that threatens danger to the public peace; and it is against this movement and the prejudicial effects which the Tuscan Government fear may result from it that the application for military assistance from Sardinia has been made.

In helping to check this attempt of the Revolutionary party in Tuscany, the Sardinian Government, if they grant the request of the Grand Duke, will only be assisting in preserving the tranquillity of the Sardinian States.

No. 386.

Baron Koller to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord,

Chandos House, 26 Septembre, 1848.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre en date d'hier, par laquelle votre Excellence a bien voulu accompagner la restitution de la copie d'une dépêche de Monsieur le Baron de Wessenberg à Monsieur de Thom à Paris, datée de Vienne le 3 de ce mois, que je m'étais empressé de lui communiquer avec ses différentes annexes.

Comme votre Excellence a, relativement à l'occupation temporaire des Duchés de Parme et de Modène, exprimé par cette lettre l'avis que, sans vouloir entrer dans la question des Traités, nommément de ceux portant une date récente, il lui paraissait être fort désirable, pour maintes raisons indubitablement présentes à l'esprit du Gouvernement Autrichien, que les troupes Impériales se retirassent en-deçà des frontières Lombardo-Vénitiennes, je crois de mon devoir de répondre à votre Excellence que l'occupation temporaire des Duchés de Parme et Modène, tout en contribuant à maintenir la position qu'ont faite à ces duchés dans le système Européen d'anciens traités, nommément celui conclu à Vienne en 1753 sous la médiation de Georges II, Roi d'Angleterre, se fonde en outre sur les obligations spéciales que l'Autriche a contractées vis-à-vis de ces duchés par des traités d'alliance défensive conclus par ceux-ci dans la plénitude de leur souveraineté et de leur liberté et sans préjudice aux droits d'aucune autre Puissance. Ces traités placent l'Autriche dans une position toute particulière, et il serait difficile de concevoir comment la date récente qu'ils portent puisse fournir contre leur validité une objection fondée quelconque.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé) A. V. KOLLER.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

Chandos House, September 26, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter dated yesterday, in which your Excellency has had the goodness to return to me the copy of Baron de Wessenberg's despatch to M. de Thom at Paris, dated Vienna the 3rd instant, which with its different inclosures I had communicated to you.

As your Excellency has in this letter expressed your opinion in regard to the temporary occupation of the Duchies of Parma and of Modena, that without being inclined to enter upon the question of the treaties, specifically those of a recent date, it appeared to you very desirable for many reasons, which have doubtless occurred to the Austrian Government, that the Imperial troops should withdraw within the Lombardo-Venetian frontiers, I consider it my duty to reply to your Excellency that the temporary occupation of the Duchies of Parma and Modena, at the same time that it serves to maintain the position conferred upon those duchies by ancient treaties, specifically that concluded at Vienna in 1753 under the mediation of George II, King of England, rests moreover upon the special obligations which Austria has contracted in regard to those duchies by the treaties of defensive alliance con-

cluded by them in the plenitude of their sovereignty and of their liberty, and without prejudice to the rights of any other Power. Those treaties place Austria in a very peculiar position, and it would be difficult to imagine how the recent date which they bear can furnish any well-founded objection whatever against their validity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. V. KOLLER.

No. 387. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 26, 1848.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that it seems to Her Majesty's Government that if once the number of the mediators shall begin to be increased, it would be difficult to find reasons for not extending the number to a very inconvenient extent.

Prussia it seems has applied to France to be admitted; on the other hand Baron Andrian informed me yesterday that the Central Power of Germany had offered, at Vienna and at Turin, its assistance as mediator in conjunction with England and France, and that if the answers should be favourable a written and official application would be made at London and at Paris for the consent of the British and French Governments that the Central Power should be added to the mediation.

But if Prussia and the Central Power become mediators, Russia will of course ask to be included also, and there seems no valid reason that could be given for excluding her. Such a conference of leading Powers might be very proper and even useful if the matter to be treated of were of sufficient magnitude and extent; but such a machinery of mediation would seem to be very much out of proportion with the questions to be dealt with, which are simply, on what terms peace is to be re-established between Austria and Piedmont, and what is to be done with the Provinces of Lombardy and Venice?

No. 388. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 26, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan, reporting on the state of Lombardy, and I have to instruct your Excellency to read that despatch confidentially to Baron Wessenberg.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 389. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 26, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, reporting that you had already urged Baron Wessenberg to answer the proposal for mediation, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government in wishing for an answer are anxious that such answer should not be given merely to gain time, but that it should be calculated to lead to a final and satisfactory settlement of the matters to which it will relate.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See No. 356.

No. 390.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 20, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following copy of a note addressed by the French Consul-General here and myself to Field-Marshal Radetzky.

As yet the Field-Marshal has not returned an answer to this note; when he does I shall do myself the honour to forward immediately a copy of the same to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Vice-Consul Campbell and M. Denois to Marshal Radetzky.

Les Soussignés, Consul-Général de France et Vice-Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique à Milan, ayant appris qu'il est question de changer l'itinéraire de la poste pour la France Septentrionale et pour l'Angleterre, et de la faire passer par le Splügen au lieu du St. Gothard, prennent la liberté de faire remarquer à son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, que ce changement entraînerait une perte de temps de vingt-quatre heures, et qu'un pareil retard dans un moment où les nouvelles de Londres et de Paris ont un si grand intérêt, ne peut être que fort préjudiciable au bien des affaires. Ils prient en conséquence son Excellence de vouloir bien rapporter l'arrêté qu'elle a pu prendre à ce sujet, et de maintenir les relations postales avec la France Septentrionale et l'Angleterre par le St. Gothard, comme la voie la plus directe et la plus prompte.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

DENOIS.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

(Translation.)

The Undersigned, Consul-General of France and Vice-Consul of Her Britannic Majesty at Milan, having learnt that there is a question of changing the route of the post for the north of France and for England, and of making it pass over the Splügen instead of over the St. Gothard, take the liberty of pointing out to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky, that such an alteration would involve a loss of twenty-four hours, and that such a delay at a moment when the intelligence from London and from Paris is of so great interest, cannot be otherwise than most mischievous to various matters. They therefore request his Excellency to reconsider the decision which he may have come to in this matter, and to continue the letter-post communications with the north of France and England by the St. Gothard, as the most direct and quickest route.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

DENOIS.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 391.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 27.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 20, 1848.

I SPOKE to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg upon the subject of the non-restoration by the Austrians of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre* stated by Mr. Abercromby to be withheld improperly by Marshal Radetzky.

His Excellency said that there should be no delay, if any had already occurred, in carrying into effect now the engagements entered into by Marshal Radetzky with the Sardinians, as contained in the Armistice of the 9th of August.

Your Lordship knows that the alleged non-execution of that agreement by the Sardinians was the cause of the delays on the part of the Imperial Government. I will acquaint Mr. Abercromby with the above.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 392. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 28, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th instant, in which I stated to your Excellency that Baron Andrian had informed me that the Central Power of Germany had offered to Austria and Piedmont to associate itself with England and France in mediating between Austria and Piedmont, I have to acquaint you that Baron Andrian went on to say that Austria having given an assenting answer, if Piedmont did the like, a formal application would be made by the Central Power to the Governments of England and France.

I stated to Baron Andrian that without meaning to prejudice the answer which might be given to such an offer, when made, and assuring him that it would receive the most attentive and respectful consideration, I could not but submit to him some observations which must naturally occur upon that subject.

First, I said the Archduke John, though within the last two or three months elected as Vicar of a German Empire not yet finally constituted, is an Austrian Prince, has lived all his life in Austria, and has obtained the reputation, justly, I am convinced, of being a good patriot and a thorough Austrian; it might then possibly be felt that if he were to be associated in the mediation, Austria would at once be party in the cause and an element in the mediation. That moreover the National Assembly at Frankfort had shown itself very unmanageable in regard to the Schleswig-Holstein question, and that its proceedings on that matter were not calculated to encourage the notion that it would be an easy matter to co-operate with that Assembly in any complicated negotiation.

I further remarked that a mediation must become difficult in proportion to the number of mediators, because the mediating party ought to know its own mind and to have an opinion as to the successive steps to be taken in the course of the mediation; but if in consequence of the mediation consisting of several Powers, differences of opinion should happen among the mediators as to questions that might arise and as to steps to be taken, it is plain that the progress of the negotiation might be inconveniently obstructed. I observed, therefore, that before a third party was associated with England and France in the mediation it would be necessary to ascertain whether that third party concurred with England and France in the views which had led those two Powers to propose a particular basis of settlement to the contending parties, because otherwise the third party would be an obstruction and not an assistance.

Baron Andrian in reply assured me that the Archduke John, though sincerely attached to the interests of his country, takes an enlightened view of those interests, and moreover can only act by means of responsible advisers, and that liberal opinions and principles of nationality are so predominant at Frankfort, that the conduct of the Ministry and the votes of the Assembly could not fail to be in conformity thereto. He said that without being able to give specific details as to the questions to which I had adverted, he thought he could assure me that the Central Power could and would be of use to the two mediators in accomplishing a settlement of the North of Italy. I inferred however from Baron Andrian's language that he himself was not favourable to the notion that Austria should retire from Lombardy, though the main point on which he seemed to lay stress was, that it is of great importance to Austria in a military point of view to retain the line of the Mincio, including in that line Mantua and Peschiera, in addition to Verona and Legnago upon the line of the Adige.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 393. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 28, 1848.

I TRANSMIT herewith a translation of a despatch * which has been communicated to me by Baron Andrian, in which the German Minister for Foreign Affairs explains to him how and to what extent the Central Power of Germany wishes to take part in the mediation of England and France between Austria and Piedmont.

I have to instruct your Excellency to state to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government do not see that any good reason could be alleged by the two Powers for objecting to the presence of a Representative of the Central Power at the seat of negotiation, and that seems to be all that the Central Power asks, as it admits that the very reasons which lead it to desire to have an opportunity of making its interests heard preclude it from assuming the functions of mediator.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 394. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 28, 1848.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 23rd instant, stating that the Tuscan Minister at Paris has made a representation to the French Government respecting the admission of Tuscany as a party to whom the mediation between Austria and Piedmont applies; and I have to inform your Excellency that the Marquis de Ridolfi has made the same kind of communication to me; the substance of which was the expression of a wish on the part of the Tuscan Government, that if a meeting should take place of Plenipotentiaries from England, France, Austria and Piedmont, in pursuance of the mediation offered by the two former Powers and accepted by the two latter, a Representative from Tuscany might be allowed to attend the meeting in order to make such representations as the interests of Tuscany might render necessary, and to give such explanations as the mediators might require.

I stated to him that I was not aware of any objection that could be urged to such a course, but that the Tuscan Government would probably make some more formal application regarding it when the proper time should come.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 395.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 28.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 22, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information, the reply of Field-Marshal Radetzky to the note addressed to him by the French Consul-General and myself on the 20th instant, received this day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

* See No. 378.

Marshal Radetzky to Vice-Consul Campbell and M. Denois.

Milan, 21 Septembre, 1848.

Le Maréchal soussigné regrette de ne pouvoir accéder à la demande qui lui a été adressée par Monsieur le Consul-Général de France et Monsieur le Vice-Consul d'Angleterre, la mesure en question faisant part des représailles qu'il a cru devoir user envers le Canton de Tessin, vû la position hostile que ce canton n'a cessé de maintenir contre le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté son auguste maître. Il ne tiendra qu'au Conseil d'Etat de Tessin de les faire cesser en assumant un maintien plus loyal dans ses relations avec le Gouvernement Autrichien.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, September 21, 1848.

THE Marshal undersigned regrets that it is not in his power to agree to the request which has been made to him by the Consul-General of France and the British Vice-Consul, the measure in question being a part of the reprisals which he has thought it his duty to make on the Canton of Tessin in consequence of the hostile position which that canton has not ceased to maintain towards the Government of His Majesty his august Sovereign. It alone rests with the Council of State of Tessin to put an end to these reprisals by assuming a more friendly attitude in its relations with the Austrian Government.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

No. 396.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 28.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 23, 1848.

A DECREE has been published by which a forced loan, bearing 5 per cent. interest, has been laid upon real property, upon mortgages bearing interest, and upon commerce.

The loan affects indiscriminately land and buildings in the following proportions :—

$\frac{1}{2}$	per cent.	on property valued from 10 to 20,000 francs.
1	"	" " 20 to 50,000 "
$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	" " 50 to 100,000 "
2	"	" " 100,000 and above.

The calculation of the amount to be paid by individuals according to the above scale is to be made on the net amount, after deducting mortgages and other charges.

The following scale shows the proportions in which the loan will affect mortgages bearing interest :—

$\frac{1}{2}$	per cent.	on those from 8 to 20,000 francs.
1	"	" " 20 to 50,000 "
$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	" " 50 to 100,000 "
2	"	" " 100 to 150,000 "
3	"	" " 150,000 and above.

The share of the loan to be raised from commerce is to be paid by bankers, merchants, shipowners, commercial men, and manufacturers of every sort in the following proportion :—

15,000 francs	by those of the first category.
10,000	" " second "
6,000	" " third "
3,000	" " fourth "
1,000	" " fifth "
500	" " sixth "

In the towns and communes of the Provinces of Turin, Genoa, Chambery, and Nice, the classing of the contributors shall be executed by the respective Chambers of Commerce, to which are to be added two brokers or "agens de

change," and two or more bankers, merchants, or manufacturers, to be appointed by the Chamber of Commerce.

In other places the above classification is to be made by the Communal administration, with the addition also of two or more persons engaged in commerce, or manufacturers, and of two brokers or "agens de change," if any should exist, who are to be named by the Communal administration.

In order to induce the public to pay up immediately a portion of this forced loan, it is provided that those who voluntarily declare before the 14th of next October the amount to which they are liable to be taxed under this decree, and who may within that period pay up two-sixths of that sum, engaging to pay the four remaining sixths in the succeeding four months, month by month, will receive inscriptions upon the public debt of the State bearing 5 per cent. interest, with a benefit of a fourth upon the amount actually paid; that is, that an individual taxed at 1000 francs will, if he agrees to the above arrangement, receive an inscription of 100 francs upon the public debt of the State, bearing 5 per cent. interest for every 80 francs of the 1000 that he has thus paid into the Treasury, whereas all those who delay paying beyond the 14th of next October will be required to pay the full 100 francs for each inscription, for such a sum as they may have to receive as security for the loan.

These are the principal provisions which are to regulate the imposition of this forced loan; and a question has been raised, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed copy of a letter from the British merchants at Genoa to Her Majesty's Consul at that port which I have received this morning, as to whether they are liable to be imposed under the present decree.

I have therefore to request that your Lordship will be good enough to give me instructions upon this point, and I beg also to mention that if it is considered that the British merchants come under this decree, it is of very great consequence that they should be made acquainted with the fact that such is the case before the 14th of next October, in order that they may participate in the advantage which is offered by the arrangement proposed to those who make the required declaration before that period.

In the meanwhile I shall reply to them that I have referred the question to your Lordship's consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 396.

The British Merchants of Genoa to Consul Brown.

Sir,

Genoa, September 22, 1848.

THE Sardinian Government having issued an edict for levying a forced loan, to which we the undersigned British merchants established at Genoa are given to understand that we shall be obliged to contribute, we beg to be informed if we are in effect liable thereto.

Should you have any doubt on the subject we take the liberty to request you will please to make application to Lord Palmerston (through Her Majesty's Minister at Turin), the case not admitting of delay, as an instalment will be demanded on the 14th October proximo.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

H. WEIGHT.

F. BUTLER & CO.

T. CURRY.

W. GOMERSALL.

GIBBS & CO.

GRANT, BALFOUR, & CO.

No. 397.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, September 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note, together with a translation, which I have received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Duke of Modena, relative to the Duchy of Massa and Carrara and other of the Modenese

territories on this side the Apennines at present occupied by the Tuscan troops and calling upon me to inform the Modenese Government what are the intentions of the Grand Duke with respect to these districts at the expiration of the present armistice.

I laid the note above mentioned before the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had a consultation with him and the Marquis Caponi, the President of the Council, as to the answer to be returned; the result has been the drawing up of a "mémoire" containing the views of this Government on the subject, a copy of which and translation I have the honour to inclose; and I have transmitted the "mémoire" in a note addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Modena, a copy of which is also inclosed, and which I hope will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Inclosure 1 in No. 397.

Count Forni to Sir George Hamilton.

Eccellenza,

Modena, 12 Settembre, 1848.

SUA Altezza Reale, l'augusto mio Sovrano, rispondendo direttamente fino dal 18 Agosto prossimo passato, alla lettera che vostra Eccellenza gli aveva indirizzata nel 16 detto, ha manifestato quali riguardi lo avevano trattenuto dall' inviare, per tutta la durata del vigente armistizio, delle truppe alla rioccupazione della parte di territorio Estense, ancora invase dalla Toscana, dichiarando di non voler pregiudicare con ciò in modo alcuno alle sue giuste pretese sul territorio anzidetto.

Vostra Eccellenza ha seguito da vicino gli avvenimenti che sonosi sviluppati in Italia dal Marzo passato, ed è pure pienamente al fatto dei diritti che assistono da Reale Altezza Sua per le sue provincie oltre Apennino, in modo eguale che per le provincie di Modena, di Reggio e di Guastalla, dove mercè le recenti vittorie dalle Imperiali truppe Austriache, ha la Reale Altezza Sua recuperata la pieva dominazione.

In prossimità ora che spiri il termina dell' Armistizio, nè conoscendo quali possono essere le intenzioni del Governo Toscano relativamente ai suddetti paesi tuttavia da esso occupati, è dell' interesse della Reale Altezza Sua di garantirsi contro qualunque danno cui, al seguito dei fatti avvenuti, lo si volerse rendere soggetto. Se non che, per riguardo sempre ai buoni uffizi di vostra Eccellenza, alla cui mediazione concesse di sospendere la marcia delle truppe nell' oltre Apennino Estense, non s'indurrebbe a passo veruno per ora, fino a che l'Eccellenza vostra non si compiaccia di voler fare inteso questo Ministero delle intenzioni che animano nel particolare l'Imperiale e Reale Governo Toscano, a rendere le quali consentanee al buon diritto ed alla giustizia, concorrerà grandemente, ne son certo, il valido appoggio di vostra Eccellenza.

La premurosa sollecitudine che l'Eccellenza vostra ha sempre dimostrato per tutto quanto riguarda l'augusto mio Sovrano, non mi lascia dubitare della più benevola corrispondenza anche in questo incontro; e con tale fiducia passo all' onore, &c.

(Firmato) G. FORNI.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Modena, September 12, 1848.

HIS Royal Highness, my august Sovereign, answering directly on the 18th of August the letter which your Excellency addressed to him on the 16th, explained what considerations prevented him from sending during the present armistice any troops for the re-occupation of that part of the Modenese territory still occupied by Tuscany; declaring at the same time that his just claims to the above territory should by that course suffer no detriment.

Your Excellency has followed closely the events which have developed themselves in Italy since last March, and you are fully aware of the rights possessed by His Royal Highness to his provinces beyond the Apennines equally as well as to his provinces of Modena, Reggio, and Guastalla, where, thanks to the recent victories of the Imperial and Royal Austrian troops, His Royal Highness has recovered full dominion.

On the approach of the termination of the armistice, and not knowing what may be the intentions of the Tuscan Government relative to the above-mentioned provinces still occupied by them, it is the interest of His Royal Highness to guard himself against any loss which he might be exposed to, in consequence of past events. But from regard to the good offices of your Excellency, on account of whose mediation he was pleased to suspend the march of his troops into his Trans-Apennine provinces, he would not as yet resort to any steps until your Excellency is pleased to inform this Ministry of the intentions which animate the Royal Tuscan Government on the subject, to render which intentions conformable to right and justice, I am sure that the strong support of your Excellency will greatly contribute.

The prompt solicitude which your Excellency has always shown for every thing regarding my august Sovereign, leaves me no room to doubt of the most friendly answer on this subject ; and with this confidence

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. FORNI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 397.

Sir George Hamilton to Count Forni.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, September 17, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your Excellency's note of 12th instant relative to the actual position of the Duchy of Massa and Carrara and other territories belonging to His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena on this side of the Apennines, and requesting me to be the means through which the Modenese Government may be informed of the intentions of the Tuscan Government with regard to these provinces at the expiration of the present Armistice.

When I exerted my influence with His Royal Highness the Duke of Modena to prevent an invasion of those territories, and to which appeal His Royal Highness responded in so prompt and satisfactory a manner (which was duly appreciated by the Government of the Queen my gracious Sovereign), I based my demand on the fact that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had accepted the sovereignty of the district in question, to preserve them from anarchy until a general settlement of the affairs of Italy should be made.

The Government of the Grand Duke still adheres to this declaration which was made by them on the 12th May last, when the possessions belonging to the Duke of Modena were temporarily annexed to the Grand Duchy.

In order that your Excellency may be fully informed as to the opinions held by the Tuscan Government on this subject, I inclose herewith a *mémoire* embodying these opinions, with which I requested they would furnish me.

I trust your Excellency will see in this document no improper desire to usurp the territories which so evidently belong to the Duke of Modena, but a wish, in which I confidently hope that His Royal Highness will participate, to avoid the disasters which would infallibly occur if any attempt were made to disturb the present *statu quo* before a general revision of the affairs of Italy takes place, and to which we may now look with confidence as likely soon to happen.

As your Excellency is pleased to observe that on all occasions I have shown an anxious solicitude for the welfare of Modena, so I trust that in expressing my hope at the present moment that His Royal Highness will accept of the explanations of the Tuscan Government and abstain from any warlike proceedings, you will believe that my advice is dictated by the same sincere desire for the welfare of the Duke and of his dominions, being confident also that in offering this advice I shall meet with the approval of my own Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 397.

Memorandum of the Tuscan Government relative to the Territories formerly belonging to Modena, and now occupied by Tuscany.

LE parti belligeranti in Italia avendo formalmente accettata la mediazione della Inghilterra e della Francia, per la sistemazione delle diverse questioni fin qui discusse con le armi, non v'ha dubbio che saranno a tale effetto, e forse a quest'ora già lo sono, iniziate le relative trattative diplomatiche. L'effetto dell'apertura di tutte le trattative è a norma del diritto delle genti e delle consuetudini, la conservazione dello *statu quo* fino al cui o i negoziati si concludono con un trattato che definisce stabilmente i diritti di tutti, o si rompono per non aver potuto le parti contraenti andar d'accordo su ciò che formava soggetto ella trattative medesime. Così avviene nel caso presente, e questa è appunto la posizione nella quale reciprocamente si trovano la Toscana e Sua Altezza Reale Francesco V.

O le trattative intraprese arriveranno a buon fine, ed allora, unitamente, a tutte le altre questioni, sarà stabilita anche quella riguardante la sorte dei territorj controversi; o si ripiglierà la guerra, ed allora la sorte delle armi deciderà del possesso dei territorj in questione. Ma finchè non siasi arrivati o ad una conclusione o ad una rottura dei negoziati intrapresi, è evidente che le cose debbono rimanere ferme ed in *statu quo*.

Questo sistema oltre ad esser conforme ai principj del diritto delle genti ed alla consuetudine è coerente altresì alle generose dichiarazioni emesse da Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Duca allorchè accettò ha dedizione dei territorj adesso reclamati da Sua Altezza Reale Francesco V.

Fino da quel momento Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Duca col decreto del 12 Maggio del corrente anno, protestò che con la sua "accettazione non intendeva (come egli si espresse) preoccupare per modo alcuno quel generale ordinamento delle Italiane cose che insieme provenga al comun bene della nazione e al particolare delle famiglie di che essa è composta." Al quale ordinamento, Sua Altezza Reale dichiarava fin d'allora nel decreto stesso di accettazione, "che di buon animo si sarebbe conformata."

(Translation.)

THE belligerent parties in Italy having formally recognized the mediation of England and France for the settlement of the divers questions hitherto contested with arms, there is no doubt that negotiations will begin and perhaps they have already done so. The effect of the opening of negotiations is, by virtue of the Law of Nations and of custom, the preservation of the *statu quo* down to the moment when the negotiations are either broken off, from the impossibility of the parties agreeing to terms, or are concluded by a treaty defining in a permanent manner the rights of all. So it happens in the present case, and such is the relative position in which stand Tuscany and His Royal Highness Francis V.

Either the negotiations will terminate successfully, and then the question of the disputed territories will be decided together with the others, or war will be renewed, and then the fortune of war will determine the possession of those territories. But until the negotiations have come to a conclusion or to a rupture, it is evident that things must remain stationary and in *statu quo*.

This system, besides being conformable to the principles of international law and to custom, is also in unison with the generous declarations published by His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, when he accepted the allegiance of the territories now claimed by His Royal Highness Francis V.

Until that moment His Royal Highness the Grand Duke by the decree of May proclaimed that by his acceptance, "he intended in no wise to anticipate that general settlement of Italian affairs which would provide at the same time for the good of the nation and for the particular good of the families of which it is composed." To which settlement His Royal Highness declared that "he would conform with willing mind."

No. 398.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.--(Received September 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, September 20, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship Mr. Petre's despatch dated Rome, September 17, acquainting me with the formation of a new Ministry at Rome, composed of Count Rossi, Cardinal Vizzardelli, the Advocate Cicognani, Professor Montanari, the Duke of Rignani, Count Guarini, and Chevalier Righetti.

Inclosure in No. 398.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, September 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that His Holiness having entrusted Count Rossi, late French Ambassador to the Court of Rome, with the formation of a new Ministry, has sanctioned the following appointments:

Cardinal Soglia - - - Retains the office of Cardinal Secretary of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of President of the Council of Ministers.

Count Rossi - - - Minister of the Interior and provisionally of Finances.

Cardinal Vizzardelli - - Minister of Public Instruction.

The Advocate Cicognani. Minister of Grace and Justice, one of the deputies.

Professor Montanari - - Minister of Commerce, a deputy.

The Duke of Rignano, - Minister of Public Works and provisionally of Arms, a deputy.

Count Guarini - - - Minister without portfolio, a deputy and one of the late Ministry.

The Cavaliere Righetti - Under Secretary (*Sostituto*) in the Finance Department.

You will observe that a Minister of Police is not among the new appointments. A director of that is I understand to be named, and to be responsible to the Minister of the Interior.

No. 399.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.--(Received September 29.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information, copy of a translation that has just reached my hands, of a proclamation issued by the Imperial and Royal Austrian Provincial Delegate to the householders of Verona, with regard to the revolutionary inscriptions on the walls of houses and buildings, which appear to have of late increased.

The tone of this document and the evils which the provisions which it contains are destined to correct, show distinctly the state of public feeling in Verona; and the spirit which it reveals is the more remarkable, because Verona had always been, and I believe justly considered as being, the town in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom the best affected towards the Austrian rule.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 399.

Proclamation issued by the Austrian Authorities at Verona.

AVIS.

(Traduction.)

LES inscriptions révolutionnaires qu'on remarque depuis quelques jours en plus grand nombre sur les murs de cette ville, et qui pourraient exciter de la défiance chez les habitans tranquilles et les mettre en appréhension, ont engagé l'Impérial et Royal Commandant Militaire à ordonner les prescriptions suivantes:

I. Tout propriétaire d'une maison ou d'un édifice dans cette ville, sur les murs desquels après le lever du soleil et jusqu'à la nuit, on trouvera écrit des mots révolutionnaires ou tendant au délit de haute trahison, sera aussitôt arrêté et sévèrement puni.

II. Les propriétaires qui n'habitent pas Vérone devront faire connaître leurs représentans, qui assumeront à leur place la responsabilité.

III. En cas de récidive il sera pris les mesures les plus sévères à l'égard du propriétaire ou de son représentant.

IV. Les habitans sont exempts de toute responsabilité.

V. Les cris et les chants dans les rues pendant la soirée et pendant la nuit sont défendus conformément aux prescriptions antérieures qui sont toujours en vigueur.

Dans le cas où ces mesures seraient insuffisantes pour le maintien de l'ordre et de la tranquillité, le dit Impérial et Royal Commandant Militaire a fait connaître qu'il fera fermer toutes les boutiques, ateliers, &c., et qu'il ordonnera à tous les habitans de rentrer chez eux à 9 heures du soir, et même avant, suivant les circonstances.

On se flatte que les bons citoyens qui aiment leur propre repos ne négligeront pas de coopérer au but qu'on se propose, afin d'éviter des conséquences fâcheuses.

De l'Impériale et Royale Délégation Provinciale.

Vérone, ce 19 Septembre, 1848.

L'Impérial et Royal Conseiller Aulique,
Délégué Provincial,
(Signé) C. DE GROELLER.

(Translation.)

NOTICE.

THE revolutionary inscriptions which for some days past have been seen in increased numbers on the walls of this town, and which might excite mistrust amongst the peaceful inhabitants and cause them apprehension, have induced the Imperial and Royal Military Commandant to order the following regulations:

I. Every proprietor of a house or building in this town, on the walls of which after sunrise or until nightfall there shall be found revolutionary words, or words having a tendency towards the crime of high treason, shall be immediately arrested and severely punished.

II. Proprietors who do not dwell in Verona must make known their representatives, who will assume the responsibility instead of them.

III. In case of a repetition of the offence the most severe measures will be taken against the proprietor or his representative.

IV. The inhabitants are free from all responsibility.

V. Shouts and songs in the streets during the evening and in the night are forbidden according to the previous regulations, which are still in force.

In case these measures shall be insufficient for the maintenance of order and of tranquillity, the said Imperial and Royal Military Commandant has made known that he will cause all shops, work-shops, &c., to be closed, and that he will order all the inhabitants to return home at 9 o'clock in the evening, and even before that hour, according to circumstances.

It is hoped that good citizens who value their own repose, will not

neglect to co-operate towards the proposed object, so as to avoid unpleasant consequences.

From the Imperial and Royal Provincial Delegation.

Verona, September 19, 1848.

The Imperial and Royal Aulic Councillor,
Provincial Delegate,

(Signed) C. DE GROELLER.

No. 400.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, September 24, 1848.

M. HECKSCHER, the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been named Envoy to the Courts of Italy, to announce the provisional formation of the Central Power under the Archduke John.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 401.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Paris, September 28, 1848.

THE French Government have been much excited by the conduct of Austria in announcing the blockade of Venice. They consider the offence as increased, as this has been done not only in opposition to the remonstrances of the mediating Powers, but without any notice having been previously taken of those remonstrances.

The want of proper consideration for the difficulties of the French Cabinet on all these subjects has been further shown, and the irritation here increased, by an act of Marshal Radetzky who has intercepted the despatches of the French Foreign Minister to the Consul at Venice, and though they were after an interval forwarded to their destination, it appears that the Marshal announced his intention of detaining any others that might come into his hands.

Knowing the difficulties the present Government have to contend with, one cannot conceal from oneself that the interests of peace may be compromised by the spirit in which the Austrian Cabinet unfortunately seems disposed to act.

No. 402.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 21, 1848.

BY the desire of Baron Wessenberg I called on him, and his Excellency showed me a note from Count Bernsdorff, the Prussian Envoy at this Court, expressing the desire of the Prussian Government to be a party in the proposed mediation for the establishment of peace between Austria and Sardinia, &c.

As I know that the views of the Prussian Government have been made known to your Lordship, I have only to trouble you with my report of the affair having been communicated to me by Baron de Wessenberg.

I took occasion in conversation to ask his Excellency if he proposed to admit to the mediation a Minister from the Diet assembled at Frankfort, and he said that his opinion was, that none but Ministers of a Power having been a party to the Treaty of Vienna ought to be admitted, and that the Diet at Frankfort is not in that category.

I have heard that the Government of Bavaria is likely to desire to take part in the mediation, and that Russia is not so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 22, 1848.

I HAD the honour this evening to receive your Lordship's instructions dated the 15th instant, and I went immediately to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg and I informed him that I had again received directions to express the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the Imperial Government would make known to the Government of England and to the Government of France the notions of the Austrian Government as to the basis upon which the affairs of Northern Italy can be settled. I informed his Excellency of your Lordship's opinion that it is impossible the Austrian Government can imagine that all that is necessary to be done is to make a treaty simply restoring a state of peace between Austria and Sardinia; and that because the Austrian troops have reoccupied Lombardy and the Venetian territory, everything in those two provinces can be re-established in the same condition as before; and that it must be manifest to every impartial observer of events that in the present state of things some very and essentially different arrangements must be made for the North of Italy if the peace of those parts and of Europe in general is to be preserved; and that the Austrian Government cannot give to these matters a too early and serious consideration.

I repeated I believe very exactly the words as I find them in your Lordship's instructions, after having delivered the substance in French, for his Excellency understands English extremely well.

His Excellency asked me the date of the instructions to which I referred, and having heard that it was the 15th, he said that your Lordship had not received the last official note which had been written for your information, which when known to you he hoped might give you satisfaction, as in it was contained an explicit declaration that the Austrian Government had determined to give to the Provinces of Lombardy and the Venetian State a Constitution founded upon the most liberal basis of civil and political freedom; and that already orders had been given to assemble at Verona a meeting of Italians to make known their views and wishes respecting their future Government; and that also the Emperor was about to issue immediately a proclamation declaring His Imperial Majesty's intentions to establish a Constitutional Government which shall give to the Italians the administration of their own affairs; and that he (Baron Wessenberg) would without delay give me for transmission to your Lordship a copy of that official document, and at the same time would express whatever else he thought proper to make known to your Lordship.

His Excellency avoided going at the moment any further into the subject when I mentioned cession of territory, and it is proper that I should add that I did not observe any symptom of alteration in the views of his Excellency upon that point, from those views which I have before told your Lordship were entertained by the Austrian Government.

Having treated of the above-mentioned matter as fully as I could, I turned to that which forms the last part of your instructions. The assertion made by Baron Wessenberg, as it is recited in the note written by the French Chargé d'Affaires, which note is inclosed in my despatch of the 3rd instant, and which assertion was made by the Baron to the Chargé d'Affaires of France and to myself, namely, that the King of Sardinia had proposed to the Austrian Government a direct negotiation between Sardinia and Austria, and which assertion has been most formally and unequivocally denied by the King of Sardinia.

His Excellency reasserted the truth of what he had said to the Chargé d'Affaires of France and to me, and stated facts as proofs of it, and he added that he would send me without delay in writing those facts.

I have, &c.

(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received from Baron Wessenberg a written statement of the grounds upon which he had asserted that direct negotiations for peace were going on with the King of Sardinia, and a memorandum as to the choice of place for carrying on future negotiations. I lose no time in forwarding to your Lordship these documents. I have not yet received a copy of the proclamation which I have referred to.

Inclosure 1 in No. 403.

Memorandum from Baron Wessenberg respecting choice of place of Negotiation respecting affairs of Northern Italy.

QUANT au choix du lieu que nous croyons propre pour y conduire la négociation, nous avons d'abord proposé Innsbruck, comme point central entre Milan et Vienne et en dehors du théâtre de la guerre: mais nous n'aurions aucune objection à faire si l'on préférait Vérone ou Padoue. A Paris il semble qu'on avait en vue Genève ou Bâle, mais le Gouvernement Autrichien ne saurait accueillir un tel choix, soit par rapport aux distances, soit parce que la Suisse est dans ce moment le réceptacle de tous les réfugiés Italiens, et nommément de ceux qui de cet asyle ne cessent de fomenter des troubles dans les provinces voisines de la Lombardie. C'est surtout le cas dans le Canton du Tessin, où ils se sont rassemblés par milliers et menacent la frontière Autrichienne, ce qui a obligé le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky de prendre dans les derniers temps des mesures sévères. Ces rassemblemens sont d'autant moins excusables, que le Gouvernement Autrichien a déclaré à deux reprises une amnistie parfaite aux Italiens possessionnés en Lombardie, et toutes les sécurités possibles, s'ils voulaient retourner dans leurs foyers, avec l'assurance qu'aucun procès ne leur serait intenté pour leur conduite politique. Ces déclarations ont été communiquées officiellement au Gouvernement Fédéral de la Suisse pour être publiées.

(Translation.)

AS regards the choice of the place which we think best for carrying on the negotiation, we had first proposed Innsbruck as a central point between Milan and Vienna and removed from the theatre of the war, but we should have no objection to make if either Verona or Padua were preferred. It would appear that at Paris, Geneva or Bâle had been thought of, but the Austrian Government could not agree to such a selection, both on account of distances, and because Switzerland is at the present moment the receptacle of all the Italian refugees, and particularly of those who from it, as an asylum, have never ceased to foment troubles in the neighbouring provinces of Lombardy. This is particularly the case in the Canton of the Tessin where they have assembled in thousands, and threaten the Austrian frontier, which has forced Field-Marshal Radetzky latterly to adopt severe measures. These assemblages are the less excusable, because the Austrian Government has announced on two occasions a complete amnesty for Italians holding property in Lombardy, and all possible security if they would return to their homes, with an assurance that no proceedings should be instituted against them for their political proceedings. These declarations have been officially communicated to the Federal Government of Switzerland to be published by them.

Inclosure 2 in No. 403.

Statement of Baron Wessenberg's grounds for asserting that direct Negotiations were going on with the King of Sardinia.

CE qui prouve que le Roi de Sardaigne voulait d'abord traiter directement de la paix, c'est qu'il a sollicité un armistice pour traiter de la paix, et la convention conclue à cet effet a été regardé comme le prélude des négociations pour un traité de paix, comme il est dit en tête de cette convention. Après cette conclusion le Roi envoie près du Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky le Chevalier Colonel Cassato pour demander de quelle manière et sous quelle forme la négociation pouvait s'ouvrir, à quoi le Maréchal répondit que la

forme la plus simple serait si le Roi écrivait une lettre à l'Empereur, ou s'il faisait parvenir par son entremise au Gouvernement Autrichien ses propositions. Il me paraît que cela autorisait suffisamment à croire que le Roi voulait entrer en négociation directe. C'était aussi probablement son intention jusqu'à ce qu'il eût connaissance de la base de négociation mise en avant par la France et l'Angleterre, base qui lui donnait la perspective d'obtenir la Lombardie.

(Translation.)

THAT which proves that the King of Sardinia first wished to treat for peace is that he asked for an armistice in order to treat about peace, and the convention concluded for that purpose was considered as the prelude to negotiations for a treaty of peace, as it is said in that convention. After it was concluded, the King sent the Chevalier Colonel Cassato to Field-Marshal Count Radetzky to ask him in what manner and in what form the negotiation should commence, to which the Marshal replied that the simplest form would be if the King would write a letter to the Emperor, or if he made his propositions known to the Austrian Government through him. It seems to me that this gave sufficient grounds for believing that the King wished to enter on a direct negotiation. This probably was also his intention until he had been made acquainted with the basis of negotiation put forward by France and by England, which held out to him a prospect of obtaining Lombardy.

No. 404. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 29, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 18th instant, inclosing the reply returned by the Austrian Government to the request made by the Government of Her Majesty for some explicit declaration of the intentions of the Imperial Government with regard to the proposed mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy, I have to instruct your Excellency to say to Baron Wessenberg that although Her Majesty's Government regret that this answer is not more explicit and satisfactory, yet they are prepared in conjunction with the Government of France to commence the negotiations on the matters to which Baron Wessenberg's note relates.

Her Majesty's Government, however, beg to represent that Innsbruck would on many accounts be an inconvenient place for the Plenipotentiaries to meet at, and they would propose Geneva as a point more central and more easily accessible for requisite communications between the Plenipotentiaries and their respective Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 405.

Mr. Bidwell to Consul-General Dawkins.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 29, 1848.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you that you should remain at Venice, and continue to pursue the same judicious line of neutrality which you have hitherto followed.

No. 406. X

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 29, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship for your information, copy of a despatch* addressed by M. Schmerling to the Baron D'Andrian, expressing the wish of the Central Power to participate in the negotiation for the pacification of Northern Italy, not as a mediating but as a co-interested party. I likewise transmit to you copies of instructions† which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 407. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 29, 1848.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 17th instant, observing on the state of feeling in Austria in favour of the retention of Lombardy, I have to state that it is to be feared that the persons who are now directing the policy of Austria in regard to the affairs of Italy are deceived. They assert that the people of Lombardy are fond of Austrian rule, when it is well known to all who are acquainted with Northern Italy, that, whether deservedly or not, the Austrian name and authority are there objects of the most extreme aversion.

They talk of summoning a Constituent Assembly for Venice and Lombardy, to be chosen by universal suffrage, and to meet at Verona and to decide upon the future Constitution of the Lombard and Venetian Provinces, when even 30,000 men are barely sufficient, by nightly bivouacks in the streets and squares, to prevent a rising in Milan itself against Austrian rule.

No. 408. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 29, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, copy of a despatch‡ which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Turin, reporting on the position of the Sardinian Cabinet and the state of public feeling in Sardinia; and I have to instruct you to point out to the Austrian Minister that if Austria were to retain Lombardy, the consequence would be that implacable discontent among the Lombards, and agitation produced among them by sympathizers in other parts of Italy, would render a settled state of tranquillity and order impossible; that conspiracy would follow conspiracy, and outbreak succeed to outbreak; and that it would be necessary to maintain an overwhelming force in order to keep these movements down; and that sooner or later France and the other States of Italy would be drawn on to take part in those affairs, and that thus events similar to those of this summer would take place, but perhaps with an essentially different result; but at all events, the retention of Lombardy would be to Austria not so much the possession of a province as the continuance of embarrassment and danger.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See No. 378.

† See Nos. 393 and 394.

‡ See No. 374.

No. 409.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 30.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 16, 1847.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, transmitting copies of my correspondence with the Venetian Provisional Government respecting the seizure of certain Venetian fishing-vessels by the Austrian steamers, I transmit herewith copy and translation of a letter and of its inclosure from the Venetian Government, from which it appears that the commander of an Austrian brig of war declared to the masters of two fishing-vessels belonging to Chioggia, that were off Parenzo on the Istrian coast on the 13th instant, that Venice, Chioggia, and the adjacent ports were blockaded, and that ingress to or egress from those ports was interdicted to all vessels under penalty of confiscation.

The Provisional Government protests against this declaration of the commander of the Austrian brig of war, on the ground that Austria has accepted the mediation of England and France for the pacification of Italy, and that the high mediating Powers have declared that hostilities ought to cease also as regards Venice, while negotiations are going on; and the Provisional Government calls upon me to interfere with a view to prevent the hostilities threatened by the establishment of a blockade.

Not being in possession of any information or instructions which would authorize me to interfere formally in compliance with the request of the Venetian Provisional authorities, I transmit copies of their letter by this opportunity to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna and also to Mr. Raven, Vice-Consul at Trieste, and I have directed the latter to bring the subject under the notice of the authorities at that place in the letter of which I transmit a copy for your Lordship's approbation.

I add a copy of the answer which I have returned to the Venetian Provisional Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 409.
The Provisional Government of Venice to Consul-General Dawkins.

Signore,

Venezia, 15 Settembre, 1848.

QUESTO Governo ricevette dal Comitato Provvisorio di Chioggia la lettera d'ufficio in data di jeri, che in copia si pregia di comunicarvi, dalla quale resulterebbe che le autorità Austriache pretenderebbero sottoposti a blocco Venezia, Chioggia, e i porti adiacenti.

Siccome l'Austria ha accettata la mediazione dell' Inghilterra e della Francia per la pacificazione d'Italia, e siccome le alte Potenze mediatrici hanno dichiarato che durante le trattative debbano essere sospese le ostilità anche contro Venezia; così questo Governo nell' atto protesta contro la suddetta intimazione di blocco, interessa vostra Eccellenza a voler interporre la propria autorità Consolare acciò non seguano le minacciate ostilità coll' attivazione di un blocco che verrebbe a ledere la condizione di questa città e del suo circondario, condizione che dev' essere mantenuta sino alla ultimazione delle trattative suddette.

Aggradite, &c.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia,

(Firmato)

MANIN.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Venice, September 15, 1848.

THIS Government has received from the Provisional Committee of Chioggia the official letter under date of yesterday, a copy of which we have the honour to inclose, from which it would appear that the Austrian authori

ties pretend that Venice, Chioggia, and the adjacent ports are to be considered as blockaded.

As Austria has accepted the mediation of England and France for the pacification of Italy, and as the high mediating Powers have declared that pending the negotiations, hostilities against Venice also ought to be suspended, this Government while it protests against the said intimation of a blockade, request you, Sir, to interpose your official authority, that the threatened hostilities be not resumed by the enforcement of a blockade, which would be injurious to the actual position of this city and its adjacent parts, a position which is to be maintained until the conclusion of the negotiations alluded to.

Receive, &c.

The Provisional Government of Venice,
MANIN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 409.

The Provisional Committee of Chioggia to the Provisional Government of Venice.

Al Governo Provvisorio di Venezia.

GIUNTO oggi in questa porto, Giuseppe Bellemo fu Angelo, padron di comando della tartana nominata "S. Vincenzo," e Francesco Nordio fu Domenico, padrone di comando delle tartana denominata "S. Felice," deposero nei costituiti eretti in quest' ufficio di Sanità—

Che jeri sul mezzogiorno attrovandosi colle loro tartane nelle acque di Parenzo vennero chiamati abordo dall' Imperial el Real brick "Trieste," e che obbedito al comando dovettero pure rendere ostensibili i loro ruoli, retro i quali scrisse il comandante del brick stesso le precise: 'Veduto dall' Imperial e Real brick "Trieste," e prevenuto che Venezia e Chioggia e porti adiacenti sono dichiarati sotto blocco, e perciò interdetta la pesca e la sortita ed entrata di qualunque legno dai medesimi sotto comminateria della confisca del legno.'

Havvi sottoscritto,

"ANTONIO DE COLLI,

Alfiere di Vascello Austriaco."

Tanto ci affrettiamo di rassegnare a codesto Governo Provvisorio, siccome cio che negli attuali momenti potrebbe tornare di tutta rilevanza, non senza avvertirlo che i ruoli suindicati al giungere del presente rapporto saranno appocodesto Magistrato di Sanità marittima.

Dal Comitato Provvisorio di Chioggia, li 14 Settembre, 1848.

Il Presidente,

(Firmato)

NAUARI.

(Sotto.)

D. BULLO.

(Translation.)

To the Provisional Government of Venice.

ARRIVED to-day in this port Joseph Bellemo, master of the tartana (fishing-boat) "St. Vincenzo," and Francis Nordio, master of the tartana "St. Felice," who deposed in an examination taken at this health office—

That yesterday about noon, being in the waters of Parenzo with their boats, they were summoned on board the Imperial and Royal brig "Trieste," and that on obeying the summons they were ordered to exhibit their muster-rolls, at the back of which the commander of the said brig wrote as follows:—"Seen by the commander of the Imperial and Royal brig 'Trieste,' and informed that Venice, Chioggia, and the adjacent ports are declared to be blockaded, and that fishing, or the ingress or egress of any description of vessel into or from the same is interdicted under pain of the confiscation of such vessel."

This was signed,

"ANTONIO DE COLLI,

Austrian Lieutenant of Vessel."

We hasten to communicate the above to the Provisional Government of Venice, as, under actual circumstances, it may be of considerable importance,

informing the Government at the same time that on the receipt of this report the muster-rolls in question will be deposited at their health office.

By the Provisional Committee of Chioggia, September 14, 1848.

The Secretary,
(Signed) NAUARI.

(Signed) D. BULLO.

Inclosure 3 in No. 409.

Consul-General Dawkins to Vice-Consul Raven.

Sir,

Venice, September 16, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a letter with its inclosure addressed to me by the Provisional Government of Venice, from which it appears that on the 13th instant the commander of the Austrian brig of war "Trieste" then off Parenzo, signified to the masters of two fishing-boats belonging to Chioggia, that Venice, Chioggia, and the adjacent ports were blockaded, and that the ingress to or egress from those ports was interdicted to all vessels, under penalty of confiscation.

The Provisional Government of Venice protests against this declaration of the commander of the Austrian brig of war, on the ground that Austria has accepted the mediation of England and France, and that the high mediating Powers have declared that hostilities shall cease, even as regards Venice, while negotiations are going on, and the Provisional Government calls upon me to interfere with a view to prevent the hostilities threatened by the establishment of a blockade.

I am not in possession of any official information or instructions as regards the arrangements to which the Provisional Government of Venice refers, but I have to request that you will lose no time in communicating the inclosed papers to the Governor or to the principal Naval Authority at Trieste.

In the event of the suspension of hostilities against Venice having been agreed upon, of which the authorities at Trieste will of course be aware, the consequences which might result from the irregularity of the conduct of the Commander of the "Trieste" brig of war are but too obvious.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure 4 in No. 409.

Consul-General Dawkins to the Provisional Government of Venice.

Venice, September 16, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the Provisional Government of Venice of the 15th instant, inclosing a deposition made by the masters of two fishing-boats belonging to Chioggia, by which it appears that the commander of the Austrian brig of war "Trieste," while off Parenzo on the 13th instant, declared to the masters of these fishing-boats, that Venice, Chioggia, and the adjacent ports are under blockade, and that the ingress to and egress from these ports is interdicted to all vessels, under penalty of confiscation.

The Provisional Government of Venice protests against this declaration of the commander of the Austrian brig of war, on the ground that Austria has accepted the mediation of England and France for the pacification of Italy, and that the high mediating Powers have declared that hostilities shall cease also as regards Venice, while negotiations are going on; and the Provisional Government calls upon the Undersigned to interpose his authority with a view to prevent the hostilities threatened by the establishment of a blockade.

Not having received any official information or instructions from his Government with regard to the arrangements alluded to by the Provisional Government of Venice, the Undersigned is unable to interpose his authority in the manner requested; but the Undersigned will transmit to his Government and to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, by the earliest opportunity, the communication which he has received from the Provisional Government of Venice.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

C. G. DAWKINS.

No. 410.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 1.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in conformity with the circular issued by Field-Marshal Radetzky on the 15th instant, ordering the expulsion of all the natives of the Canton Tessin from Lombardy, this measure has been rigorously executed. The people against whom it is directed consist almost wholly of the poorer classes, such as milk and fruit-sellers, chesnut-roasters, waiters and servants in private houses. Nearly 3000 have been forced to return to their native country in a state of almost utter destitution, from being obliged to break up their little establishments and quit their situations.

I have further the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following translation of a notice that was published at Verona on the 19th instant:

"The writings which of late have been found inscribed in increased numbers on the walls of the city, and which might excite distrust and fear among its peaceable inhabitants, have induced the Imperial Royal Military Government to issue the following order:—

"1. Every proprietor of a house or building in this city on whose walls, half-an-hour after sunrise till dusk in the evening, are found written words of a revolutionary character or tending to excite to acts of high treason, shall be instantly arrested and severely punished.

"2. Any proprietor not living at Verona must appoint an agent to answer for him.

"3. In case of the repetition of the writing on the walls of the house, the most severe measures will be adopted against the proprietor or agent of the same.

"4. The inmates who rent apartments are exempt from any responsibility.

"5. Shouting and singing in the streets after dark and during the night are prohibited.

"Should these measures be found insufficient to preserve order and tranquillity, the aforesaid Imperial Royal Military Government wish it to be clearly understood that they will cause all shops, places of public resort, &c., to be closed and all the inhabitants retire to their houses at 9 o'clock in the evening and even before if necessary.

"It is to be hoped that every good citizen who wishes to live quietly will not fail to co-operate in order to avoid unpleasant consequences.

"Given from the Imperial Royal Provincial Delegation.

"(Signed)

CAVE. DE GROELLER."

This extraordinary notice shows the state of the public mind in the city of Verona. Of the other places in the Venetian Provinces I can give your Lordship no information whatever, as we are studiously kept here in ignorance of what is passing even within a few miles of Milan.

With respect to the Lombard provinces the discontent of all classes is increasing. Besides the town of Monza, those of Como and Varese and the large village of Lavenho have been placed under martial law. The city of Bergamo I hear is in a state of irritation in consequence of the great annual fair

there not having taken place this year. Brescia is nearly deserted. In Milan, which is still in a state of siege, the great military force keeps down any manifestation of resentment among the inhabitants. The Austrians instead of attempting to conciliate the people do all in their power to wound their self-love and to shock their prejudices. The system of putting soldiers into the houses of the rich instead of into the barracks, and of converting churches into hospitals, has created a feeling of hatred against the Austrians not to be described.

Besides the churches of St. Pietro in Gessate, St. Angelo and the Crociferi, as mentioned in my despatch of the 13th instant, having been used for hospitals, four others (St. Antonio, l'Incarnata, le Grazie, la Vittoria) have been ordered and are ready for the same purpose. Since the arrival of the troops in Milan the typhus fever has broken out amongst them, and I am told that not less than between 5000 and 6000 are in hospital.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 411.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 1.)

My Lord,

Milan, September 25, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following translation of a proclamation that the Military Government of Milan issued yesterday afternoon:

"In consequence of various instances in which arms have been discovered in the houses of some of the inhabitants of this city, the Military Government are induced to believe that several individuals still retain arms, which in compliance with the order of the 7th August last ought to have been delivered up at that time.

"As the keeping back of arms might be caused in some from fear of the penal consequences on account of their tardy delivery, in others from ignorance of the punishment which threatens the disobedient, this Military Government, by the authority of his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, have determined to afford all another opportunity of obeying without fear the above-mentioned order of the 7th of August last, and at the same time to make known clearly the extent of the penalty that awaits the refractory.

"The inhabitants then of this city and its suburbs are again warned to deliver up within the 26th instant, all fire-arms, swords, poignards, &c., as well as all ammunition in their possession.

"When this strictly fixed term is elapsed, every individual, without distinction of rank, although of the most unblemished previous conduct, with whom arms are found, whether on his person or in his house or in any other place where they might have been concealed, in consequence of a fact that can be imputed to him, shall be irrevocably tried before a military commission, sentenced to death and shot within twenty-four hours.

"(Signed) COUNT F. WIMPFEN"

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 412.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note which has been addressed by the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs to my French colleague and to myself, calling our attention to the serious inconveniences which might arise from deferring the opening of negotiations on the

bases accepted by the Cabinet of Turin for the settlement of the Italian question, together with copy of the answer which I have returned to it.

M. de Bois-le-Comte has made an answer in the same spirit as that which I have returned to the Baron de Perron's communication.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 412.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 22 Septembre, 1848.

DEPUIS plus d'un mois la Sardaigne a accepté la médiation généreusement offerte par l'Angleterre et la France, sur des bases que le Gouvernement du Roi a trouvées convenables et de nature à satisfaire raisonnablement l'opinion publique, soit en Piémont, soit dans le reste de l'Italie.

Après plusieurs semaines d'attente, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a reçu des Puissances médiatrices l'avis que l'Autriche avait enfin accepté la médiation, mais tout donne lieu de craindre que cette acceptation ne s'étende pas aux bases qui nous ont été proposées. Cet état d'incertitude qui continue depuis plusieurs jours est extrêmement grave et bien fait pour exciter l'inquiétude du pays. Les partis extrêmes, qui veulent la guerre à tout prix, profitent de l'anxiété générale et s'en servent comme d'une arme contre le Ministère, qu'ils accusent de faiblesse, qu'ils supposent être dupe du Cabinet Autrichien et prêt à accepter une paix quelconque, même en sacrifiant l'honneur et les intérêts de la nation.

Le Ministère ne saurait donc rester dans la fausse position où le place un tel état de choses, et si, comme on pourrait le présumer, l'esprit ou les bases de la médiation qui nous a été offerte étaient changés, il se trouverait dans l'obligation de se retirer.

En effet, lorsqu'il est entré au pouvoir, il a déclaré hautement dans son programme qu'il prenait la direction des affaires sous la condition expresse de n'accepter qu'une paix honorable et propre à assurer l'autonomie Italienne : il ne pourrait pas admettre que l'on remit en discussion la conséquence de faits accomplis par suite de la libre et solennelle expression du vœu presque unanime des populations. Ainsi l'honneur et la loyauté lui défendent d'accéder à des bases de médiation qui s'écarteraient en principe de celles qu'il a acceptées et qu'il est de son devoir de maintenir. Il y a plus : si les négociations traînaient en longueur, le Ministère serait encore obligé de se retirer, car il ne saurait conserver un pouvoir impuissant pour délivrer la Lombardie et les Duchés des cruelles étreintes dans lesquelles ils gémissent actuellement. Trop de sympathies, trop de liens légitimes unissent ces malheureux pays au Piémont, pour que l'on puisse envisager de sang froid leurs souffrances ; et le jour où le Ministère abandonnerait la direction des affaires il s'élèverait pour protester, au nom de l'humanité et à la face des nations civilisées, contre une oppression qui tend à la démoralisation et à la ruine totale d'un peuple digne d'un meilleur sort.

Chaque jour de retard dans la conclusion des négociations est une chance de plus laissée au parti de la guerre ; et qu'on y prenne garde, la question prend sous ce rapport des proportions bien plus grandes. Il ne s'agit plus ici ni d'intérêts, ni de Cabinet, ni de dynastie, il ne s'agit pas même de la réalisation de quelque pensée ambitieuse d'une nation, mais c'est l'ordre social lui-même qui est mis en cause ; car on ne peut se le dissimuler, l'ordre Européen se rattache à la question Italienne, et sans compter qu'on ne peut songer impunément à laisser anéantir une nation qui, outre son génie, a pour elle le courage du désespoir, on ne doit pas perdre de vue que les populations du Nord de l'Italie, dans l'état d'exaspération où elles se trouvent, ne sont que trop facilement exploitées par les hommes qui considèrent l'anarchie comme le moyen le plus direct d'arriver à leurs fins. Ainsi elles deviennent un danger permanent qui peut conduire à une crise terrible et faire éclater d'un instant à l'autre une guerre subversive, qui entraînerait l'Europe entière, et dans laquelle la civilisation elle-même serait menacée.

Dans la situation grave et solennelle où se trouve le Gouvernement du Roi, il croit bien faire en soumettant aux Puissances médiatrices les difficultés de sa position et la détermination qu'ils sera obligé de prendre dans les cas exposés ci-dessus.

Le Soussigné, &c., prie en conséquence MM. les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française de porter cette communication à la connaissance de leurs Gouvernemens et de vouloir bien avec leur obligeance accoutumée la seconder de leurs bienveillans offices.

Il saisit, &c.

(Signé) BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 22, 1848.

MORE than a month ago Sardinia accepted the mediation generously offered by England and France, on bases which the King's Government considered suitable, and calculated reasonably to satisfy public opinion as well in Piedmont as in the rest of Italy.

After waiting many weeks His Majesty's Government received from the mediating Powers notice that Austria had at length accepted the mediation, but there is every reason to apprehend that this acceptance does not extend to the bases which had been proposed to us. This state of uncertainty, which is of several days' duration, is extremely serious and well calculated to excite the uneasiness of the country. The extreme parties who are desirous of war at any price, avail themselves of the general anxiety, and take advantage of it as a weapon against the Ministry whom they accuse of weakness, whom they pretend to be the dupe of the Austrian Cabinet, and to be prepared to accept any peace whatsoever, even at the sacrifice of the honour and interest of the nation.

The Ministry, therefore, cannot continue in the false position in which such a state of things places it, and if, as might be presumed, the spirit or the bases of the mediation which was offered to us, should be altered, it would be under the necessity of withdrawing from office.

In fact, when it entered office, it loudly proclaimed in its programme that it undertook the direction of affairs under the express condition that it would only accept an honourable peace, and one calculated to ensure Italian independence; it could not admit that a discussion should be renewed as to the carrying out of measures decided by the free and solemn expression of the almost unanimous desire of the people. Thus honour and integrity prohibit it from acquiescing in bases of mediation which should differ in principle from those which it has accepted, and which it is its duty to maintain. Moreover, if the negotiations should be protracted, the Ministry would still be compelled to resign, for it could not retain a power insufficient to deliver Lombardy and the Duchies from the cruel constraint under which they at present groan. Too many sympathies, too many legitimate ties unite these unfortunate countries with Piedmont, for it to be possible to look on their sufferings with indifference; and the day that the Ministry should abandon the direction of affairs, it would protest, in the name of humanity and in the face of civilized nations, against an oppression which tends to demoralize and utterly ruin a people worthy of a better fate.

Every day's delay in the conclusion of the negotiation affords an additional chance to the war party; and it must be borne in mind that the question in this respect assumes a far greater importance. It is not now a question of interests, nor of Cabinet, nor of Dynasty; it is not even a question of realizing some ambitious views of a nation; but it is social order itself which is at stake; for it cannot be concealed that order in Europe is closely connected with the Italian question; and without reckoning that the idea cannot with impunity be entertained of allowing the destruction of a nation which, besides its natural qualities, has on its side the courage of despair, the fact must not be lost sight of, that the people of the north of Italy, in the state of exasperation in which they are, are only too easily influenced by men who look upon anarchy as the most direct means of arriving at their ends. These people therefore, constitute, a constant source of danger which may lead to a terrible crisis, and from one moment to another give rise to a revolutionary war, which might involve the whole of Europe, and in which civilisation itself might be menaced.

In the serious and solemn situation in which the King's Government is placed, it considers that it is acting rightly in submitting to the mediating Powers the difficulties of its position and the determination which it will be obliged to take in the cases above set forth.

The Undersigned, &c., accordingly requests the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic to convey this communication to the knowledge of their Governments, and to have the goodness with their wonted kindness to support it with their good offices.

He avails himself, &c.

(Signed)

BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 412.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, September 23, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to him by his Excellency the Baron de Perron, &c., dated the 22nd instant, by which his Excellency in the name of the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, calls the attention of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the serious inconveniences to which either a protracted negotiation or a deviation from the spirit of the bases offered to the acceptance of the Cabinet of Turin for the pacification of Northern Italy might easily lead; and pointing out at the same time the difficulties to which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty would be exposed from the violence of the ultra-Liberal factions in this country, should the apprehensions which the Cabinet of Turin appears to entertain with respect to the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France be realized.

The Undersigned in compliance with the request contained in the note of the Baron de Perron will without loss of time transmit that document to Viscount Palmerston for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; but in the meanwhile he would be wanting in what is due towards the Cabinet of St. James's were he not at once to avail himself of this opportunity to assure his Excellency the Baron de Perron that Her Britannic Majesty's Government are exerting all their influence at Vienna to hasten as much as possible the commencement and prosecution of the negotiations for the pacification of Northern Italy under the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France; and also to declare that Her Britannic Majesty's Government are zealously urging upon the Austrian Cabinet those arguments which in their opinion are best calculated to lead to the speedy conclusion of an honourable and lasting peace between Sardinia and Austria.

The Undersigned in thus acknowledging the receipt of the communication made to him by his Excellency the Baron de Perron, and in announcing to his Excellency his readiness to comply with the request which it contains that the note in question should be transmitted to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, has the honour to renew, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 413.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Turin, September 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of Baron de Perron's answer to the note addressed to him on the 17 instant by my French colleague and myself relative to the prolongation of the Armistice, and of some further correspondence that has taken place upon the same subject.

I have transmitted copies of the whole of the above correspondence to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, and the declarations of the Sardinian Government contained in the inclosed notes of the 19th and 24th instant, have been notified to Field-Marshal Radetzky by M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 413.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 19 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française lui ont fait l'honneur de lui adresser le 17, pour lui transmettre la réponse que son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky, commandant les armées Impériales en Italie, a faite à leur demande d'une prolongation d'un mois à l'Armistice du 9 Août.

D'après le désir que Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires ont témoigné dans cette note, le Soussigné s'empresse de leur faire la réponse suivante.

L'Article VI de la Convention du 9 Août ayant établi que l'armistice doit être dénoncé huit jours avant la reprise des hostilités, et le terme de six semaines fixé par la Convention devant expirer demain, la dénonciation aurait dû avoir lieu le 12. Or, comme elle n'a été faite ni par l'une ni par l'autre des parties belligérantes, l'armistice se trouve prolongé de fait.

De même que M. le Maréchal Radetzky l'a déclaré pour sa part, le Gouvernement du Roi pense maintenir le *statu quo* et de cette manière la reprise des hostilités ne pourrait avoir lieu que huit jours après que l'armistice aurait été dénoncé.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté se flatte de l'espoir que les opérations de la guerre ne viendront point ainsi troubler le cours des négociations entreprises sous les obligeans auspices de l'Angleterre et de la France, négociations dont il attend un résultat propre à satisfaire les justes espérances que leur médiation fait concevoir.

(Signé)

BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 19, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic did him the honour to address to him on the 17th, for the purpose of transmitting to him the answer which his Excellency Marshal Radetzky returned to their request for the prolongation for one month of the Armistice of the 9th of August.

In conformity with the desire which the Plenipotentiaries have expressed in their note, the Undersigned returns to them the following reply.

The Sixth Article of the Convention of the 9th of August having laid down that the armistice should be denounced eight days before the resumption of hostilities, and the term of six weeks fixed by the Convention expiring to-morrow, the armistice ought to have been denounced on the 12th; consequently, as this has not been done by either of the belligerent parties, the armistice is in fact prolonged.

In the same manner as Marshal Radetzky has on his side declared, the King's Government contemplates maintaining the existing state of things, and accordingly hostilities cannot be resumed until eight days after the armistice has been denounced.

His Majesty's Government cherishes the hope that the operations of war will thus not interrupt the negotiations undertaken under the kind auspices of England and France, negotiations from which he expects a result calculated to satisfy the just expectations which their mediation causes to be entertained.

(Signed) BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 413.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, le 22 Septembre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, &c., ont l'honneur d'adresser à son Excellence M. le Baron de Perron, &c., copie d'une note transmise par M. de Wessenberg, en réponse à la demande d'une prolongation d'armistice faite en date du 13 Septembre dernier par les Représentans des Puissances médiatrices à Vienne.

Le Gouvernement Autrichien consent à ce que l'armistice soit prorogé de trente jours à partir du 22 Septembre, et annonce qu'il a déjà donné tous ordres et autorisation nécessaires à ce sujet à M. le Général-en-chef de l'armée Impériale en Italie.

Les Soussignés prient son Excellence de leur faire connaître si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde consent de son côté à cette prorogation de l'armistice, ou s'il préfère laisser les choses dans le *statu quo*, avec délai préalable de huit jours pour dénoncer les hostilités, comme cela avait été l'objet d'une convention préalable.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY.
SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 22, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c. have the honour to forward to his Excellency the Baron de Perron, a copy of a note transmitted by M. de Wessenberg, in reply to the request for a prolongation of the armistice, which was made to him on the 13th of September by the Representatives of the mediating Powers at Vienna.

The Austrian Government consents that the armistice should be extended for thirty days from the 22nd of September, and announces that it has already given all the necessary orders and authorization in this matter to the General-in-chief of the Imperial army in Italy.

The Undersigned request his Excellency to inform them whether His Sardinian Majesty's Government consents, on its part, to the extension of the armistice, or whether it prefers to leave matters in their existing state, with the previous delay of eight days for denouncing hostilities, as had been the object of a previous agreement.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.
SAIN BOIS-LE-COMTE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 413.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 24 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française lui ont fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date du 22 de ce mois, et par laquelle ils ont bien voulu lui donner communication d'une note de son Excellence M. le Baron de Wessenberg, en réponse à la demande d'une prolongation d'armistice faite en date du 13 de ce mois par les Représentans des Puissances médiatrices à Vienne.

En offrant à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires tous les remerciemens du Gouvernement du Roi pour cette communication, et en leur renouvelant l'expression de ceux qu'il leur doit pour la sollicitude et le bienveillant intérêt que l'Angleterre et la France veulent bien vouer aux moyens d'amener une pacification qui est le but de leur généreuse entremise, le Soussigné a l'honneur de leur faire connaître en réponse aux questions dont l'alternative est énoncée dans leur note précitée, que la Gouvernement de Sa Majesté croit convenable de se prononcer pour le *statu quo*, et qu'il se réfère entièrement, quant à la prolongation de l'armistice, à la déclaration que contient la note qu'il a eu l'honneur de leur adresser en date du 19 de ce mois. Il pense que ce moyen remplit également l'objet qu'on se propose, et il a trop de confiance dans l'esprit de justice et de conciliation qui doit présider aux négociations, pour ne pas être assuré qu'elles atteindront ainsi le résultat satisfaisant dont le Soussigné exprime encore la ferme espérance.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, September, 24, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic did him the honour to address to him on the 22nd instant, and in which they have been pleased to communicate to him a note from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, in reply to the request for a prolongation of the armistice made to him on the 13th instant by the Representatives of the mediating Powers at Vienna.

In offering to the Plenipotentiaries the thanks of the King's Government for this communication, and in repeating to them its thanks for the solicitude and benevolent interest which England and France have the goodness to display for the purpose of bringing about a pacification which is the object of their generous intervention, the Undersigned has the honour to acquaint them, in reply to the questions which are stated as alternatives in the above-mentioned note, that His Majesty's Government considers it fitting to pronounce itself in favour of the existing state of things; and that it wholly refers, as regards the prolongation of the armistice, to the declaration contained in the note addressed to them on the 18th instant. It considers that this course equally provides for the object in view, and it has too much confidence in the spirit of justice and conciliation which will preside over the negotiations, not to be assured that they will thus arrive at the satisfactory result of which the Undersigned again expresses his firm expectation.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

BE. DE PERRON.

No. 414.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a memorandum addressed to the Sardinian Government.

Inclosure in No. 414.

Memorandum addressed to the Sardinian Government.

(Extract.)

NON è esagerazione l'affermere che nella Lombardia all' impero della legge è sostituito l'arbitrio. Di giorno in giorno i capi militari vanno emanando le disposizioni più esorbitanti e somerie. Nelle città di Milano, di Brescia, di Monza, ed in altre si è promulgata la legge marziale con tale un' applicazione a casi più frivoli, e compresi perfino sotto l'indeterminata definizione di un et cetera, dà poter di leggieri colpire persone del tutto innocenti, e non d'altro imputabili che di inscienza. Di qui le capitali esecuzioni onde furono insanguinate varie città e borgate; di qui la sommaria applicazione del carcere e delle verghe a persone d'ogni stato. E però la popolazione vive dappertutto agitata e fremente nel vedersi chiamata in colpa di delitti che non conosce, e tratta dinanzi a giudici, che sono nel tempo stesso accusatori, cupidi di vendetta, presso i quali ignari che sono le più volte della lingua del paese, è tolta persino la difesa della parola. Ma se il volgo, principalmente nel contado, volge in fuga all'appressarsi dei corpi militari, e cerca rifugio nei campi od oltre i confini Lombardi, la gioventù più vigorosa si rode in segreto e medita prorompere a disperati conflitti. Quindi e cresce a dismisura l'emigrazione e s'accumula una triste serie d'ire pubbliche e private, che potrebbero, quando che sia, produrre lo scoppio d'una generale insurrezione.

Intanto se da un lato offre spettacolo miseravole quella turba di emigranti di ogni ordine, d'ogni sesso, d'ogni età, che s'affollano nei paesi limitrofi, quali spinti dalla tema delle incorse censure, quali dallo sgomento delle patite e delle minacciate calamità, tutti dall'abbominio della dominazione forestiera, non incute dall'altro minore ansietà la condizione della rimasta popolazione Lombarda, che del continuo suscitata da nuovi argomenti di sdegno può da un momento all'altro ridursi a non pigliar consiglio che dalla disperazione. Al quale concitamento diedero in questi ultimi giorni nuove cagioni, gli straordinari guerreschi allestimenti, i cannoni appuntati contro inermi città, i bandi in tuono sempre più minaccioso e severo, i giudizj precipitati, le pene inflitte, quando di morte, quando di verghe, per mancanze ancora dubbie, o troppo leggieri.

Tale è in generale la condizione della popolazione Lombarda; condizione deplorabile nel presente, più deplorabile per le conseguenze future, se in ispecie si pensa a tanta gioventù sbalestrata lontana dalle proprie famiglie, esposta ad ogni ragion di pericolo, impedita dal continuare ne' suoi studj o nelle sue professioni, vivente in quello stato di concitazione continua, che se non giunge a guaster l'animo, turba di certo la fantasia e l'intelletto.

Nè meno triste, e di triste conseguenze feconda pel futuro, è la situazione economica della Lombardia. Milano ed altre città e borgate già tanto popolate, ed animate per industria e commerci, rendono immagine di deserti. Le botteghe ed i fondachi si tengono aperti in forza d'ordini severi, ma affatto son vuoti d'avventori; per le vie non s'incontra persona a diporto, ma tutte son garnite di soldatesca superba e provocatrice; i palazzi più splendide, gli appartamenti più sfoggiati, sono in balia delle truppe; le chiese, gli edifici destinati alle scuole, alle accademie, alle biblioteche, convertiti in caserme: ogni luogo segnato dall'insulto e dalla violenza.

S'aggiunga che coll' abolizione del Consiglio di Stato, della Giunta del Censimento, del Magistrato Camerale, mentre rimasero senza pane numerose famiglie, si spezzarono tutte le tradizioni d'ogni maniera di regolamenti amministrativi e finanziari, e si tolse qualsivoglia garanzia delle proprietà così pubbliche come private. Le comuni, senza ordine di riparto e di misura, chiamate a supporre agli approvvigionamenti per le truppe, gemono sotto un peso insupportabile, e più non sanno come provvedere a carichi ed imposte oltre ogni dire esorbitanti. Tutto lo stato poi, aggravato da enormi contribuzioni, e privo d'ogni risorsa, e ridotto all' estremo refinimento, mentre esce appena da rivoluzione, i cui generosi sforzi gli costarono i maggiori sacrificj, e dovette per quattro mesi sostenere una guerra micidiale, guerreggiata sempre entro i suoi confini.

Alla pubblica miseria fa riscontro la privata, giacchè, disseccata ogni fonte di reddito e di guadagno, la popolazione langue, priva d'ogni mezzo di onesto sostentamento, e si spegne il commercio percosso dalla crisi generale, racchiuso nelle linee militari, spogliato del suo primo elemento, ch'è il numerario, non sufficiente a saziare l'ingordigia dell' oppressore. Quindi sospensione dei pagamenti, scadenze di cambiali, protratte, generale diffidenza, in una parola, nullità d'ogni transazione commerciale. Nella campagna poi, le terre sceme di coltivatori, le sementi dissipate, le bestie da lavoro requisite, le masserizie sperperate non lasciano speranza nei prodotti dell' agricoltura; ond' è che tutto vi annuncia desolazione e rovina.

A tanti danni che qui si sono rapidamente indicati, altri se ne aggiungono più gravi, perchè toccano le più alte ragioni della morale e del vivere civile. Vengono essi dalla raffinata nequizie di compri satelliti, i quali docili, alle suggestioni dei governanti, per mezzo del foglio ufficiale cercano infondere massime pericolose di comunismo, provocano il popolo contro le classi agiate, insinuano aver queste operata la rivoluzione per mira di privato interesse, ed esser giusto che si facciano scontar loro i mali onde il popolo venne per esse aggravato. Il clero poi colle primarie sue dignità, e le municipali magistrature, sono spesse volte segno ai più amari rimproveri, alle più strane intimidazioni, alla tortura delle più arbitrarie esigenze.

In tal guisa si va nella Lombardia sciogliendo ogni vincolo sociale, e si prepara copiosa messe di futuri disordini, mentre ad un tratto si accumulano di giorno in giorno le cause di una violenta reazione. Già parecchie sanguinose scene ebbero luogo in Milano, in Brescia, in Monza, e in altre popolose borgate, e per avventura ne sarebbero accadute, e nè accaderebbero di più gravi, se il popolo non durasse nella fiducia che gli verrà un pronto sollevio dalla mediazione, in ossequio alla quale ad alle Alte Potenze che l'offrirono, migliaia di combattenti, non ancor tocchi dall' Austriaco, deposero le armi. Guai se un popolo intero è spinto alla disperazione; un popolo qual' è il Lombardo, nobile troppo, e generoso, per non avere a sdegno la vita conservata a prezzo di viltà, ed in ludibrio ad una esorbitante oppressione.

Questi rapidi cenni intorno alla condizione della Lombardia, valgano a richiamare la benevole attenzione del Governo di Sua Maestà e della Potenze mediatrici, onde affrettino la cessazione di tanti danni, ai quali un troppo tardo rimedio riescirebbe vuoto di ogni effetto, sicchè quelle provincie possano risorgere all' antica prosperità, e ricomporsi in guisa da concorrere possentemente alla salvezza, alla gloria, ed alla indipendenza d'Italia.

Torino, li 21 Settembre, 1848.

(Translation.)

Turin, September 21, 1848.

IT is no exaggeration to affirm that arbitrary power is substituted in Lombardy for the empire of the law. Day after day the military chiefs go on issuing the most exorbitant and oppressive orders. In the cities of Milan, Brescia, Monza, and others, martial law has been proclaimed, with such an application to the most frivolous cases, comprehending even the indeterminate definition of an etcetera, that it may easily fall upon persons entirely innocent, and only taxable with ignorance. Thence the capital punishments which have stained our cities and towns with blood; thence the summary application of imprisonment and flogging to persons of every condition. And in consequence

the population is everywhere agitated and excited, seeing itself accused of crimes which it is ignorant of, and dragged before judges who are at the same time accusers greedy for vengeance, before whom, ignorant as they mostly are of the language of the country, even the defence of speaking is taken away. But if the commonalty, chiefly in the country, flies at the approach of military bodies and seeks shelter in the fields or beyond the borders of Lombardy, the more hardy young men chafe in secret, and think of bursting out in desperate conflict. Thus emigration is enormously increased, and a dark series of public and private ill-feeling is accumulated, which may at any moment produce the explosion of a general insurrection.

In the meantime, if on the one hand a miserable spectacle is offered by that body of emigrants of every condition, age, and sex, crowding to the neighbouring countries, some driven by the fear of penalties incurred, others by dread of calamities fallen and impending, all by hatred of foreign dominion; on the other hand, not less anxiety is caused by the condition of the remaining population of Lombardy, who, constantly urged by new motives for anger, may from one moment to another be reduced to have no other resource than despair. Fresh provocation for such disturbance has within these few days been given by the extraordinary warlike preparations, by cannon pointed against unarmed towns, proclamations continually more and more menacing and severe in tone, by precipitate judgments, punishments inflicted, sometimes of death, sometimes of flogging, for misdemeanours yet doubtful or too trivial.

Such is the condition of the Lombard population in general, a condition deplorable in the present,—more deplorable in its future consequences, especially if we think of so many young men driven far away from their own families, exposed to every sort of danger, prevented from continuing their studies or their profession, living in that state of constant excitement, which if it does not go so far as to destroy the mind, certainly disturbs the imagination and the intellect.

Not less lamentable and promising lamentable consequences for the future is the economic condition of Lombardy. Milan and other cities and towns once so populous and animated by industry and commerce have now the air of deserts. The shops and warehouses are kept open in consequence of severe orders, but they are entirely empty of customers; in the streets no person is met taking recreation, but all are filled with arrogant and annoying soldiers; the most splendid palaces, the most sumptuous apartments are at the disposal of the troops; the churches, the buildings intended for schools, academies, and libraries, are converted into barracks: every place is marked with insult and violence.

Add to this, that by the abolition of the Council of State, of the Junta of Registration, and of the Communal Magistracy, many families were deprived of bread, the traditional usages of every kind of administration and financial regulation were destroyed, and every security was taken away both of public and private property. The townships, called upon without any regular division or apportionment to supply provision for the troops, groan under an intolerable weight, and know no longer how they shall provide for burdens and imposts beyond expression exorbitant. And the whole State, loaded with enormous contributions and deprived of every resource, is reduced to extreme exhaustion, at a moment when it is barely recovering from a revolution whose generous efforts have cost the greatest sacrifices, and when it has had for four months to suffer a murderous war, always carried on within its confines.

Private misery is on a par with public misery, for every source of income and profit being dried up, the population languishes, deprived of all means of honest support, and trade is extinct, suffering from the general crisis, confined within the military lines, and deprived of its first element, money, which is insufficient to satiate the greediness of the oppressor. Thence arises suspension of payments, dishonour of bills of exchange, general want of confidence, in a word, nullity of every kind of commercial transaction; and in the country the land without tillers, the crops dissipated, the cattle carried off, implements destroyed, leave no hope for the produce of agriculture: all therefore announces desolation and ruin.

To these evils, here rapidly indicated, others are added still more serious, because they affect the higher principles of moral and civil life. These evils arise from the refined wickedness of venal satellites, who, docile to the

suggestions of our rulers, endeavour by the help of the official journal to instil dangerous maxims of communism, provoke the people against the affluent classes, spread insinuations that the latter have caused the revolution for views of private interest, and that it is but just to make them pay for the evils which it has caused to the people. The clergy too of the highest rank, and the municipal magistrates are frequently made objects of the most bitter reproaches, of the most unlikely insinuations, and are vexed with the most arbitrary demands.

In this manner is every social tie gradually relaxed in Lombardy, and at the same time from day to day the causes of a violent reaction are accumulating. Several scenes of blood have already taken place in Milan, in Brescia, in Monza, and in other populous towns, and still more serious events would occur if the people did not feel confident that they shall be promptly relieved by the mediation, in obedience to which, and to the high Powers who offered it, thousands of fighting men not yet attacked by the Austrians, laid down their arms. Woe be it, if a whole people is driven to despair; a people like the Lombards, too noble and generous not to scorn life if preserved at the cost of honour and by submission to exorbitant oppression.

May these rapid hints in relation to the state of Lombardy call the benevolent attention of His Majesty's Government and of the mediating Powers, so that they may hasten to stay so many evils, to which a too tardy remedy would be wholly without effect, in order that these provinces may return to their ancient prosperity, and so act as to aid powerfully in the salvation, glory, and independence of Italy.

No. 415.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 20, 1848.

THE French line-of-battle ship "Jupiter" and frigate "Psyche" arrived at Trieste in the afternoon of the 15th instant. It is not known with what orders these ships are furnished, but it would appear that they were in expectation of hostilities, for on passing the Austrian squadron off Parenzo on the Istrian coast on their way to Trieste, the "Jupiter" partially prepared for action. During the whole of Saturday the 16th instant, the "Asmodée" French steam-frigate, which was anchored outside the Lido, was cleared for action and had her steam up ready to get under weigh at a moment's notice. The inference drawn by the Venetians is that the French ships are prepared to repel any attack upon Venice by the Austrian squadron, should the latter attempt to make one.

Her Majesty's steam-frigate "Terrible" left Trieste for Corfu and Malta on the 15th. The French-steamer "Solon" left Venice to rejoin Admiral Baudin on the 17th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 416.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, September 21, 1848.

ON the evening of the 13th there arrived here from Ravenna about 1200 troops, a portion of whom served under General Durando, and were present when that officer capitulated to the Austrians at Vicenza.

These troops are soldier-like looking men and much better equipped than most of the volunteer corps that have arrived here.

The number of troops including the above now in Venice and the forts and receiving pay from the Provisional Government amounts to 16,000.

The daily expenditure of the Provisional Government for all services is estimated at 100,000 livres, or 3,350*l.*, and to enable them to meet these expenses they have had recourse to another forced loan of 5,000,000 livres, or about 165,000*l.* which is to be raised in the following manner.

Forty of the principal houses in Venice guaranteed 3,000,000 livres, engaging to pay that amount between 1st July and 31st December, 1849, and upon the strength of this guarantee the newly-established Bank of Venice is about to issue a corresponding amount of paper-money. The remaining two millions are to be issued in a similar manner and the guarantee to be divided among a large number of houses not yet definitively fixed.

There has been an idea I am assured of proclaiming very shortly a Republic in Venice, with the view of conciliating the French Government and rendering more certain the support which the Venetians expect from France.

Every endeavour has been and will be made to obtain this support.

All hostilities between the Venetian forts on the mainland and the Austrian outposts have apparently ceased, but the blockade on the land side is up to this moment maintained as strictly as ever.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 417.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 25, 1848.

PRINCE FELIX SCHWARZENBERG called on me this afternoon to inquire if I had received instructions from Her Majesty's Government since the acceptance of the mediation of England and France had been made known to your Lordship. I replied that I had not, but might expect them to be here in a day or two.

I observed to the Prince that there had not yet appeared any formal official declaration by the Imperial Government of the intention of the Emperor relative to the territorial settlement of Italy.

The Prince said that I was well acquainted with that intention and that no cession of territory would be made by Austria.

I admitted my knowledge of that fact, and also that I communicated what I believed to be correctly true upon the subject to your Lordship. I took the liberty to ask the Prince some questions to obtain from him some expression of opinion upon the truth or error of the assertion so universal here, that the Imperial Government would not dare to cede Lombardy or the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

The Prince without reserve said, "The Government would not dare to make the cession of Lombardy nor of the Venetian Kingdom." He added, "that to concede that demand (I speak of Lombardy) would ruin Austria, as it would be a prelude to other demands; and that it would be better for Austria to perish with arms in hand than to admit it; that if anybody attacked the Austrians in Lombardy, they would meet with a resistance the most determined."

I spoke to the Prince on the subject of the asserted communications between the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky. He told me he had seen the paper on that point sent to me by Baron Wessenberg, and that it was strictly true; that he, the Prince, was on the spot, and had seen the Marshal before and after his interview with Colonel Cassato, and heard all that had passed, and if anybody doubted it, the said Colonel Cassato can be interrogated.

The Prince spoke of Trieste as the best place for the negotiation, there being an easy communication, a large part by railroad, from thence to Vienna.

I have not yet seen the proclamation of which Baron Wessenberg spoke to me as I informed your Lordship, but I hear that it has been prepared and even signed by the Emperor.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

P.S.—I have reported above what Prince Schwarzenberg said on the subject of the obligation imposed upon the Austrian Government to maintain possession of Lombardy, and I beg to add here that I obtained his leave to do so. P.

No. 418. X

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 18th ultimo, inclosing a correspondence with the Modenese Minister for Foreign Affairs relative to the continued occupation of Massa and Carrara by the Tuscan troops, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve your answer to the Modenese Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 419. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1848.

INFORMATION having reached Her Majesty's Government that the commander of an Austrian ship of war had declared Venice under blockade, I have to instruct your Excellency to represent to the Austrian Government that this blockade is not consistent with the spirit of the arrangement by which the Austrian Government has accepted the mediation of the two Powers, because the first condition and foundation of the offered mediation was that all hostilities in Italy should cease, in order that negotiation might begin.

Her Majesty's Government hope therefore that the Austrian Government may be disposed to give orders for the discontinuance of all measures of hostility against Venice; and the more so, because from the very nature of the proposals made to Austria by the two Governments, such hostile proceedings can have no influence on ultimate results, and can only tend therefore to increase without necessity the exasperation now existing in Italy against the Austrian Power.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 420. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1848.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 21st ultimo, reporting what passed between Baron Wessenberg and yourself on the subject of the

desire expressed by Prussia to be a party to the negotiations for peace in Northern Italy, I have to inform your Excellency that Baron Koller read me a copy of the Prussian note, and that it appeared to me that the Prussian Government made the application on behalf of Russia as well as for Prussia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 421. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, reporting what passed between Baron Wessenberg and yourself relative to the basis on which Austria proposes to negotiate, I have to observe that if the Austrian Government means, as it stated to M. de la Cour, to call together at Verona an assembly of Italian representatives from the Venetian States and from Lombardy, to be chosen by universal or by very extensive suffrage, in order that such assembly may deliberate upon the future constitution of those provinces, such an assembly would evidently not be a representative of the opinion and feeling of the provinces, unless it was preceded by an amnesty which should enable all the emigrants to return before the elections took place.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 422. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information copy of despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Turin, transmitting a translation of a proclamation issued by the Austrian authorities at Verona, with regard to certain revolutionary inscriptions on the walls of houses and buildings in that city; and I have to observe that if such things are, while Northern Italy is occupied by an Austrian force of 120,000 men, what can be expected to be when that garrison shall have been reduced to its ordinary amount?

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 423.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, October 2, 1848.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copy of a letter from

* See No. 399.

Vice-Admiral Sir Wililam Parker, dated Naples the 20th of last month, with copies of letters from Commander Moore of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," and from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, containing the latest intelligence which the Vice-Admiral has received from that quarter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 423.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Hibernia," Naples, September 20, 1848.

I TRANSMIT herewith for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty copies of letters from Commander Moore of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," and from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, containing the latest intelligence I have received from that quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 423.

Commander Moore to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

"Harlequin," off Ancona, September 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I arrived here this morning from Venice, which place I left on the 8th instant.

The Sardinian squadron sailed from Venice on the same night, having previously embarked about 2000 Sardinian troops, and are now at this port. They have disembarked the sick; but as far as I can learn, I believe it to be the intention of Rear-Admiral Albini to proceed in a few days to Corfu. The smaller vessels and steamers are moored in the mole, but three frigates are outside, there being scarcely room for them in the mole, and I hardly think they could venture to remain in the present anchorage during the heavy north-easterly gales common in the Adriatic.

Inclosure 3 in No. 423.

Consul Moore to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

Extract.)

Ancona, September 12, 1848.

THE Sardinian fleet now in this harbour under the command of Admiral Albini appears to be making preparations for a lengthened stay.

About 2000 troops have been landed, and amongst them a large proportion of invalids.

Inclosure 4 in No. 423.

Consul Moore to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

Ancona, September 15, 1848.

INSTRUCTIONS reached Admiral Albini last evening to the effect that the fleet under his command should remain here for the present.

No. 424.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 4.)

(Extract.)

Berne, September 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the note addressed by the Vorort to the Austrian Government at Vienna, upon the restrictions which Marshal Radetzky has thought it his duty to impose upon the hitherto free intercourse between Lombardy and the Canton of Tessin. Facts are now coming to light which prove that the Marshal had well-grounded reasons to complain of the Government of that canton; and that they were actually engaged in organizing a revolt, and were moreover ready to proclaim, in the event of future success, and upon the principle that all nationalities should be respected and independent, their own junction to Lombardy.

Inclosure 1 in No. 424.

*The Vorort to the Austrian Government.**Berne, le 23 Septembre, 1848.*

LE Directoire Fédéral se trouve dans le cas d'appeler l'attention de votre Excellence sur une affaire grave pour la Confédération et qui pourrait avoir de sérieuses conséquences, regrettant en même temps de devoir recourir à l'intercession du Gouvernement Impérial et Royal Apostolique dans une circonstance aussi imprévue. L'objet de la note que le Chargé d'Affaires Suisse près la Cour Impériale et Royale Apostolique, M. le Docteur Kern, a l'honneur de remettre à votre Excellence, est le conflit qui s'est élevé récemment entre le Gouvernement du Tessin et son Excellence M. le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky, Gouverneur Militaire de la Lombardie, conflit dont le Directoire Fédéral a l'honneur d'exposer à votre Excellence l'historique en quelques traits rapides.

A la suite des avantages remportés près de Custozza par l'armée, *i. e.*, dans les derniers jours de Juillet, des corps entiers de l'armée Italienne se virent forcés de se retirer sur le territoire Suisse pour y chercher un refuge temporaire. Conformément à la politique observée par la Suisse de tout temps et envers tous les partis, et obéissant aux exigences de l'humanité envers des malheureux, les Cantons frontières des Grisons et du Tessin en première ligne n'ont point fait difficulté d'accorder provisoirement aux réfugiés un asile sur territoire neutre. Or, dans la prévision de la crise qui menaçait le système politique de l'Europe, le Directoire crut devoir, dans une circulaire en date du 28 Février, préciser plus explicitement à tous les Gouvernements cantonaux la politique que, selon l'avis de l'autorité directoriale, ils auraient à observer dans des conjonctures aussi critiques, soit dans l'intérêt de la Confédération Suisse, soit aussi en vue des obligations internationales. Dans ce manifeste, le Directoire Fédéral exposait qu'il était conforme à la position de la Confédération d'observer une rigoureuse neutralité vis-à-vis des Etats voisins, de ne s'immiscer en aucune manière dans les affaires de l'étranger, et cela en conformité du

principe constamment maintenu, que chaque nation doit être libre de régler ses affaires intérieures selon ses besoins. En revanche, il recommandait l'exercice du droit d'asile envers les réfugiés qui se présenteraient, en ayant soin de les désarmer et de veiller à ce qu'ils ne se livrassent à aucune machination de nature à compromettre l'ordre public à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur. La Suisse a depuis des siècles accordé un asile aux réfugiés politiques et elle continuera de revendiquer cette prérogative de l'indépendance nationale. Pendant les mouvemens qui ont agité les divers Etats limitrophes de la Suisse, les Gouvernemens respectifs des cantons se sont aussi fidèlement conformés aux vues ci-dessus développées par le Directoire Fédéral; les Gouvernemens des Cantons des Grisons et du Tessin ont, il est vrai, accordé un asile aux émigrés Italiens, mais ils ont en même temps avisé à ce qu'on s'abstînt de tout acte qui fût de nature à provoquer des réclamations de la part des provinces de la Monarchie Autrichienne. Le Gouvernement du Canton des Grisons aussi bien que celui du Canton du Tessin ont pourvu à ce que les réfugiés fussent désarmés, et leurs armes ainsi que les munitions ont été déposées en lieu sûr jusqu'à nouvel ordre, par les autorités. En retour de ces mesures, les Gouvernemens devaient pouvoir compter sur la reconnaissance des autorités, *i. e.*, de la Lombardie; et l'étonnement fût d'autant plus grand, lorsqu'en date du 19 du mois passé, le Conseil d'Etat du Canton du Tessin reçut de M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky une note dans laquelle il porte plainte contre les réfugiés Italiens séjournant dans ce canton, et prétend qu'il s'y fait des enrôlemens et qu'on y complotte ouvertement contre le Gouvernement, *i. e.*, sans que les autorités Tessinoises s'opposent à ces menées, et qu'au contraire ces autorités favorisent tacitement l'entreprise des conspirateurs. La même note contenait en outre la menace portant que dans le cas où le Conseil d'Etat ne ferait pas droit aux demandes relatives aux réfugiés, M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky se verrait dans la désagréable nécessité de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour le maintien de la paix dans les provinces confiées à son gouvernement militaire, mesures qui consisteraient pour le moment :

1°. Dans le renvoi immédiat de tous les Tessinois qui demeurent dans le Royaume Lombard-Vénitien.

2°. Dans l'interruption de tout commerce et d'autres relations entre les deux Etats.

3°. Dans le recours à tous les moyens propres à repousser une invasion éventuelle.

Appréciant convenablement sa position, le Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin, dans sa réponse en date du 21 Août à son Excellence M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky, lui fit observer que, s'agissant d'un objet de droit international, il ne pouvait appartenir de lui répondre, quant au fond, qu'à la Confédération et à ses autorités centrales, nullement à un canton. Toutefois, on déclara, en attendant, que le Gouvernement n'avait point connaissance que des enrôlemens et des complots hostiles eussent lieu dans le Canton du Tessin, et que les réfugiés qui avaient passé la frontière avaient été immédiatement désarmés, internés et dirigés sur le Piémont. Dans sa note du 26 Août, le Directoire se trouva engagé à donner les mêmes assurances à son Excellence l'Envoyé Extraordinaire, M. le Baron de Kaisersfeld, lequel avait cru devoir soumettre, en date du 24 du mois passé, à l'appréciation du Directoire Fédéral, la note adressée au Gouvernement Tessinois par M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky. A cette occasion le Directoire Fédéral n'a pas dû se borner aux communications qu'il a reçues de la part du Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin, mais il a pu appuyer ses déclarations sur des rapports qui lui ont été transmis par les délégués spéciaux qu'il avait envoyés dans le Canton du Tessin. Déjà le 13 Août, savoir, lorsque l'émigration fut générale, le Directoire avait envoyé deux Commissaires dans le Canton du Tessin, avec mandat de veiller aux intérêts de la Confédération en général, et d'assister de leurs conseils le Gouvernement Tessinois dans ces conjonctures difficiles. Il résulte positivement des rapports de ces représentans fédéraux, que les autorités Tessinoises n'ont rien négligé de ce que peuvent exiger les principes du droit des gens et d'une politique loyale. On doit ajouter à ce témoignage un poids d'autant plus grand, qu'il est rendu par des fonctionnaires parfaitement désintéressés, par conséquent impartiaux, lesquels ne pouvaient avoir d'autre intérêt que d'éclairer le Directoire Fédéral sur l'état des choses, d'une manière conforme à la vérité. Le Directoire Fédéral regrette sincèrement que M. le Feld-Maréchal n'ait pas cru pouvoir se contenter des déclarations qui

lui ont été données, et que, se fondant sur des rapports provenant de sources éminemment suspectes, il ait persisté dans ses griefs contre le Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin. Après un examen consciencieux des faits, le Directoire Fédéral n'hésite nullement à déclarer sans détour à votre Excellence, que les plaintes de M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky contre le Gouvernement Tessinois sont en partie dénuées de tout fondement, et en partie reposent sur des rapports exagérés. On eut dès-lors lieu d'être grandement surpris à la réception de la note adressée en date du 15 courant au Conseil d'Etat du Canton du Tessin par M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky, note dans laquelle, se référant en partie à des griefs antérieurs, déjà réfutés, en partie à des articles de gazette renfermant des propos injurieux contre le corps d'officiers de l'armée Autrichienne, il déclarait qu'à dater du 18 courant:

1°. Tous les Tessinois habitant les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes recevront l'ordre de retourner immédiatement dans leurs pays.

2°. Qu'à dater du susdit jour, toutes les communications postales et commerciales existant entre la Lombardie et le Canton du Tessin cesseront.

3°. Qu'aucun passeport délivré par les autorités Tessinoises pour l'entrée en Lombardie ne sera considéré comme valable qu'autant qu'il sera muni du visa de l'Envoyé Impérial et Royal près la Confédération.

Répondant à cette note, aussi inattendue qu'elle était hostile, le Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin s'est exprimé comme suit vis-à-vis de M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky :

Dans la conscience de ses droits et de sa dignité, le Gouvernement n'a pas d'autre réponse à faire, si ce n'est de déclarer—

1. Qu'il ne peut laisser pèsér sur lui l'imputation de n'avoir pas rempli ses devoirs internationaux.

2. Que ni des infractions isolées ni encore moins des articles de gazette sur lesquels le Gouvernement d'un pays libre n'exerce aucune influence, ne peuvent jamais être considérés comme des actes d'hostilité.

3. Qu'il a la conscience d'avoir dans l'exercice spontané de ses attributions, pris toutes les mesures qui lui ont été dictées par la connaissance qu'il a des devoirs internationaux, mesure sur lesquelles il n'a de compte à rendre à personne qu'aux représentans de son peuple et aux autorités Fédérales.

4. Que lui, Gouvernement de la République Tessinoise, qui forme une partie intégrante de la Confédération, proteste hautement contre les mesures hostiles annoncées dans la note de son Excellence, mesures qui portent atteinte aux relations réciproques de voisinage et reposent sur des rapports de faits controuvés ou amplifiés.

5. Enfin il déclare qu'il portera le tout à la connaissance de l'autorité Fédérale, afin quelle avise à sauvegarder les intérêts et la dignité de la Confédération.

M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky n'a à ce qu'il paraît pas jugé à propos d'attendre cette réponse du Gouvernement Tessinois, puisque les mesures coercitives annoncées dans sa note ont été mises à exécution déjà le 17 courant. L'expulsion de ressortissans Tessinois s'effectue avec une rigueur impitoyable et sans distinction d'âge ou de sexe. Les relations postales et commerciales ont complètement cessé depuis le 18 courant entre la Lombardie et le Canton du Tessin, et même les livraisons de sel que le Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin peut réclamer en vertu du traité, ont été suspendues. Cette mesure, évidemment hostile et sans exemple dans l'histoire de la civilisation, compromet non seulement un canton confédéré, mais encore elle lèse profondément les intérêts de la Confédération entière. Le Directoire Fédéral proteste tout d'abord contre les procédés dont le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky use envers un Gouvernement cantonal Suisse. La Confédération ne saurait reconnaître la politique d'isolement et de séparation des cantons, tout comme elle a constamment repoussé avec force toute prétention de cette nature. Vis-à-vis de l'étranger la Confédération Suisse est un tout, et les questions de droit public ne peuvent dès-lors être vidées par un canton, mais seulement par l'organe central des autorités Fédérales. Si dès-lors M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky croyait pouvoir élever des réclamations contre le Gouvernement du Canton du Tessin, il devait les adresser au Directoire Fédéral par l'entremise du Ministre Impérial et Royal Apostolique, attendu que le Directoire ne peut reconnaître qu'un Gouvernement comme l'autorité avec laquelle les relations diplomatiques doivent être entretenues. Le Directoire Fédéral est en outre disposé à admettre que le Ministre

Impérial et Royal attache du prix à ce que la bonne harmonie qui a subsisté jusqu'à ce jour entre la Suisse et les Etats Autrichiens soit entretenue, et à ce que les rapports internationaux et de bon voisinage continuent de subsister. A cet effet il doit insister avec force auprès de votre Excellence pour qu'il soit mis un terme aux mesures prises par M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky, contrairement au droit des gens et à l'humanité, et que le *status ab ante* soit rétabli vis-à-vis du Canton du Tessin.

Le Directoire Fédéral doit d'autant plus insister sur la révocation immédiate de ces mesures, que l'interruption des communications postales donnera lieu à des réclamations de plusieurs cantons, et que le renvoi de ressortissans Tessinois comprend des vieillards, femmes et enfans, en général des personnes parfaitement innocentes de tout ce qui peut s'être passé dans le Canton du Tessin, et dont l'individualité n'a rien de commun avec les griefs du Feld-Maréchal Radetzky.

Avec les idées libérales et les sentimens d'humanité qui distinguent votre Excellence il est impossible qu'elle ne reconnaisse pas que lors même que les griefs articulés par M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky contre le Canton du Tessin seraient fondés, ce que le Directoire nie de la manière la plus solennelle, les mesures prises contre le Canton du Tessin, qui impliquent un acte d'hostilité déclarée, ne seraient nullement justifiées. A cette occasion le Directoire ne peut s'empêcher de relever la circonstance que la Confédération Suisse en suivant la politique qu'elle a adoptée jusqu'à présent, a dû fermer les yeux sur certains antécédens, oublier la manière dont il a été procédé envers elle par la diplomatie qui dans les jours de crise de la Suisse, n'a pas hésité à fournir des secours en argent, armes et munitions, ainsi que des chefs à une ligue hostile à la Confédération. Mais la Suisse a voulu prouver par le fait, que de même qu'elle a la force, elle a aussi la volonté de satisfaire pleinement et de toutes parts à ses obligations internationales, et pour cela elle n'a pas reculé même devant des sacrifices considérables qui lui ont été occasionnés par diverses mesures militaires en connexion avec la politique qu'elle a adoptée. L'attitude enfin que la Suisse a observée durant la guerre de Lombardie et que le Directoire Fédéral peut se dispenser de remettre sous les yeux de votre Excellence, devrait donner à la Confédération des droits fondés à la reconnaissance en retour des efforts qu'elle a faits en vue de l'accomplissement de ses devoirs internationaux, et cette reconnaissance a été exprimée au nom de Gouvernement Impérial et Royal dans la note que son Excellence M. le Baron de Kaisersfeld a adressée le 16 courant au Directoire Fédéral. C'est avec une confiance d'autant plus grande que le Directoire Fédéral exprime envers votre Excellence l'attente fondée que ses sentimens de loyauté se traduiront en réalité par la révocation immédiate des mesures prises contre le Canton du Tessin, partant contre la Confédération entière par M. le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky, ainsi qu'elles sont énumérées dans la présente note.

Le Directoire Fédéral saisit, &c.

Les Président et Conseil d'Etat, &c.
(Signatures)

(Translation.)

Berne, September 13, 1848.

THE Federal Directory feels itself under the necessity of calling your Excellency's attention to a matter of grave import for the Confederation, and which may have serious consequences; it at the same time regrets being compelled to appeal to the intercession of the Imperial and Royal Apostolic Government under such unexpected circumstances. The object of the note which the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at the Imperial and Royal Apostolic Court, Dr. Kern, has the honour to deliver to your Excellency, is the discussion which has recently arisen between the Government of the Tessin and Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, Military Governor of Lombardy, the history of which discussion the Federal Directory has the honour briefly to relate to your Excellency.

After the advantages gained by the army near Custozza, *i.e.*, in the latter days of July, whole bodies of the Italian army were obliged to withdraw into the Swiss territory, and there to seek a temporary refuge. In conformity with the

policy observed by Switzerland in all times and towards all parties, and in accordance with the dictates of humanity in the case of the unfortunate, the Cantons frontier of the Grisons and of the Tessin made no difficulty in granting provisionally to the refugees an asylum upon neutral territory. Wherefore, as a measure of precaution in the crisis which threatened the political system of Europe, the Directory thought it right in a circular dated the 28th of February, to state to all the Cantonal Governments the policy which in the opinion of the Directoral Authority they ought to pursue in such a critical state of things, both as regarded the interests of the Swiss Confederation and as regarded their international obligations. In that manifesto the Federal Directory declared that it was consistent with the position of the Confederation to observe a strict neutrality towards the neighbouring States, and not to mix themselves up in any way with the affairs of foreign States, in conformity with the principles constantly maintained that every nation should be free to settle its internal affairs according to its requirements. On the other hand, while it recommended the exercise of the right of asylum towards the refugees who might present themselves, it recommended that they should be disarmed, and that they should be watched so that they might not engage themselves in any machinations of a nature to compromise public order at home or abroad. Switzerland has for centuries granted an asylum to political refugees, and she will continue to assert that prerogative of national independence. During the disturbances which have agitated the States bordering upon Switzerland, the respective Governments of the cantons have faithfully conformed to the views as above developed by the Federal Directory; the Governments of the Cantons of the Grisons and of the Tessin, it is true, have granted an asylum to the Italian emigrants, but they have at the same time adopted measures to restrain them from all acts which might be of a nature to provoke remonstrance on the part of the Austrian Monarchy. The Government of the Canton of the Grisons, as well as that of the Canton of the Tessin, took care that the refugees should be disarmed, and their arms as well as the ammunition have been deposited by the authorities in a safe place till further orders. In return for these measures the Governments ought to have been able to reckon upon the gratitude of the authorities, *i. e.*, of Lombardy; and their astonishment was therefore so much the greater when the Council of State of the Canton of the Tessin received from Field-Marshal Radetzky a note dated the 19th of last month, in which he complains of the Italian refugees sojourning in that canton, and affirms that levies are there carried on, and that plots are openly entered into against the Government, that is, that the Tessinese authorities do not oppose to those conspiracies, and that, on the contrary, those authorities tacitly encourage the designs of the conspirators. The same note furthermore contained a menace to the effect that in the event of the Council of State not acceding to the demands relative to the refugees, Field-Marshal Radetzky would find himself under the disagreeable necessity of taking the necessary measures for the maintenance of peace in the provinces confided to his military government, measures which would consist for the present:

1. In the immediate expulsion of all the Tessinese who reside in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.
2. In the interruption of all commercial and other relations between the two States.
3. In a recourse to all the means requisite for repelling an eventual invasion.

Fully comprehending its own position, the Government of the Canton of the Tessin in its reply to his Excellency the Field-Marshal Radetzky dated the 21st of August, observed that as it was a matter of international law, it was only competent for the Confederation and its central authorities, and in no wise for one canton, to answer him as to the merits of the question. In the meantime, however, it declared that the Government had no cognizance of levies and hostile conspiracies taking place in the Canton of the Tessin, and that the refugees who had crossed the frontier had been immediately disarmed, sent into the interior, and on to Piedmont. In its note of the 26th of August, the Directory was obliged to give the same assurances to his Excellency the Baron de Kaisersfeld, Envoy Extraordinary, who had thought it necessary on the 24th of last month to submit to the consideration of the Federal Directory the note addressed to the Tessinese Government by Field-Marshal

Radetzky. Upon that occasion the Federal Directory did not confine itself to the communications which it had received from the Government of the Tessin, but was enabled to support its statements by the reports transmitted to it by special delegates whom it had sent into the Canton of the Tessin. As early as the 13th of August, that is when the emigration was general, the Directory had sent two Commissioners into the Canton of the Tessin with orders to watch over the interests of the Confederation in general, and to aid with their counsel the Tessinese Government in difficult emergencies. It is clearly manifest from the reports of those Federal Representatives, that the Tessinese authorities have neglected nothing which could be required either by the law of nations or by an honest policy. The greater importance should be attached to this testimony, from its being derived from functionaries who were perfectly disinterested, and who could have no views beyond making the Federal Directory acquainted with the state of things in a manner consistent with the truth. The Federal Directory sincerely regrets that the Field-Marshal should not have thought it possible to remain satisfied with the declarations which have been made to him, and that, relying upon reports derived from extremely suspicious sources, he should have persisted in his complaints against the Government of the Tessin. After a conscientious examination of the facts, the Federal Directory does not at all hesitate to declare to your Excellency without circumlocution that the complaints of Field-Marshal Radetzky against the Tessinese Government are in part destitute of all foundation, and in part based upon exaggerated reports. There was consequently some ground for considerable astonishment, when the note dated the 15th instant, addressed to the Council of State of the Canton of the Tessin by Field-Marshal Radetzky, was received, in which note, referring partly to former complaints already refuted, and partly to newspaper articles containing insulting remarks upon the body of officers in the Austrian army, he declared that, to date from the 18th instant:

1. All the Tessinese inhabiting the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces will receive orders to return immediately to their own country.
2. From the above-mentioned date all letter-post and commercial relations existing between Lombardy and the Canton of Tessin will cease.
3. That no passport delivered by the Tessinese authorities for entrance into Lombardy will be considered valid unless provided with the visa of the Imperial and Royal Envoy to the Confederation.

In answering this note, which was as unexpected as it was hostile, the Government of the Canton of the Tessin expressed itself as follows to Field-Marshal Radetzky.

In the consciousness of its rights and of its dignity the only answer which the Government has to make is to declare:

1. That it cannot allow the imputation to rest upon it of not having fulfilled its international duties.
2. That neither individual faults nor still less newspaper articles, over which the Government of a free country exercises no control, can ever be considered as acts of hostility.
3. That it is conscious of having, in the spontaneous exercise of its functions, adopted all the measures which its acquaintance with international duties imposed upon it, and for those measures it has to account to no person except to the representatives of its people and to the Federal authorities.
4. That it, the Government of the Tessinese Republic, forming an integral part of the Confederation, loudly protests against the hostile measures announced in his Excellency's note; measures which interfere with the mutual relations of good neighbourhood, and which are grounded on reports of facts either invented or exaggerated.
5. Finally, it declares that it will bring the whole matter under the notice of the Federal authority, so that the latter may adopt measures for the protection of the interests and of the dignity of the Confederation.

Field-Marshal Radetzky, as it seems, did not think fit to wait for this answer from the Tessinese Government, since the coercive measures announced in his note were put in force as early as the 17th instant. The expulsion of the departing Tessinese is conducted with merciless rigour and without distinction of age or of sex. Letter-post and commercial relations have completely ceased between Lombardy and the Canton of the Tessin since the 18th instant, and

even the deliveries of salt which the Government of Tessin can claim in virtue of the treaty, have been suspended. This measure so manifestly hostile and without example in the history of civilization, not only prejudicial to a confederated Canton but it also deeply injures the interests of the whole Confederation. The Federal Directory at once protests against the steps taken by Marshal Radetzky with regard to a Swiss cantonal Government. The Confederation cannot recognize the policy of the isolation and of the separation of the cantons, and it has always repelled by force all pretensions of that kind. In its relations with foreign States the Confederation is a whole, and questions of public right cannot therefore be settled by one canton, but only by the Central Organ of the Federal authorities. If therefore Field-Marshal Radetzky thought he could establish causes of complaint against the Government of the Canton of the Tessin, he should have addressed himself to the Federal Directory through the medium of the Imperial and Royal Apostolic Minister, seeing that the Directory can only acknowledge one Government as the authority with which diplomatic relations are to be maintained. The Federal Directory is besides disposed to admit that the Imperial and Royal Minister attaches some importance to the maintenance of the good understanding which has so long existed between Switzerland and the Austrian States, and to international relations of good neighbourhood still continuing to exist. With this view it must strongly urge upon your Excellency that a stop be put to the measures adopted by Field-Marshal Radetzky in violation of the right of nations and of humanity, and that the *status ab ante* be re-established as regards the Canton of the Tessin.

The Federal Directory must the more forcibly insist upon the repeal of those measures, inasmuch as the interruption of letter-post communications will give rise to remonstrances from several cantons, and that the expulsion of Tessinese inhabitants includes old men, women, and children, generally speaking, persons entirely innocent of what has taken place in the Canton of the Tessin, and who, as individuals, have nothing to do with Field-Marshal Radetzky's grievances.

With the liberal ideas and the feelings of humanity which distinguish your Excellency, it is impossible that you should not acknowledge that even if the complaints put forward by Field-Marshal Radetzky against the Canton of the Tessin were well founded, which however the Directory most solemnly denies, the measures adopted against the Canton of Tessin, which imply an act of avowed hostility, could be in nowise justified. On this occasion the Directory cannot refrain from stating the fact that the Swiss Confederation in pursuing the policy which she has adopted up to the present time, has thought it right to shut its eyes to certain anterior circumstances; to forget in what manner it has been treated by diplomacy, which did not hesitate, in the critical times of Switzerland, to furnish assistance in money, arms, and stores, as well as officers, to a League hostile to the Confederation. But Switzerland has wished to prove by this fact that, as she has the power, so also she has the will to fulfil entirely and in all respects her international obligations, and for that purpose she has not flinched from the considerable sacrifices which several military measures in connexion with the policy which she has adopted, have called upon her to make. Finally, the attitude assumed during the war in Lombardy, and which the Federal Directory need hardly bring under your Excellency's notice, ought to give to the Confederation claims founded upon gratitude for the efforts which it has made for the observance of its international duties, and that gratitude was expressed in the name of the Imperial and Royal Government in the note which his Excellency Baron de Kaisersfeld addressed to the Federal Directory on the 16th instant. It is therefore with the greater confidence that the Federal Directory addresses to your Excellency its justly-founded expectation that your sentiments of justice will lead you to cause the immediate revocation of the measures taken by Field-Marshal Radetzky against the Canton of the Tessin, but affecting the whole Confederation, as they are enumerated in the present note.

The Federal Directory, &c.

The President and Council of State.

[Signatures.]

No. 425.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 4.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, September 28, 1848.

THERE will be the delay of a day or two in the publication of the inclosed manifesto, owing to some error in the German translation of the original Italian, but the delay will not extend beyond two or three days, and then the manifesto will be published here and sent to France and Italy.

Inclosure in No. 425.

Imperial Manifesto to the Inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

(Translation.)

IN the hope of seeing in a short time peace re-established in the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and animated by the desire that all its people should participate in that liberty which is now enjoyed by all the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, we feel it our duty to make known now our intentions regarding them.

We have already granted to all the inhabitants without exception, a full pardon for the part they may have taken in the political events of the present year, ordering that there shall be no punishments and no inquiries into anything excepting those inquiries which are necessary to be made for the support of public servants.

In like manner our sovereign pleasure is, that the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom shall have a Constitution corresponding not only with their respective nationalities and the wants of the country, but also to their union with the Austrian Empire; for that purpose, as soon as peace and tranquillity shall be sufficiently secured, we will convoke in some place to be fixed upon, the Representatives of the nation to be elected freely by all the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

Given at our residence at Vienna, this day the 20th of September, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

No. 426.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 5, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 16th ultimo with its several inclosures, from which it appears that the Venetian Government protest against the declaration of the commander of an Austrian ship of war that Venice is under blockade, and call upon you to interfere with a view to prevent the hostilities threatened by the establishment of a blockade.

I approve of your having sent a copy of your despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, and of the letter you addressed to Vice-Consul Raven at Trieste. And I have to state to you that I instructed Lord Ponsonby to represent to the Austrian Government that this blockade is not consistent with the spirit of the arrangement by which the Austrian Government accepted the mediation of Great Britain and France, because the first condition and foundation of the offered mediation was that all hostilities in Italy should cease, in order that negotiation might begin.

Her Majesty's Government hope therefore that the Austrian Government may be disposed to give orders for the discontinuance of all measures of hostility against Venice, which can only tend to increase without necessity the exasperation now existing in Italy against the Austrian Power.

You will however take care to prevent the Venetians from supposing that the proposals made to Austria by the mediating Powers involve the separation of the city or province of Venice from the dominion of the Imperial Crown.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 427.

Baron Koller to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord,

Chandos House, 5 Octobre, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence, avec prière de me la restituer le plus tôt possible, la dépêche ci-jointe du 29 Septembre que je viens de recevoir.

Je me flatte qu'elle accordera au manifeste Impérial qui s'y trouve annexé, la valeur de devoir faciliter puissamment l'œuvre de la pacification du Nord de l'Italie.

En priant votre Excellence de vouloir bien me fixer un rendezvous dès qu'elle aura des informations à me donner dont je pourrais faire part à mon Gouvernement, je profite, &c.

(Signé) A. V. KOLLER.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

Chandos House, October 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Excellency, with a request that you will return it to me as soon as possible, the annexed despatch, dated the 29th of September, which I have just received.

I flatter myself that you will acknowledge that the Imperial manifesto which is annexed thereto, ought greatly to facilitate the work of pacification in the North of Italy.

Begging your Excellency to appoint me to an interview as soon as you shall have any information to give me which I can communicate to my Government,

I avail myself, &c.

(Signed) A. V. KOLLER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 427.

Baron Wessenberg to Baron Koller.

M. le Baron,

Vienne, le 29 Septembre, 1848.

SA Majesté, notre auguste maître, n'a pas voulu tarder plus longtemps à faire connaître ses intentions bienveillantes à l'égard de l'organisation politique future de ses Provinces Italiennes.

Le manifeste ci-joint démentira j'espère tous les faux bruits dont la malveillance d'un certain parti s'est servi pour répandre l'inquiétude parmi les populations du Royaume Lombardo-Vénitien. Une commission composée d'indigènes sera chargée, conjointement avec un commissaire Impérial, des préparatifs qu'exige la nouvelle organisation qui sera basée sur une représentation nationale.

L'amnistie accordée sans réserve ne saurait laisser aucun doute sur les sentimens éminemment pacifiques du Gouvernement.

L'histoire n'offre point d'exemples d'un peuple insurgé qui ait été traité avec plus de ménagement et plus de générosité.

Je vous invite à porter le contenu de cette dépêche à la connaissance du Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Baron,

Vienna, September 29, 1848.

HIS Majesty, our august master, has been unwilling to delay longer making known his benevolent intentions as regards the political organization of his Italian Provinces.

The annexed manifesto will, I hope, disprove all the false reports of which the malevolence of a certain party has made use in order to spread

abroad disquietude amongst the population of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. A commission, composed of natives of the country will be charged, in conjunction with an Imperial Commissioner, with making the preparations required by the new organization which will be founded upon a national Representative system.

The amnesty granted without reservations can leave no doubt as to the eminently pacific intentions of Government.

History furnishes no example of an insurgent people being treated with greater gentleness or more generosity.

I have to request that you will make the contents of this despatch known to the Government to which you are accredited.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) WESSENBERG.

Inclosure 2 in No. 427.

Imperial Manifesto.

NELLA lusinga di vedere in breve ristabilita la pace in tutte le provincie del Regno Lombardo-Veneto, ed animati dal desiderio di far partecipare le sue popolazioni a tutte le libertà di cui già godono le altre provincie dell' Impero Austriaco, proviamo il bisogno di render note fin d'ora le nostre intenzioni in proposito.

Abbiamo già accordato a tutti gli abitanti del Regno Lombardo-Veneto indistintamente pieno perdono per la parte che potessero aver presa agli avvenimenti politici del corrente anno, ordinando che non possa farsi luogo contro di loro ad alcuna inquisizione o punizione, salvi quei riguardi che si trovasse opportuno di avervi nella conferma di pubblici impieghi. Del pari è nostro sovrano volere che gli abitanti del Regno Lombardo-Veneto abbiano una costituzione corrispondente non meno alla rispettiva loro nazionalità ed al bisogno del paese, che alla loro unione coll' Impero Austriaco. A tale effetto, tosto che la pace e la tranquillità saranno sufficientemente assicurate, convocheremo in un luogo da stabilirsi, dai rappresentanti della nazione da eleggersi liberamente da tutte le provincie del Regno Lombardo-Veneto.

Dato nella nostra residenza di Vienna, questo giorno 20 Settembre, 1848.

(Firmato) FERDINANDO, m. p.
WESSENBERG, m. p.

(Translation.)

IN the hope of seeing in a short time peace re-established in all the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and animated by the desire of making its inhabitants participate in all the liberty which the other provinces of the Austrian Empire enjoy—we consider it necessary to make known at present our intentions on this head.

We have already granted to all the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom indistinctly, full pardon for the part they may have taken in the political occurrences of the present year, commanding that such should not stand against them in any inquisition or punishment except in respect to those considerations necessary to be taken in confirming the public employés. At the same time it is our sovereign will that the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom shall have a constitution corresponding not less to their respective nationality and the wants of the country, than to their union with the Austrian Empire. To this effect, as soon as peace and tranquillity shall have been sufficiently secured, we will call together in a place to be fixed upon, the representatives of the nation, who shall be elected freely in all the provinces of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom.

Given in our residence at Vienna, the 20th September, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINANDO, m. p.

WESSENBERG, m. p.

No. 428. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 6, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information copy of a despatch* which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Turin, transmitting a memorandum which has been addressed to the Sardinian Government on the present condition of the Lombard Provinces; and I have to instruct your Excellency to show the memorandum to Baron Wessenberg and to request his earnest attention to the statements which it contains.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 429. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 6, 1848.

INFORMATION has reached Her Majesty's Government that the Austrian authorities have as yet only given back half the Piedmontese artillery, although by the Convention of Armistice the whole was to be restored upon the evacuation of Peschiera.

Your Excellency should point out to the Austrian Government that no military advantage which they can gain by such a course can counterbalance the disadvantage of exposing themselves to the imputation of not fulfilling their engagements.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 430.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 6.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, October 4, 1848.

BEFORE receiving your Lordship's despatch of the 29th of September, in which you are good enough to send me a translation of M. Schmerling's despatch to Baron d'Andrian of the 18th September, stating his reasons why he considered that the Central Power should be allowed to participate to a certain degree in the negotiations for the settlement of Northern Italy, I had seen Baron d'Andrian's despatch in which he recounts his conversation with your Lordship upon the subject, and in which he states that your Lordship, in opposing the presence of an Agent from the Central Power, on the ground of inconvenience, had not made any observations as to the question of right. I was surprised to find that this proposition had not been made long ago, as I had led your Lordship to expect it with the arrival of Baron d'Andrian.

Both the Archduke and the members of the Central Government recur frequently to the subject. They seem to think that as they desire the nationality of Italy with a Confederation like that of Germany, and as they abstain from giving any opinion on the question of the future frontier, there can be no objection to receiving a Plenipotentiary on their part. I must however call your Lordship's attention to the fact that since Marshal Radetzky's successes I have not heard a German, whether a member of the Government or not, converse on this subject and not assert that the line of Mincio, including the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, was necessary not to Austria but to Germany; and I very much doubt whether such will not be the language that any Agent from the Central Power will hold at the seat of conferences.

* See No. 414.

No. 431.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 6.)

My Lord,

Vienna, September 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the official note I received this evening from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg accompanying a manifesto (also inclosed) declaring the intentions of His Imperial Majesty's Government with regard to the Italian provinces of the empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

Inclosure 1 in No. 431.

Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.

Vienne, le 29 Septembre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur de communiquer ci-joint à son Excellence M. le Vicomte Ponsonby, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, le manifeste dans lequel Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique fait connaître ses intentions bienveillantes à l'égard de ses provinces Italiennes.

Le Gouvernement Impérial s'empressera de réaliser ses intentions aussitôt que l'état de paix sera assez raffermi dans ces pays, au retour duquel la négociation qui s'ouvrira sous les auspices des Gouvernemens qui ont offert leur médiation amicale contribuera essentiellement.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) **WESSENBERG.**

(Translation.)

Vienna, 29 September, 1848.

THE Undersigned, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to communicate herewith to his Excellency Viscount Ponsonby, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, the manifesto in which His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty makes known his benevolent intentions with respect to his Italian provinces.

The Imperial Government will hasten to carry his intentions into effect so soon as peace shall be established in those countries; to the restoration of which, the negotiation to be opened under the auspices of the Governments who have offered their friendly mediation, will be of essential service.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) **WESSENBERG.**

Inclosure 2 in No. 431.

Imperial Manifesto.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 427.]

No. 432.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 6.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, September 29, 1848.

I THINK it my duty to say a word or two upon the state of opinion here. I have to repeat that the Austrian Government will not consent to yield up any part of the Italian territory which belonged to the Emperor. The Austrians are convinced that concession on that point would be only to prepare the way for future demands, and that to fight now, if attacked, is their wisest, cheapest, and best policy.

No. 433.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 7.)

(Extract.)

Berlin, October 2, 1848.

I HAVE communicated to Count Bülow your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo addressed to Lord Normanby, respecting the application of Prussia to the French Government to be joined to the mediation on the affairs of Italy. Count Bülow is aware that Russia will decline being one of the mediating parties, as a despatch has already been sent by Count Nesselrode to M. de Kisseleff upon this subject, in reply to a proposition from M. Bastide, stating that the Emperor would not willingly enter into the mediation in Italy unless upon the basis of the *statu quo* according to existing treaties, and in the same manner as France is now upholding the obligation of her treaties with Denmark as to the rights of that country to the rights of that country to the Duchy of Schleswig. Count Bülow was aware that the Central Government of Frankfort was taking some steps towards entering into this mediation, but he was not aware Baron Andrian had already been authorized to enter upon the subject with your Lordship.

No. 434.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 8.)

(Extract.)

Berne, October 4, 1848.

THE Vorort has received two notes, one from the Austrian Minister to the Confederation, the Baron de Kaisersfeld; the other presented by M. Ravaux, the Agent of the Central Government of the German Empire established at Frankfort, upon the recent events in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

The former after expressing the regret of Marshal Radetzky at being obliged to place restrictions upon the intercourse between Lombardy and the Canton of Tessin, gives it to be understood that so soon as the Federal Commissioners with the support of troops sent to the frontier, shall have been enabled to enforce a proper respect for the neutrality Switzerland is bound to maintain, the Marshal is ready to re-establish communications on the former footing.

No. 435. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 9, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 26th ultimo, transmitting the copy of a note addressed to you and to your French colleague by the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs, with respect to the inconvenience of delaying the proposed negotiations, together with a copy of your reply, I have to inform you

that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve that answer, and I have to instruct you to say that it contains so fully all that Her Majesty's Government could say in reply, that they have nothing to add thereto.

I have however to observe to you, that if this note of the Sardinian Government was intended only as a diplomatic piece calculated to quicken the negotiation and to assist the two Powers in their endeavours to bring Austria to consent to reasonable terms of accommodation, there is no fault to be found with it; but if it were to be taken literally, and to be looked upon as an expression of the real feelings and intentions of the Piedmontese Government, it would be open to much criticism. For that note intimates that if Austria does not agree to the basis of negotiation proposed by the two Powers, and accepted by the Government of Piedmont, the consequence will be the renewal of war between the Italians and the Austrians, and possibly a general convulsion and disorganization of Italy, which would involve the whole of Europe in a subversive struggle and would threaten civilization itself. Now with regard to the first contingency it must be evident that in the present state of military strength and preparation of the Austrian and Italian forces, a renewal of war between them, if both sides were left to their own resources, might lead to further successes by the Austrians, but could scarcely tend to the advantage of the Italians; and with respect to the second contingency, the state of Europe north of the Alps is such that no amount of anarchy in Italy, even were such to take place, could have any material effect or influence upon the condition of affairs in the rest of Europe, unless it were that it might lead to a degree of foreign interference in the affairs of Italy, which would be by no means favourable to the independence of the Italian people.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 436. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 9, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency copy of a despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan,* reporting on the state of affairs in Lombardy, and I have to instruct your Excellency to read this despatch to Baron Wessenberg, and to say that Her Majesty's Government would entreat him seriously and dispassionately to consider whether the state of things therein described as existing at a time when there is an Austrian army of 120,000 men in occupation of Northern Italy, and when all open resistance on the part of the people to Austrian power is impossible, can be looked upon as calculated to inspire the belief that when that army shall have been reduced, as it of course must in due time be, to the ordinary peace amount, there can be any chance that Austria can maintain useful or permanent possession of a country whose inhabitants are so deeply and universally imbued with an unconquerable aversion to Austrian sway.

It surely would be far wiser for the Austrian Government, and much more conducive to the real and personal strength of the Austrian Empire to release these people from a dominion which they will ever regard as a yoke, and to take the present favourable opportunity for making a fair and just pecuniary arrangement with them on their separation from the Imperial Crown.

There cannot be a reasonable doubt that if the rule of Austria were now again to be re-established in these provinces, discontent would seize the first opportunity to vent itself in renewed outbreak and insurrection: a great exertion of force would again be required, and at a great expense, to put insurrection down. Foreign aid would again be implored to save the provinces from renewed subjugation, and after such an experience of the impossibility of reconciling the people to the dominion of Austria, there can be little doubt that such foreign aid would be granted. The result would be a war between Austria and an antagonist more formidable than the people of Lombardy, and even though that war should become an European conflict by the participation of

* See No. 410.

other Powers who might be drawn into it, there cannot be much reason to think that the result of such a conflict would be to leave Austria in possession of any territory south of the Alps. But Austria should maturely consider that although the general feelings of her friends and allies would lead them to come to her aid if she was threatened in her own possessions and in her natural existence in Germany, yet there might be a general sense of the injustice of her pretensions to impose a yoke upon the Italians; and that feeling might have the effect of leaving her with very scanty support in such a contest as that which I have described.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 437. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 9, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for communication to Baron Wessenberg copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan, inclosing a proclamation which had been issued in that city with respect to individuals found with arms in their possession; and I have to instruct your Excellency to observe that this proclamation, which savours more of the usages of centuries long gone by than of the spirit of the present time, must strike everybody as a proof of the intensity of the fears by which the Austrian commander is inspired. For if he thinks it necessary to threaten summary death to every man, of whatever rank or condition, in whose house a weapon of any kind may be found concealed, he must surely imagine the danger of renewed insurrection to be great and imminent. But if such is the case now, when there are 30,000 Austrian troops at Milan, and when a great portion of the Milanese have left the city, what will the state of things be when the Austrian troops are reduced to a small number, when the inhabitants have returned, and when these violent military measures no longer prevent them from providing themselves with arms and ammunition; and it is worth while for Baron Wessenberg to consider whether the hatred towards Austria, of which this proclamation indirectly acknowledges the bitterness and intensity, is likely to be diminished by the desecration of churches and by the military occupation of private houses, with all its attendant consequences.

It must be confessed that the proceedings of the Austrian military authorities in Italy seem to indicate an expectation that they will shortly have to abandon the country, and that they must take advantage of the interval to wreak their vengeance upon it; for if they contemplated a continued occupation, reason would point out, that measures of conciliation would be best adapted to pave the way for permanent possession.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 438.

The Marquis Ridolfi to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 9.)

Londres, 6 Octobre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Grand Duc de Toscane, a l'honneur de remettre à son Excellence Lord Palmerston, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, cette note, à laquelle il ne doute pas que le Gouvernement Britannique ne veuille répondre aussi favorablement que vient de le faire celui de la République Française, car les ententes verbales le lui font espérer, d'autant plus que d'un côté les affaires d'Italie se compliquent chaque jour davantage et la nécessité d'un prompt développement de la médiation Anglo-

* See No. 411.

Française se fait sentir d'une manière plus impérieuse, et que de l'autre l'agitation de la Toscane demande à être calmée par quelque chose de rassurant pour son avenir.

Désormais il est certain que la tranquillité de la Péninsule Italienne ne pourra se rétablir d'une manière stable et profonde sans qu'elle obtienne sa nationalité et son indépendance. C'est dans cet espoir qu'elle attend avec anxiété l'effet de la médiation des peuples libres et généreux qui l'ont entreprise, et qui l'accompliront sans doute d'une manière digne de leur puissance.

La Toscane fut la fidèle et loyale alliée du Piémont, fit les plus grands efforts pour atteindre le but de l'indépendance Italienne, et bien que le sort des armes n'y ait pas été favorable, elle ne veut pas désertier ce drapeau, ou que l'on soit forcé d'avoir recours de nouveau à la guerre, ou que l'on marche vers ce but par les arrangemens amicaux, comme il faut l'espérer.

Dans ce cas, la Toscane, qui aurait des affaires propres à faire bien apprécier, des intérêts délicats à soutenir vis-à-vis de soi-même et de la cause générale Italienne, demande que l'Angleterre veuille bien l'assurer que dans le cas où il y aurait un congrès ou une conférence à laquelle un représentant du Royaume de Sardaigne serait admis, elle en aurait un de son côté.

Cette assurance de la part de l'Angleterre permettrait au Soussigné d'envoyer à son Gouvernement la preuve matérielle de l'heureuse issue que sa mission aurait eu à Londres auprès d'un Gouvernement qui veut montrer l'équité avec laquelle il accomplira la tâche glorieuse de soutenir la juste cause de l'Italie à l'avantage de l'Europe.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

C. V. RIDOLFI.

(Translation.)

London, October 6, 1848.

THE Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, has the honour to address to his Excellency Lord Palmerston, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Her Majesty the Queen of England, this note, to which he doubts not that the British Government will give as favourable an answer as the French Republic has just done, for verbal communications cause him to hope as much; the more so because on the one hand the affairs of Italy are daily becoming more complicated, and the necessity for a speedy development of the mediation of England and France makes itself more pressingly felt; and on the other hand, the agitation in Tuscany requires to be tranquillized by something giving security as to its future destiny.

Henceforward, it is certain that the tranquillity of the Italian Peninsula cannot be re-established on a stable and deep foundation, unless it shall obtain its nationality and independence. It is with this hope that it looks with anxiety to the result of the mediation of the free and generous nations who have undertaken it, and who will doubtless carry it into effect in a manner worthy of their power.

Tuscany was the faithful and true ally of Piedmont, and made the greatest efforts to obtain the object of Italian independence, and although the chances of arms have not been favourable to her, she will not desert those colours, whether she be compelled again to have recourse to war, or whether progress be made towards effecting that object by amicable arrangements, as is to be hoped will be the case.

In this last case Tuscany, which has interests of her own which she must cause to be duly taken into account, and interests of a delicate nature to uphold as regards herself and the general cause of Italy, requests that England will assure her that in the event of there being a congress or a conference to which a representative of the Kingdom of Sardinia may be admitted, she should also have one on her side.

Such an assurance on the part of England would allow the Undersigned to forward to his Government an evident proof of the fortunate results which have attended his mission to London, to a Government desirous of showing the equity with which it will accomplish the glorious task of supporting the just cause of Italy and the interests of Europe.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

C. V. RIDOLFI.

No. 439.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

Paris, October 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a telegraphic despatch dated the 6th instant, which has been received from Turin by the French Government stating that the Sardinian Government have decided to send their squadron to Venice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

Inclosure in No. 439.

Telegraphic Despatch from Turin.

Turin, 6 Octobre, 1848.

SUR un refus résultant de Radetzky de rendre la seconde moitié du parc d'artillerie, le Gouvernement Sarde s'est résolu à envoyer son escadre à Venise après en avoir averti le Maréchal. On ne dénoncera pas pour cela l'Armistice, et on n'exécutera pas la menace si le parc est rendu.

Dans tous les cas j'ai obtenu qu'on nous avertirait ; mais la résolution est irrévocable et m'a été notifié officiellement.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 6, 1848.

ON the refusal of Radetzky to surrender the second portion of the park of artillery, the Sardinian Government have determined to dispatch its fleet to Venice, after giving notice to the Marshal. Nevertheless the Armistice will not be denounced, and the threat will not be carried into execution if the park of artillery be restored.

Whatever is the result, I have obtained a promise that we shall receive notice ; but the determination come to is irrevocable, and has been officially notified to me.

No. 440. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 10, 1848.

WITH reference to the proposed intervention of the Central Government of Germany in the Italian mediation, I have to observe to your Excellency that however dazzling the notion may at first sight appear of a general congress of the Great Powers of Europe, assembled for the purpose of settling all the affairs of Italy and perhaps also of other parts of Europe, yet such a scheme would be attended in its execution with many practical difficulties and be liable to many objections, and Her Majesty's Government have great doubts whether it would not be better that England and France should confine themselves to the humbler task of detailed and local mediation, point by point, as occasion may arise.

The Congress of Vienna, which is the example to which those persons look who incline to a renewed Congress now, was assembled under circumstances very different from those which at present exist. The tide of war had swept over the whole surface of Europe from the Rhine to Moscow, and from Moscow back to the Seine ; all the smaller States of Europe had been conquered and reconquered, and were considered almost at the arbitrary disposal of the Great Powers whose armies had decided the fate of the war. The statesmen who sat in Congress therefore considered themselves at liberty to parcel out with great freedom the several territories of Europe.

The smaller Sovereigns, Princes, and States, had no representatives in the deciding Congress, and no voice in the decisions by which their future destiny was determined. They were all obliged to yield to overruling power, and to submit to decisions which were the result, as the case might be, of justice or of expediency, of generosity or of partiality, of regard to the welfare of nations, or of concession to personal solicitations.

But England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia have not at present any similar pretence to dispose of the affairs of any of the smaller States of Europe, either in Italy or elsewhere; and a Congress assembled for the purpose of dealing with those affairs ought perhaps to consist not only of the Representatives of the greater Powers, but also of Envoys from all the smaller States whose interests were therein to be treated.

The proceedings of such an assembly would of course be attended with much delay, and might possibly be marked by differences of opinion which might prevent any very satisfactory results from being attained. But in a matter of such grave importance Her Majesty's Government would not wish to press unduly any doubts or difficulties of this kind; and if it should be the opinion of other Powers that a general conference of this description would contribute to the satisfactory settlement of questions now pending, and would thereby tend to preserve the peace of Europe, Her Majesty's Government would willingly concur in the arrangements which might be requisite for convening such a conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 441.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

(Extract.)

Turin, September 30, 1848.

MARSHAL RADETZKY can get no money from Vienna for the current expenses of the Austrian army in Italy. He is therefore obliged to raise it in the Italian Provinces, and a new contribution for the month of October of 8 centimes upon *la Rente Foncière*, has just been imposed upon Lombardy. This last contribution makes a total of 19 centimes raised since the return of the Austrians. The amount of the yearly contribution, or the *Rente Foncière*, is about 18 centimes, so that they will have raised above a whole year's contribution in the space of a few weeks. This comes hard upon the Lombards. There is this however to be said in defence of this last measure, that it will relieve the peasants and rural inhabitants from paying contributions in kind for the supply of the army; the money now to be raised being to be applied to the payment of contracts entered into for the provisioning of the troops.

I am sorry to add that I have been informed that individuals have already been shot at Milan under the decree recently issued with regard to the finding of arms after the 26th of the present month. These acts of severity are greatly to be deplored, for although perhaps justifiable according to the strict letter of the law, the moral effect which they produce is as bad as possible. Count Montecucoli is still at Milan, where he arrived to exercise the functions of Civil Governor; but the Marshal intends to keep united in his own person the civil and military administration of the Italian Provinces. He therefore places Montecucoli very quietly on the shelf.

No. 442.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 4, 1848.

THE elections which a change of Ministers and previous double returns had rendered necessary have terminated, and the results of several are already known.

All the Ministers who were formerly members of the Chamber of Deputies have been re-elected.

The Under-Secretaries of State or first officers of several of the departments have likewise been successful in obtaining seats in the Chamber of Deputies on the present occasion; and upon the whole, so far as the returns are yet known, the choice of Deputies has been favourable to the present Government.

The Abbé Gioberti has been returned as one of the members for the capital, and also for another place in the provinces. He will I believe choose to sit for the latter seat.

Although these are to a certain degree indications that the feeling of the public is in favour of the present Administration, I should be misleading your Lordship were I to allow you to infer that upon this account the position of the present Cabinet has acquired any great accession of strength.

Their fate depends entirely upon the result, or I may even say the probable result of the joint mediation of England and of France, and upon the possibility of a speedy, peaceful, but satisfactory termination of the negotiations.

The sufferings of the Lombards and the immense expenditure of money which the Piedmontese have to support for the maintenance of an army of 105,000 men, costing at the rate of nearly 8,000,000, of francs per month, render the prolongation of the present state of suspense almost intolerable to both parties; and the idea is already started and skilfully used by the violent war faction in the country, that if the State is to continue to bear these heavy expenses it had better again try the chances of war rather than prolong the present ruinous state of inactivity as well as of uncertainty.

I cannot conclude this despatch without renewing to your Lordship the expression of my conviction that no stable arrangement for the pacification of Italy is likely to be practicable, short of the bases originally proposed by the mediating Powers; they may impose conditions which may be considered as settling the various questions in dispute, but I have a firm belief that no reliance could be placed upon the duration of a peace based upon a continuance of Austrian domination in Lombardy and the Duchies, and that to attempt such a settlement would be only sowing the seeds of perpetual insurrection and laying the foundation of misery and discontent.

No. 443.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 4, 1848.

A DECREE has just been published organizing the future administration of public safety and police.

The point of most interest which this decree contains, is that for the future the administration of all that belongs to the public safety or to the police is to depend upon the Minister of the Interior, and is thus withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the military governors of the provinces.

The posts of military governors of provinces are also abolished, and the provinces of the State will from henceforward be administered by civil authorities.

The adoption of this measure has been for some time past much desired, and the present Government, by putting it into execution, have given an additional proof of their desire and of their intention to act according to the true principles of constitutional liberty.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 444.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Paris, October 10, 1848.

M. BASTIDE himself brought me the accompanying despatch from Mr. Abercromby, which had been entrusted to M. Boileau, a French Attaché just arrived.

M. Bastide had of course received intelligence of a similar character to that communicated by Mr. Abercromby, and he informed me that he intended to write very strongly to M. Bois-le-Comte to desire him to state to the Sardinian Government that when they considered themselves strong they would not take advice from any one; that in a moment of defeat they had applied for assistance which had been at once offered in the shape of friendly mediation; but if they now again chose virtually to disregard that mediation and to act offensively without consulting any one, they must take the whole responsibility of such a step upon themselves, that France must at once refuse her countenance to any proceeding tending to renew the war.

I told M. Bastide that I quite concurred in the view he was prepared to take, and felt assured that your Lordship would write in the same spirit to Mr. Abercromby as soon as you had received the despatches.

M. Bastide said that he did not mean to express himself in the same way upon the mere fact of the Sardinian Government directing the reappearance of their fleet before Venice, as he considered that as Marshal Radetzky had after warning refused to fulfil the condition of the Armistice as to restoring the warlike stores left in Peschiera, the mere retrograde movement of the Sardinian fleet was a legitimate demonstration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 445.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 6, 1848.

HIS Excellency the Baron de Perron has this moment left me. His Excellency came to inform me of the decision to which the Cabinet of Turin has come in consequence of the refusal of Field-Marshal Radetzky to deliver up the remaining half of the Sardinian park of artillery that was in Peschiera at the moment of its evacuation by the Sardinian troops.

The Baron de Perron said that the Sardinian Government have lately received from Lieutenant-General Hess a reply to a renewed application for the restitution of this *matériel de guerre*, couched in highly offensive and unsuitable terms, by which the Cabinet of Turin is informed that until it is known that the Sardinian naval squadron has positively quitted the Adriatic and has entered at least the Mediterranean Sea, and that the Fort of Osopo has been summoned to deliver up the guns and ammunition belonging to the Piedmontese, the remaining half of the Sardinian park will by order of Field-Marshal Radetzky not be restored.

These demands, which nothing in the Armistice of Milan entitles the Austrian General to make, and the terms in which they appear to have been made, have driven the Cabinet of Turin to take the decision which his Excellency the Baron de Perron came this morning to announce to me, namely, that orders would in a few days be sent to Admiral Albini to return to Venice, unless in the meanwhile the residue of the Sardinian park of artillery shall be restored.

The Sardinian Government argue that it is evident that Austria has no sincere intention of negotiating upon bases similar to those which had been offered to and accepted by His Sardinian Majesty's Ministers; that they came into office with a true desire to effect a peace, but one that should be honourable: that they disclaimed from the beginning the intention of being a Ministry of peace at any price, and that they would not depart from the position they had taken at the commencement of their official existence; that they saw with regret that the probability had greatly diminished of obtaining through the mediation of England and of France such a settlement of the Italian question as they could honourably accept, and therefore that they could not conceal from themselves the possibility of a renewal of hostilities.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron said that he wished that I should be informed of the views of the Sardinian Government before any positive or official communication of them was made to me, and that he had therefore come to speak to me upon the subject.

I replied to him that I thanked him for his attention, but that I must remark to him that the communication he had made to me involved most serious consequences.

I observed that the return of the Sardinian naval squadron before Venice might very possibly be considered by the Austrian Government as an act bearing so hostile a character that it might lead to the rupture of the Armistice and a renewal of the war; that without for one moment defending the unjustifiable conduct of Austria with regard to the park of artillery, it would be easy for Austria to give the impression that Sardinia was a second time the cause of lighting up a war; that the measure he proposed would certainly greatly impede, if not entirely destroy, the action of the mediating Powers; that if war resulted from the step which they were about to take, and that they had to trust as might possibly be the case to their own resources only, for the successful conduct and termination of it, they might again find that their strength was unequal to the task, and that they had involved their country in difficulties from which under such circumstances it would not be easy either for them or their friends to extricate her; that proof had already been given of the little reliance that is to be placed upon the energy and strength of will on the part of the Italians to work out their own independence, though I did not dispute the extent to which the hatred of the Austrian rule in Italy was carried; which no doubt kept up a continual state of ferment in the country, but which was different from that spirit of determination to effect at the price of personal exertion their entire emancipation, which would be necessary to ensure success unaided by foreign force; that I could not and did not believe that the feeling in this country even was so uncompromisingly strong in favour of the Italian cause as to render a return to a state of war popular with the masses; and I concluded by stating that I feared in this instance the Sardinian Government was yielding to the clamour of the minority in the country and the Chambers.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron endeavoured to defend the Sardinian Government from being accused of wishing to renew hostilities by any act of theirs, and stated that in sending back the squadron before Venice they were not throwing down the gauntlet to Austria, but that they were merely taking up the one which Austria herself had cast before them; that it was clear that Austria was wishing to protract matters as much as possible in order to gain time, perhaps amongst other reasons in the hope that as the season advanced the passes of the Alps might be shut or rendered difficult for the march of friendly troops; that the present state of armed peace was as ruinous to the finances of this country as a state of war, without the favourable chances which war offers; and that such being the case, now that the successful termination of the joint mediation of England and of France had become so doubtful, the continuance of a state of suspense became positively prejudicial.

I stated to his Excellency the Baron de Perron that if such were the sentiments of the Sardinian Government, it would be better for them at once openly to declare that they withdrew their acceptance of the joint mediation and that they were prepared to encounter the chances of war; that to continue to abide by their original acceptance of the mediation, at the same time that they were taking a measure calculated to render that mediation fruitless, was to trifle with the Governments of England and of France; and that I must observe to him that I held the Sardinian Government to be bound not to give effect to the decision which they had taken, without allowing me time to communicate it to Her Majesty's Government.

I stated to his Excellency also, that it would not in my opinion be enough to give M. Bois-le-Comte and me merely the opportunity to renew our application to Field-Marshal Radetzky upon the subject of the restitution of the Sardinian park of artillery, and to receive his answer before issuing the proposed order to Admiral Albini, for it was by the united influence of our respective Governments acting upon that of Vienna, that the Marshal could be brought faithfully to execute the orders which I have reason to believe he has received from his Government to restore the whole and not a portion of the park.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron replied that he would communicate to his colleagues the observations I had made and endeavour to persuade them to agree to the delay which I had urged, but he by no means assured me that his endeavours would be crowned by success.

There is therefore no time whatever to be lost in considering the nature of the communication which has this morning been made to me and the course which Her Majesty's Government may deem it right to take with regard to it; and I venture to express to your Lordship my hope that I may be furnished with your instructions for the future guidance of my conduct.

I shall propose to my French colleague to make without loss of time another joint application to Field-Marshal Radetzky for the restitution of the remaining half of the Piedmontese park of artillery.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 446.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

Vienna, October 2, 1848.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions of the 22nd ultimo, I have sent an official note to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, which was couched in your Lordship's own words, being the best I could use for the purpose. I have since let it be read to the Chargé d'Affaires of France. With respect to the admission of Venice to a participation in the Armistice, I had a short time ago a conversation on the subject with Baron Wessenberg, who I found resolved not to comply with the desire that the Armistice should be extended to that city. One of the reasons for the refusal in this: the Austrian Government considers the Venetians as rebels and does not choose to treat with them as it is willing to treat with a foreign State at war with Austria.

I need not trouble you with other reasons, and I will only say that his Excellency was decided in his rejection of the admission.

I had this morning a long conversation with M. de la Cour. I told him my opinion that the Austrian Government would not yield to the above point, and finding that he had an appointment to see Baron de Wessenberg and that he would speak to his Excellency upon the subject of the Armistice for Venice, I requested him to tell the Baron that I had received directions to renew the expression of the recommendation, and the wish of Her Majesty's Government that Venice should be considered as included in the Armistice. I thought it better to empower the Chargé d'Affaires to speak in my name at the same time that he should himself speak on this subject, because I had already received a denial from his Excellency.

I have since heard from M. de la Cour that Baron Wessenberg would not comply with his desire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 447.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

Vienna, October 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the official note, with one inclosure, which I have received from his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, in reply to my official note to him, written in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions of the 22nd ultimo.

His Excellency's note came to me yesterday too late to be sent by the post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 447.

*Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.**Vienne, le 3 Octobre, 1848.*

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, a reçu la note que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser d'ordre de son Gouvernement, sous la date du 30 Septembre.

Cette note rappelle que les Gouvernemens Français et Anglais avaient dès le 7 Août proposé leur médiation pour mettre fin à la guerre dans le Nord de l'Italie, en proposant une suspension d'hostilités immédiate, et en indiquant en même temps les bases qu'ils jugeaient les plus propres à établir une paix permanente. Il y est dit que la Sardaigne avait accueilli ces propositions, et s'était pour ce motif refusé d'entrer avec l'Autriche dans une négociation directe; que l'Autriche avait, dans la suite, également accepté la médiation offerte, mais qu'elle avait déclaré ne pas être dans le cas d'admettre les bases proposées par les deux Puissances.

La note s'arrête à ce point de l'exposé historique des pourparlers et pièces diplomatiques préparatoires à la négociation qu'il s'agit d'entamer, et ajoute que la réplique verbale du Gouvernement Autrichien ne saurait être considérée comme une réponse suffisante ni satisfaisante.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique semble ensuite reprocher au Cabinet de Vienne d'avoir accepté la médiation tout en élevant des objections contre les arrangemens proposés par les Puissances médiatrices et sans s'être énoncé sur ce qu'il comptait leur substituer.

Le Soussigné, non moins disposé que ne peut l'être le Cabinet Anglais, de ne point perdre inutilement un temps précieux pour amener l'affaire en question à une heureuse solution, s'empresse de faire à la note de son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique la réponse suivante.

Les raisons qui portent le Gouvernement Impérial à décliner les arrangemens proposés sont fondées sur le résultat de la guerre et l'état de choses actuel. Ces raisons sont à la connaissance du Cabinet de Londres, et le Soussigné a d'autant plus de peine à s'expliquer l'ignorance du Gouvernement Britannique sur les vues et les intentions de l'Autriche relativement à la pacification du Nord de l'Italie, qu'il a eu soin de s'expliquer à ce sujet d'une manière aussi claire que précise dans une dépêche adressée sous la date du 24 Août à M. le Chargé d'Affaires Impérial à Londres, et que ce dernier n'a pas manqué de porter à la connaissance de M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, ce qui est constaté par un rapport du Baron de Koller du 6 Septembre.

Le Soussigné, sentant l'utilité de rappeler cette dépêche à la mémoire du Gouvernement Britannique, a l'honneur d'en joindre une copie à la présente note.

L'acceptation de la médiation de l'Angleterre et de la France par l'Autriche est un fait postérieur à la déclaration contenue dans la dépêche du 24 Août, mais rien, il nous semble, autorise à supposer que cette acceptation ait pu apporter la moindre modification aux intentions du Cabinet de Vienne.

Il aime au contraire à ne voir dans la part que les Grandes Puissances prendront aux négociations, qu'un appui pour son bon droit, fondé sur les traités, et une garantie pour le maintien de la paix générale.

Le Soussigné, espère que les négociations que son Gouvernement est tout préparé à entamer pourront s'ouvrir sans délai, et il profite, &c.

(Signé) WESSENBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, October 3, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note dated September 30 which his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador has done him the honour to address to him by order of his Government.

That note mentions that the French and English Governments had

from the 7th of August offered their mediation to bring about an end of the war in the North of Italy, by proposing an immediate suspension of hostilities, and setting forth at the same time the basis which they considered the most suitable for the establishment of a permanent peace. It is therein stated that Sardinia accepted these proposals, and had for that reason refused to enter into direct negotiations with Austria; that Austria subsequently had equally accepted the offered mediation, but had declared that she was not in a position to admit the basis proposed by the two Powers.

The note stops at this point of the historical account of the conferences and diplomatic documents preparatory to the negotiation on which it is proposed to enter, and adds that the verbal reply of the Austrian Government cannot be considered as a sufficient or satisfactory answer.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government thereupon seems to reproach the Cabinet of Vienna with accepting the mediation, while it raises objections to the arrangements proposed by the mediating Powers, and without setting forth what it proposed to substitute for them.

The Undersigned, no less inclined than the British Cabinet can be, not uselessly to lose precious time in bringing the matter in question to a happy termination, hastens to make the following answer to the note of his Excellency the British Ambassador.

The reasons which oblige the Imperial Government to decline the proposed arrangements, are founded on the result of the war and the existing state of things. Those reasons are known to the Cabinet of London, and the Undersigned finds it the more difficult to explain to himself the ignorance of the British Government with respect to the views and intentions of Austria as concerns the pacification of the North of Italy, because he took pains to explain himself on this point in a clear and precise manner in a despatch addressed on the 24th of August to the Imperial Chargé d'Affaires in London, and which the latter has not failed to bring under the consideration of the Principal Secretary of State, as is proved by a report from Baron Koller, dated September 6.

The Undersigned, feeling the utility of recalling this despatch to the recollection of the British Government, has the honour to annex a copy thereof to the present note.

The acceptance by Austria of the mediation of England and of France is a fact subsequent to the declaration contained in the despatch of August 24th, but nothing, as it seems to us, authorizes the supposition that that acceptance can have modified in the slightest degree the intentions of the Cabinet of Vienna.

It takes pleasure on the contrary, in seeing in the part which the Great Powers will take in the negotiations, only a support for its rights, founded upon treaties, and a guarantee for the maintenance of the general peace.

The Undersigned hopes that the negotiations which his Government is ready to commence, may be opened without delay, and he avails himself, &c.

(Signed) WESSENBERG.

Inclosure 2 in No. 447.

Baron Wessenberg to M. de Thom and Baron Koller.

Vienne, 24 Août 1848.

LORD PONSONBY et le Chargé d'Affaires de France, M. de la Cour, m'ont fait part avant-hier des instructions qu'ils avaient reçues par rapport aux affaires d'Italie, et qui leur enjoignent de manifester conjointement au Gouvernement Impérial le désir qu'avaient leurs Gouvernemens de faciliter la pacification dans ce pays, et d'offrir à cet effet leur médiation amicale, en proposant de prendre pour base de la négociation à entamer, les conditions renfermées dans le mémorandum que M. Hummelauer avait soumis au Principal Secrétaire de Sa Majesté Britannique le 24 Mai dernier.

Je répondis que le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait que savoir gré aux Gouvernemens Français et Anglais des dispositions amicales qu'ils manifestaient à son égard et de l'intérêt qu'ils mettent à la pacification de l'Italie.

Quant à la base proposée pour une négociation, j'ai cru devoir observer que depuis l'époque où le memorandum en question avait été présenté au Cabinet Anglais comme un simple projet à prendre en considération, les positions respectives des parties combattantes avaient entièrement changé, et que le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait regarder toute proposition ou démarche faite de sa part avant la reprise des hostilités qui eurent lieu à la suite du refus de ces propositions de paix, que comme ayant perdu toute valeur par les événemens subséquens, et par conséquent comme non-avenue.

Contraints à faire de nouveau de grands efforts pour arriver à la paix, nous nous croyons en droit d'en recueillir les fruits, et comme les armées Impériale, conformément aux ordres qu'elles avaient reçus, ont limité leur succès, qu'il ne dépendait que d'eux d'étendre davantage, à reconquérir l'ancien état de possession, il me paraît que toute contestation au sujet de celui-ci ne saurait plus avoir de motif. La circonscription des limites telle qu'elle a été arrêtée et sanctionnée par les traités n'a cessé d'être reconnue comme valide, et le Gouvernement de la République Française s'est empressé de se prononcer affirmativement à cet égard dès son avènement.

Il ne reste donc au Gouvernement Impérial qu'à rétablir avec le Gouvernement Sarde les relations de paix et de bon voisinage qui existaient avant les événemens du mois de Mars, et dont l'interruption ne peut être attribuée qu'à ce dernier. Ayant reconquis par les armes le territoire envahi sans motif par les troupes Piémontaises, et loin de vouloir nous prévaloir vis-à-vis du Gouvernement Sarde de nos succès autrement qu'en lui demandant une indemnité équitable pour les frais de guerre qu'il nous a causée, nous osons espérer d'arriver bientôt à un arrangement qui mettra fin à toute discussion ultérieure.

Nous sommes d'autant plus fondés à la croire, que Sa Majesté le Roi Charles Albert nous a demandé lui-même un armistice comme prélude des négociations pour un traité de paix. Si toutefois nous étions trompés dans cette attente, ce que nous sommes loin de croire, nous nous réservons pour ce cas de réclamer les bons offices de deux Gouvernemens, qui nous ont fait connaître d'une manière aussi amicale, l'intérêt qu'ils prennent à la pacification de l'Italie.

Ce qui nous tient à cœur encore pour le moment c'est l'exécution entière de la Convention d'Armistice. Vous aurez appris sans doute les difficultés que les commandans militaires Sardes à Venise et à Osopo, ainsi que le chef de l'escadre Sarde, ont élevées à cet effet.

L'affaire territoriale ainsi réglée, la pacification qui concerne nos provinces Italiennes n'est plus qu'une affaire intérieure que nous sommes trop intéressés à voir arrangée au plus tôt, pour ne pas y vouer toute notre attention. Vous pouvez en donner d'avance l'assurance, en y ajoutant celle que les institutions que le Gouvernement Impérial est décidé à donner aux habitans de ces provinces seront les plus libérales et basées sur la nationalité.

(Translation.)

Vienna, August 24, 1848.

LORD PONSONBY and the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. de la Cour, communicated to me the day before yesterday instructions which they had received respecting the affairs of Italy, and which directed them conjointly to express to the Imperial Government the desire entertained by their Governments to facilitate the pacification of that country, and to offer for that purpose a friendly mediation, proposing to take as the basis of the negotiation to be undertaken the conditions laid down in the memorandum which M. de Hummelauer had submitted to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State on the 24th of May last.

I answered that the Imperial Government could not do otherwise than feel obliged to the French and English Governments for the friendly disposition which they manifested towards it, and for the interest which they take in the pacification of Italy. As regards the basis proposed for a negotiation, I considered it my duty to observe that since the period when the memorandum in question was presented to the English Cabinet as a simple *projet* to be taken into consideration, the respective positions of the conflicting parties had entirely changed, and that the Imperial Government could not consider any proposal made or proceedings taken on its side before the renewal of hostilities which followed

the refusal of those proposals for peace, otherwise than as having lost all their value by subsequent events, and consequently as if they had never occurred.

Obliged a second time to make great efforts in order to arrive at peace, we consider that we have a right to reap the fruit thereof, and as the Imperial armies, conformably with the orders they have received, have limited their successes, which it only depended upon them to extend further, to the reconquest of the ancient state of possession, it seems to me that there can no longer be any ground for argument on that point. The limits determined and sanctioned by treaties, have never ceased to be acknowledged as valid, and the Government of the French Republic hastened to pronounce itself affirmatively on this point, from the moment of its assuming power.

It therefore only remains for the Imperial Government to re-establish with the Sardinian Government those relations of peace and good neighbourhood which existed previous to the events of the month of March, and the interruption of which can only be attributed to the latter. Having reconquered by force of arms the territory which was without any reason invaded by the Piedmontese troops, and having no desire to avail ourselves with respect to the Sardinian Government of our success, except by demanding a fair indemnity for the expenses of the war which it has caused us to incur, we venture to hope that we shall shortly arrive at an arrangement which may put an end to all further discussion.

We have the more ground for believing this, inasmuch as His Majesty King Charles Albert has himself asked of us an armistice as a prelude to the negotiation for a treaty of peace. If, however, we were to be deceived in this expectation, which we are far from believing, we reserve to ourselves in that case to ask the good offices of the two Governments who have made known to us in so friendly a manner the interest which they take in the pacification of Italy.

That which we especially wish for at this moment is the complete execution of the Convention of Armistice. You will have learnt without doubt the difficulties which the Sardinian military commanders at Venice and at Osopo, as well as the commander of the Sardinian fleet, have raised in this respect.

The territorial question being thus arranged, the question of the pacification of our Italian Provinces then becomes only a matter of internal concern which we are too deeply interested to see arranged at the earliest moment, not to give it our entire attention. You may give an assurance to that effect beforehand, adding also the assurance that the institutions which the Imperial Government has determined to grant to the inhabitants of those provinces will be most liberal and based upon a principle of nationality.

No. 448.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Vienna, October 5, 1848.

IN conformity with your Lordship's instructions of the 26th ultimo, I read confidentially to his Excellency Baron Wessenberg, Mr. Consul Campbell's despatch to your Lordship dated Milan, September 13th.

His Excellency said that he had no information of the details as to the particular facts having occurred in Milan, indicative of the state of feeling of the Milanese against the Austrians stated by Mr. Campbell to your Lordship, but if those facts were correctly stated they were in part the necessary consequence of the measures taken in a city in a state of siege.

Baron Wessenberg was most anxious that the affairs of Italy should be arranged as soon as possible, and that the provisional state in which the Austrian-Italian Provinces now stood might be put an end to. He said that Mr. Campbell's statement that 30,000 troops are in Milan is incorrect. The number is 15,000.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

The Baron will send me a written answer about the Piedmontese artillery in Peschiera.

No. 449.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, October 5, 1848.

I HAVE just seen M. de la Cour. He tells me that he received letters this day from Turin containing information that King Charles Albert is determined to make war, but that he is forced to take that part by the hostile feelings of his subjects and his army against Austria.

No. 450.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, October 5, 1848.

I HAD before this the honour to write to your Lordship respecting the desire of the Diet at Frankfort to be a party to the settlement of the Italian affairs.

I have now to acquaint you that this desire has been again expressed here, and that the Government is in great difficulty about it. The Russian Government, the French Government, the British Government, are all as yet officially unconnected with the Diet, and possibly all might decline to admit its Minister into the mediation. If such a difficulty exists, the matter might be considered as settled.

Russia has not yet given any notice of an intention to belong to the mediation. I am pretty sure that Russia would object to the Frankfort Diet.

No. 451.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 12.)

My Lord,

Florence, September 30, 1848.

THE state of affairs at Leghorn has in no way changed since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship on that subject.

It is in no respect under the controul of the Government, and although the town is quiet, it is self-governed, quite independently of the Grand Duke. All power is lodged in the Deputy Guerrazzi, they look to him for the maintenance of order, and the Municipal body obey his directions as if he was the Governor of the town constituted by the Grand Duke.

No money whatever is remitted to the Public Treasury from this great seat of commerce. As part of the revenues of Tuscany were derived from the customs duties levied at Leghorn, the State experiences much inconvenience now that this source of wealth is dried up.

The question is, how is the sovereignty of Leghorn to be recovered by the Grand Duke? The Tuscan troops will not act against their fellow-countrymen. Although King Charles Albert has acceded to the request of the Government here for the loan of 2,400 Piedmontese soldiers, yet it is under the express condition that these troops shall not be called upon to act against the people.

The expedient, therefore, of calling in Piedmontese assistance will not avail the Grand Duke on this occasion, though doubtless his Government will receive some moral support from the presence of a well-disciplined force in its territories.

I am told that the Government are about to apply to England and France for assistance, but as yet I have received no official notice to this effect.

The extraordinary powers granted to the Government for the suppression of sedition at Leghorn and which were extended to the whole of Tuscany,

have been the object of an attack on the Government in the Chambers. The Chambers themselves were invaded on Saturday last by 800 of the mob in support of the Deputy who made the attack on the Government. The President was obliged to adjourn the sitting in consequence. When the sitting was resumed a vote of confidence in the Government was passed with only one dissentient voice.

Great consternation and discontent however have been produced by the imposition of a forced loan calculated on the amount of three years' taxation. A loan equal to one year's taxation had already been levied. So that the sum which all real property has to pay (for tenants and cultivators of the soil are exempt) will be equal to four years' taxation. This is a serious burden and will be much felt by proprietors and by the commercial interests. It is an additional argument for peace, which except by some newspaper writers has been all along desired in Tuscany. To so great a state of distress has the Treasury been reduced that the Grand Duke has for the second time sent 150,000 francs worth of his plate to the mint to meet the present emergency.

The internal condition of Bologna has somewhat improved since I last wrote to your Lordship, but it still continues in a very lawless state. The arbitrary acts of the late Pope and the weakness of the present one have rendered the Government of Rome odious to the Bolognese. They would gladly embrace any form of Government that would free them from it. I fear it will be long before permanent quiet or confidence is restored there.

The Government have informed me that in addition to the 2,400 Sardinian troops already in Tuscany, they have applied for the troops now at Ancona who formed the garrison of Venice.

I believe that the measure of calling in 4000 Swiss troops which was sanctioned by the Chambers will be abandoned by the Government as it was found to be extremely unpopular.

Since I commenced writing this despatch the Government have appointed a Governor for Leghorn in the person of Chevalier Tartini. This gentleman went down with the Councillors. They were received at the Leghorn terminus by the Gonfaloniere and Guerrazzi, and strongly urged not to attempt to enter the town, as such a step might produce disastrous consequences to the peace of the town. In consequence of this, M. Tartini and his two companions returned to Florence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 452.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 12.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 1, 1848.

I HAVE received this morning from the Minister for Foreign Affairs a note of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, informing me that in consequence of the state of anarchy at Leghorn, the Tuscan Government is quite unable to guarantee the safety of British life and property in that town.

I have in consequence sent down Mr. Barron, attached to Her Majesty's Legation, to consult with Mr. Macbean and Captain Codrington as to the best steps to be taken under there circumstances.

I have authorized Mr. Barron to write to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to apply for another of Her Majesty's ships, should such a course appear desirable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 452.

The Chevalier Giorgini to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 30 Septembre, 1848.

L'ETAT d'anarchie dans lequel est depuis quelque temps malheureusement plongée la ville de Livourne, loin d'avoir cessé, devient de jour en jour plus grave. Tous les efforts que le Gouvernement du Grand Duc a faits pour y ramener l'ordre, tantôt par des mesures vigoureuses, tantôt par des voies de conciliation, ont été inutiles. Un dernier parti adopté par le Gouvernement le 28 de ce mois pour tâcher de rentrer dans l'exercice de son autorité demeure également sans effet.

Une situation de choses si déplorable m'impose le devoir de faire sentir à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement Toscan, à défaut de moyens d'action à Livourne, ne saurait désormais garantir la sûreté ni des personnes ni des propriétés de ses connationaux demeurant en cette ville. Aussi votre sagesse éclairée vous fera-t-elle apprécier l'opportunité d'informer de cela M. le Consul d'Angleterre résidant à Livourne, en lui ajoutant les instructions que vous jugerez convenables dans les circonstances actuelles.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) G. GIORGINI.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Florence, September 30, 1848.

THE state of anarchy in which for some time past the town of Leghorn has unfortunately been placed, far from having ceased, becomes daily more serious. All the endeavours which the Government of the Grand Duke have made to restore order, sometimes by vigorous measures, at other times by acts of conciliation, have been useless. A last step taken by the Government on the 28th of this month to endeavour to resume the exercise of its authority has been equally without effect.

So lamentable a posture of affairs makes it my duty to state to your Excellency that the Tuscan Government, for want of means of acting at Leghorn, cannot henceforward guarantee the safety either of the persons or property of your countrymen residing in that town. Your sagacity will make you take an opportunity of acquainting the British Consul at Leghorn of this fact, and of adding such instructions as you may think fit under present circumstances.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) G. GIORGINI.

No. 453.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 12.)

(Extract.)

Florence, October 1, 1848.

THE Venetian Government deeming that some compensation was due to them by the Sardinian Government for the expenses of the Piedmontese troops during their occupation of Venice, have applied for the reimbursement of such expenses, and the Sardinian Government have sent them 600,000 francs, which have been transmitted from Ancona in a French war-steamer.

The Sardinian squadron is still at Ancona.

No. 454. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis Ridolfi.

Foreign Office, October 13, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has had the honour to received the official note addressed to him on the 6th instant by the Marquis Ridolfi, &c., requesting an assurance on the part of Her Majesty's Government that if a congress or

conference for the settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy should take place, in the deliberations of which a Sardinian Representative should take part, a Representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany would likewise be admitted.

In reply, the Undersigned has to state to the Marquis Ridolfi, that although in the present state of affairs Her Majesty's Government cannot say what arrangements may ultimately be resolved upon in regard to the matters to which the Marquis Ridolfi's note relates, the Marquis Ridolfi may rest assured that the wishes which he has expressed on behalf of the Tuscan Government will be duly taken into consideration.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 455.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 14.)

(Extract.)

Naples, October 3, 1848.

THE actual number of electoral colleges which have not been assembled for the purpose of choosing deputies is forty-four; and although others have practically remained unrepresented, the fault has proceeded from the voluntary retreat or absence of the members

Forty-four is a large proportion in a Chamber of one hundred and sixty-four.

No. 456.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, October 13, 1848.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated Naples the 4th instant, relative to the state of affairs at Leghorn.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 456.

Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Hibernia," Naples, October 4, 1848.

I TRANSMIT for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the copy of a letter which I have just received from Mr. Henry Barron, an Attaché of Her Majesty's Legation at Florence.

It is my intention in consequence to dispatch the "Porcupine" to assist Captain Codrington in the duty of protecting the British residents at Leghorn, as from her light draught of water she may be advantageously placed inside the Mole.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 456.

Mr. Barron to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.

Sir,

Leghorn, October 2, 1848.

I AM directed by Sir George Hamilton, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, to transmit to your Excellency copy of a note* received yesterday from the Tuscan Minister of Foreign Affairs.

* See Inclosure in No. 452.

In it the Minister informs Sir George Hamilton that the state of anarchy in the town is become so serious as to render it impossible for the Tuscan Government to guarantee the safety of British life and property.

Sir George has in consequence instructed me to request your Excellency to send to this port another British ship of war, a steamer if possible. The size of the "Thetis" renders it impossible for her to approach within a convenient distance of the shore.

There are here no less than twenty-nine British merchant-vessels besides a large amount of property. The safety of these ships, besides that of a large number of British residents, depends mostly on the caprice of an armed mob.

The Government have lost all means of action.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY BARRON,
Attached to the British Legation at Florence.

No. 457.

M. Pasini to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 14.)

(Extrait.)

Paris, ce 6 Octobre, 1848.

NOUS avons une pleine confiance que votre Excellence voudra bien nous aider à faire cesser les maux qui affligent notre chère patrie. Je serais heureux si votre Excellence, en cédant à sa sympathie pour l'Italie, voulait avoir la bonté de me faire connaître quelques bons conseils à suivre pour atteindre notre but. Et je me hâterais moi-même d'aller présenter personnellement mes hommages à votre Excellence, si je pouvais me flatter que cela ne serait pas trop abuser de votre bonté.

(Translation.)

WE have full confidence that your Excellency will be pleased to assist us in effecting a cessation of the evils which afflict our dear country. I should be happy if your Excellency, yielding to your sympathy for Italy, would have the goodness to impart to me some good advice for the attainment of our object. And I would hasten to offer in person my respect to your Excellency if I could flatter myself that my doing so would not be taking too much advantage of your goodness.

No. 458.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 10, 1848.

GENERAL FRANZINI has from personal reasons declined the command of the army, which will be offered to General Bava.

The King will not have the supreme command, and it is possible he may be required not even to go to the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 459.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to you herewith a note, together with its inclosure, which I received yesterday after post-hour, from his Excellency the Baron de Perron.

Your Lordship will perceive by the contents of the inclosed note from the Baron de Perron, that in consequence of the Austrians still retaining possession of a portion of the Sardinian park of artillery, which, according to the IInd Article of the Armistice of the 9th August, ought to have been given up entirely on the evacuation by the Sardinian troops of the fortress of Peschiera, and of their commencing the blockade of Venice, and preparing, contrary to the tenor of the IVth Article of the Armistice of Milan, to attack that town for the purpose of taking it by force of arms, the Government of His Sardinian Majesty will consider themselves obliged to renew the order to the Admiral commanding the Sardinian naval squadron, not only not to quit the Adriatic but to return before Venice and to raise the blockade of that place, unless they receive the most prompt assurances that Austria will abstain from all acts of hostility against Venice, and that the remainder of the Sardinian park of artillery shall be delivered up without further delay.

The inclosure in Baron de Perron's note is a letter from Lieutenant-General Hess, by which he notifies the decision of Marshal Radetzky to retain possession of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre* until certain conditions which he names shall have been complied with; and the terms in which this decision is made known to the Government of His Sardinian Majesty have, not unnaturally, roused the feelings of the Sardinian Ministers and rendered it difficult for them tamely to submit to the severe and injurious imputations cast upon them by General Hess.

That the Austrian authorities have in the case of the park of artillery acted with injustice and bad faith is evident from the various and ever-changing pretexts put forward by them as excuses for their conduct; and when to that is added the irritating character of the inclosed communication from the Austrian Chief of the Staff, by order of the Marshal, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the patience and judgment of the Sardinian Government should be exhausted, and that they should allow themselves to be carried away by a hasty decision.

I had intended to have called this morning upon his Excellency the Baron de Perron to speak to him upon the subject of the inclosed note, but his Excellency forestalled me by paying me a visit at an early hour.

He came he said to declare that the Sardinian Government were resolutely determined to carry into execution the measure which his note of yesterday announced, unless they received satisfactory assurances with regard to Venice and their *matériel de guerre*, and he added that should they have to order the return of the Sardinian naval squadron before Venice, Admiral Albini would be instructed to raise the blockade of Venice if necessary by force of arms, and in case the Austrian naval squadron offered resistance, at once to endeavour to take or destroy as large a portion of the Austrian ships as possible.

His Excellency in defence of the policy which the Sardinian Government have thought it expedient to adopt, went over again the same arguments which he employed on a former occasion and which have been already reported to your Lordship, and he added upon this occasion the declaration that he and his colleagues, fully aware of the consequences to which the return of the Sardinian squadron before Venice may lead, were nevertheless firmly determined to accept the chances of war, even had this country to carry it on unaided by foreign support.

The manner in which his Excellency communicated to me these intentions of the Sardinian Government was so earnest, and the matter itself was of such importance that I did not hesitate to state to his Excellency the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in terms as distinct as I could find, the objections to such a course of policy, the dangers to which it would almost certainly expose this country, and the accusation to which Sardinia would expose herself of risking for the second time by an act of hers the peace of Europe; an act which could not now as on the former occasion be extenuated on the ground of being a generous defence of the national independence of Italy, but which in the present instance had much the appearance of being undertaken to satisfy the particular interests of Sardinia. I concluded my observations by saying that I could not but disapprove entirely of the policy which I feared the Government of His Sardinian Majesty was disposed to follow; that I foresaw for this country dangers the most imminent in a return to a state of war under any circum-

stances, and therefore, that wishing well to the interests of Sardinia I could not see her about to plunge again into all the vicissitudes of war without feeling much anxiety for the result, and without expressing to him as strongly as language would permit, my regret and my disapprobation at the adoption of a course of policy which if carried out, however much the Sardinian Government might attempt to disclaim the intention on their part of the desire to denounce the Armistice or to make a hostile attack upon Austria, was calculated to compromise the welfare of the Sardinian States, and which must render fruitless all attempt at mediation by the Cabinets of London and of Paris.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

P.S.—The Austrian squadron off Venice, according to accounts dated the 28th ultimo, had at that time captured two Papal vessels; but I have not heard that any official notice has been given to Consuls of foreign nations by the Austrian authorities of the official notification of the establishment of a sea blockade of Venice.

R. A.

Inclosure 1 in No. 459.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

9 Octobre, 1848.

D'APRES l'Article II de la Convention d'Armistice du 9 Août dernier, les troupes Royales et alliées devaient évacuer les places trois jours après la notification de la trêve, et avaient le droit d'emmener à leur suite tout le matériel de guerre et autres objets qui leur appartenaient.

La forteresse de Peschiera fut, ainsi que toutes les autres, évacuée dans le délai fixé, mais le défaut de chevaux et de moyens de transport sur place ne permit pas aux troupes Royales de se faire suivre par le parc de siège et par les autres pièces et chariots qui étaient dans Peschiera; il fallut dès-lors envoyer de l'intérieur des Etats du Roi les attelages nécessaires à cet effet; mais à peine étaient-ils arrivés à Peschiera, qu'à la grande surprise du Gouvernement du Roi, le Maréchal Radetzky souleva des prétextes pour différer l'accomplissement de l'engagement formel résultant de la dite Convention du 9 Août. Le Gouvernement du Roi s'est attaché avec la plus entière loyauté à lever tout prétexte de tergiversation à l'Autriche, en accomplissant le pacte d'Armistice dans ses plus strictes conséquences, et en démontrant ce qu'il y avait d'erroné dans certaines allégations avancées par elle. La flotte Sarde qui avait dû séjourner quelque tems de plus à Venise pour recevoir à son bord les troupes Royales qui s'y trouvaient, a appareillé de Venise le 8 et se trouve depuis le 9 Septembre ancrée dans le port d'Ancône, où elle a mis à terre les troupes: elle aurait depuis lors fait voile pour rentrer dans un port des Etats de Sa Majesté, aux termes de l'Article IV de la Convention, si le Gouvernement du Roi, en voyant les lenteurs et les tergiversations de l'Autriche dans la reddition du parc, n'eut pas cru qu'il était de son devoir et de son droit de surseoir à l'accomplissement absolu de cette partie de la Convention jusqu'à ce que l'Autriche de son côté assure, par un commencement au moins d'exécution, l'accomplissement de ses engagements.

Près de deux mois se sont cependant écoulés depuis l'évacuation de Peschiera, et le Gouvernement du Roi, malgré ses protestations, malgré sa longanimité, n'a pas réussi à obtenir que la restitution d'une seule portion du parc. Il avait offert dernièrement au Maréchal Radetzky d'échanger les ordres respectifs de départ de l'escadre d'Ancône et de la partie du parc qui reste à Peschiera, lorsqu'il a reçu du Chef de l'Etat-Major du Maréchal la lettre ci-jointe que le Gouvernement du Roi s'abstient de qualifier, laissant aux deux Hautes Puissances médiatrices qui sont parfaitement au courant de toutes les phases de cette affaire, le soin de l'apprécier.

Le Gouvernement du Roi, après avoir épuisé tous les moyens de conciliation pour obtenir de l'Autriche l'exécution de ses engagements, était sur le point de s'adresser encore une fois au bienveillant intérêt des Puissances médiatrices

pour atteindre le but légitime qu'il se propose, lorsque sur ces entrefaites une nouvelle et grave complication est survenue; on annonce que l'Autriche, contrairement à l'Article IV de l'Armistice, vient de bloquer Venise et se prépare à attaquer cette ville pour la soumettre de vive force. Une telle violation de la Convention ne peut être tolérée, et le Gouvernement du Roi ne saurait, sans manquer à ses devoirs et sans se déconsidérer à la face de toute l'Italie et de l'Europe entière, souffrir que l'Autriche enorgueillie par un succès momentané, viole ainsi la foi des traités. Il se doit donc à lui-même d'agir d'une manière énergique, propre à lui assurer l'estime des nations comme le maintien de ses droits. En conséquence il s'est non seulement déterminé à renouveler l'ordre à la flotte Sarde de ne pas quitter l'Adriatique, mais il a encore décidé qu'elle retournerait à Venise pour la débloquer, si nous ne recevions pas le plus promptement possible, l'assurance positive que l'Autriche s'abstiendrait de toute hostilité contre cette ville et que le reste de notre parc nous serait enfin rendu sans aucun délai. Il se croit d'autant plus fondé à prendre cette attitude envers l'Autriche, que les lenteurs interminables que cette Puissance apporte dans la question de la médiation, malgré les instances pressantes et désintéressées de l'Angleterre et de la France, jointes aux mesures qu'elle prend dans l'administration de la Lombardie, témoignent plus hautement que ne le ferait une déclaration explicite, de son intention bien arrêtée de conserver en entier ses anciennes possessions d'Italie, et par conséquent de ne point consentir à traiter sur les bases que les Hautes Puissances médiatrices nous ont offertes et qui ont été depuis près de deux mois acceptées par nous avec autant d'empressement que de gratitude. Mais avant de mettre à exécution une détermination irrévocable que le soin de sa dignité et même de sa propre conservation lui font un devoir de ne pas différer d'avantage, le Gouvernement du Roi croirait manquer aux sentimens de reconnaissance qui l'animent envers les Puissances médiatrices s'il ne les mettait pas avant tout au courant de la position grave où il se trouve et des résolutions qu'il a été forcé de prendre. Il n'entend point par là reprendre les hostilités ni rompre l'Armistice, tant que l'Autriche ne le dénoncera pas elle-même.

Il ne se méprend aucunement sur les conséquences qu'une telle détermination peut avoir pour le maintien de la paix ou du *statu quo*, mais il s'y est décidé parcequ'il a la conviction profonde qu'aucun Gouvernement ne peut avoir l'assentiment de la nation dont les intérêts lui sont confiés, s'il ne défend pas son honneur autant que ses intérêts matériels.

Le Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, prie MM. les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française de vouloir bien porter cette communication à la connaissance de leurs Gouvernemens et d'ajouter à l'obligeance dont il a déjà reçu tant de témoignages de leur part, celle de l'appuyer de leurs bienveillans offices.

Il saisit, &c.

(Signé)

BARON DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

9 October, 1848.

BY the IIInd Article of the Convention of Armistice of the 9th of August last, the Royal and allied troops were to evacuate places three days after the notification of the truce, and had the right to take with them all the military warlike stores and other property belonging to them.

The fortress of Peschiera was, like all the others, evacuated within the time fixed, but the want of horses and means of transport did not allow the Royal troops to be followed by the park of siege artillery and by the other pieces and carriages which were at Peschiera; it became therefore necessary to send from the interior of His Majesty's territories the draught horses requisite for this purpose, but they had scarcely arrived at Peschiera, when, to the great surprise of His Majesty's Government, Marshal Radetzky raised pretences for putting off the performance of the formal engagement resulting from the said Convention of the 9th of August. The King's Government applied itself with complete sincerity to removing all pretext for tergiversation on the part of Austria, by carrying out the Armistice agreement in the strictest manner, and by proving the falsehood of certain allegations advanced by

Austria. The Sardinian fleet which was forced to remain some time longer at Venice in order to receive on board the Royal troops which were there, sailed from Venice on the 8th, and since the 9th of September has been at anchor in the port of Ancona, where it has landed the troops. It would have since then sailed in order to return to a port in His Majesty's territories according to the terms of Article IV of the Convention, if the King's Government, seeing the slowness and tergiversation of Austria as regards the surrender of the artillery, had not considered it to be its duty and its right to suspend the absolute accomplishment of that part of the Convention until Austria on her side guarantees, by at least commencing their execution, that she intends to fulfil her engagements.

Nearly two months, however, have elapsed since the evacuation of Peschiera, and the King's Government, notwithstanding its protests and its patience, has not succeeded in obtaining the restoration of more than one portion of the artillery. It had lastly offered Marshal Radetzky to exchange the respective instructions for the departure of the fleet from Ancona, and of the portion of artillery remaining at Peschiera, when it received from the chief of the Marshal's Staff the annexed letter which the King's Government refrain from characterizing, leaving to the two high mediating Powers, who are perfectly acquainted with the whole of this matter, the task of appreciating its merits.

The King's Government after having exhausted all means of conciliation with a view to obtain from Austria the execution of her engagements, was on the point of addressing itself once more to the benevolent interest of the mediating Powers, in order to obtain the legitimate object which it proposes to itself, when in addition to these circumstances a new and important complication has arisen. It is announced that Austria, contrary to the IVth Article of the Armistice, has begun to blockade Venice, and is preparing to attack that city in order by force to reduce it to submission. Such a violation of the Convention cannot be tolerated, and the King's Government cannot, without failing in its duties and without dishonouring itself in the face of all Italy and of the whole of Europe, permit Austria, puffed up by a momentary success, thus to violate the faith of treaties. It owes it to itself to act in an energetic manner; such as will secure to it the esteem of nations as well as the maintenance of its rights. It has consequently not only determined to repeat the order to the Sardinian fleet not to quit the Adriatic, but it has also decided that the fleet should return to Venice to raise the blockade, if we do not receive, as quickly as possible, a positive assurance that Austria will abstain from every act of hostility against that city, and that the remainder of our artillery will at length be restored to us without delay. It considers itself so much the more justified in assuming such an attitude towards Austria, as the interminable delays which that Power has made in the mediation question, notwithstanding the pressing and disinterested remonstrances of England and of France, taken in connexion with the measures adopted by her in the administration of Lombardy, prove more clearly even than an explicit declaration, her fixed intention to preserve in their entirety her ancient possessions in Italy, and consequently not to consent to treat on the basis which the high mediating Powers offered to us, and which have been now for two months accepted by us with as much readiness as gratitude. But before carrying into execution an irrevocable determination which a care for its dignity, and even for its own safety, makes it its duty no longer to defer, the King's Government would consider that it would be failing in the feelings of gratitude which animate it with respect to the mediating Powers, if it did not, before everything else, apprise them of the serious position in which it finds itself placed, and of the resolutions which it has been forced to take. It does not intend by this to resume hostilities or to break the Armistice, so long as Austria shall not herself denounce it.

It in no way deceives itself as to the consequences which such a decision may have in regard to the maintenance of peace or of the *statu quo*, but it has come to this decision, because it has a deep conviction that no Government can have the approbation of the nation whose interests are confided to it, if it does not defend its honour as well as its material interests.

The Undersigned, &c., requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, to have the goodness to bring this communication to the knowledge of their Governments, and to add to the kindness of which he has already received so many proofs from them, by supporting it with their good offices.

(Signed) BARON DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 459.

General Hess to General Chiodo.

Milan, le 1 Octobre, 1848.

JE viens de recevoir la dépêche du 29 Septembre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser, et je m'empresse d'y répondre tout de suite.

Je regrette infiniment que le point de vue dont le Maréchal Comte Radetzky croyait devoir porter en envisageant l'affaire en question sur le renvoi du parc a été totalement méconnue.

S'il s'agissait de difficultés à régler simplement entre militaires, croyez-moi, M. le Général, que la confiance que le Maréchal pose dans la franchise et la loyauté de M. le Ministre de la Guerre serait tout aussi illimitée que la mienne envers vous, laquelle, je n'en doute guère, serait parfaitement égale par la vôtre.

Mais l'affaire dont il s'agit maintenant étant politique est par conséquent tout autre; elle en est une entre deux Gouvernemens comme tels; toutes les relations purement personnelles doivent donc être mises de côté.

Le Maréchal n'étant dans cette affaire que l'organe de son Gouvernement, qui l'a chargé de toute la responsabilité qui pourra en résulter, se voit donc forcé malgré lui d'adopter le système de méfiance dont le Cabinet de Vienne, je dois vous l'avouer franchement, est pénétré envers le Gouvernement du Roi de Sardaigne, et vous conviendrez, M. le Général, que cette méfiance n'est pas tout-à-fait dénuée de fondement.

La manière dont le Gouvernement Sarde a agi à l'époque qui a précédé les hostilités, la manière dont il les a commencées, n'a pas été de nature à inspirer beaucoup de confiance; comme plus tard le délai que Messieurs, les commandans Sardes ont cru devoir mettre à abandonner la ville et le port de Venise, a coûté aux forces militaires Autrichiennes un tems précieux qui aurait suffi pour soumettre cette capitale révoltée.

La lettre que M. le Chevalier de Ricaudy, commandant le vaisseau Français "l'Asmodée," en date du 14 Septembre, a adressée à ce sujet à M. le Contre-Amiral Albini, et qui a été insérée dans la Gazette de Gênes (bien que son Excellence le Maréchal ne lui attribue aucune importance diplomatique), prouve évidemment que cette manière de voir n'est pas exclusivement propre au Gouvernement Autrichien; elle est celle de toute la France, de toute l'Allemagne; elle est celle de toute notre armée; elle est enfin même celle de tous nos ennemis qui se réjouissent de votre retard devant Venise comme d'une ruse de votre part qui vous a d'autant mieux réussi qu'il nous était impossible de l'empêcher.

Si nous ajoutons à cela un autre grief du Gouvernement Autrichien, l'occupation du territoire Modenais, si, contraire aux stipulations de l'Armistice, elle reste un autre fait que M. le Ministre de la Guerre n'a pu désavouer et qui, comme si facile à éviter, a été de même bien peu apte à augmenter la confiance du Cabinet Impérial envers votre Gouvernement.

Tout ceci bien considéré, vous ne pouvez me contester, M. le Baron, que la responsabilité du Maréchal envers le Ministère de Vienne serait immense si son Excellence, après avoir donné une preuve aussi éclatante de sa bonne volonté en consentant à la remise immédiate de la moitié du parc de siège et autre matériel de guerre, accédait tout de suite à celle de la seconde partie pendant que la Ministère Sarde se débat même d'envoyer de sa part un simple ordre à sa flotte de quitter l'Adriatique à l'instant; refus qui, vous en conviendrez, prouve une défiance immensément supérieure à celle du Gouvernement Autrichien.

Le Maréchal, responsable, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire, à son

Gouvernement, doit donc insister sur ce qu'il a cru devoir vous notifier dernièrement, bien persuadé qu'il est que M. le Ministre de la Guerre et votre Excellence eux-mêmes ne pourraient agir différemment s'ils se trouvaient à sa place.

Je saisis, &c.

Le Lieutenant-Général, Quartier-Maître-Général
de l'Armée Autrichienne,
(Signé) HESS.

(Translation.)

Milan, October 1, 1848.

I HAVE just received the despatch of September 29 which your Excellency has done me the honour to address to me, and I proceed immediately to answer it.

I exceedingly regret that the light in which Marshal Count Radetzky thought that he ought to look upon the question of restoring the park of artillery, has been wholly misconceived.

If it were a matter of difficulties to be arranged only between soldiers, believe me, M. le General, that the confidence which the Marshal reposes in the frankness and sincerity of the Minister of War would be as unlimited as mine towards you, which I have no doubt would be equalled by yours.

But the affair in question being a political one is consequently quite different; it is one between two Governments as Governments; all purely personal relations must be set aside.

The Marshal being in this matter only the organ of his Government, which has charged him with all the responsibility which may result therefrom, finds himself obliged in spite of his inclination to adopt the system of distrust which the Cabinet of Vienna, I must frankly confess to you, feels towards the Government of the King of Sardinia; and you will agree, General, that that distrust is not entirely without foundation.

The manner in which the Sardinian Government acted at the period which preceded hostilities, and the manner in which it commenced them, were not of a character to inspire much confidence; as also, at a latter period, the delay which the Sardinian commanders considered it their duty to make in leaving the city and port of Venice, cost the Austrian military forces some precious time which would have been sufficient for the reduction of that revolted capital.

The letter, dated September 14, which the Chevalier de Ricaudy, commanding the French vessel "Asmodée," addressed on this matter to Vice-Admiral Albini, and which was inserted in the Gazette de Gênes (although the Marshal attaches no diplomatic importance whatever thereto), plainly proves that this mode of viewing the matter is not exclusively that of the Austrian Government; it is that of the whole of France, and of all Germany; it is that of our army; and lastly, it is that of all our enemies who are rejoicing at your delay before Venice, as being a stratagem on your part which has succeeded the better for you, inasmuch as we were incapable of preventing it.

If we add to this a further complaint of the Austrian Government, the occupation of the Modenese territory, so contrary to the stipulations of the Armistice, it remains as another fact which the Minister of War has not been able to disavow, and which, as it was easy to avoid, has in the same way been very little calculated to increase the confidence of the Imperial Cabinet in your Government.

If all this be well considered, you cannot deny, M. le Baron, that the responsibility of the Marshal towards the Ministry at Vienna would be immense, if his Excellency, after giving so striking a proof of his good inclinations by giving his consent to the immediate surrender of half the park of siege artillery and other military stores, should immediately agree to the surrender of the second portion, whilst the Sardinian Ministry hesitates sending on its side a simple order to its fleet at once to quit the Adriatic; a refusal which, you will agree, proves a far greater distrust than that of the Austrian Government.

The Marshal, who, as I have had the honour to say to you, is responsible to his Government, must therefore persevere in what he lately considered it his duty to notify to you, being well persuaded that the Minister of War and your Excellency yourselves could not have acted otherwise, were you in his place.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) HESS.

No. 460.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 3, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th ultimo, in which I forwarded to your Lordship copies of my correspondence with Count Forni, the Modenese Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the provinces belonging to the Duchy of Modena of Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana and Garfagnana, still held by Tuscany, I have now the honour to inclose in original and translation an answer which I have received from Count Forni to my last despatch on that subject.

I omit sending to your Lordship a copy of a memorandum on the *statu quo* drawn up by the Modenese Cabinet and inclosed in the communication addressed to me, as I do not consider it of sufficient interest.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received from the Tuscan Minister the inclosed note embodying the views of the Tuscan Government on the extension to Tuscany of the benefits of the Armistice.

Inclosure 1 in No. 460.

Count Forni to Sir George Hamilton.

Eccellenza,

Modena, 29 Settembre, 1848.

DOPO il ricevimento dell' ossequiato foglio 17 corrente di vostra Eccellenza e dell' annessovi memoria dell' Imperiale Reale Governo Toscano, (di cui e delle premure colle quali l'Eccellenza vostra si è fatti a procurare gl' invocati schiarimenti, Sua Altezza Reale l'Augusto mio Sovrano m'incarica di ringraziarla) si è avuto qui notizia del prolungamento dell' Armistizio fino al 22 Ottobre.

Vostra Eccellenza ben vede che questa ultima circostanza non obbligherebbe del pari la Reale Altezza Sua a prolungare l'effetto delle concessioni con cui si arrendeva a sospendere per la prima volta durata dell' Armistizio stesso il rioccupazione dello sue Province di Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, e Garfagnana, le quali d'altronde sono in maggior pericolo di anarchia, finchè seguitavano a tenersi forzatamente soggette ad un Governo estero cui furono costrette aderire, di quello che se ritornassero nella legittima loro dipendenza. Oltre a questo riflesso lo *statu quo* al quale si appoggia la memoria del Governo Toscano, tanto se si riferisce alle antecedenze della guerra, quanto se ha rapporto alle condizioni in cui i paesi reclamati si ritrovavano al cominciare dell' Armistizio, sembra essere un argomento privo di legale fondamento tanto più che il medesimo *statu quo* venne patentemente violato della prolungata permanenza nei paesi stessi di forza Piemontesi con adesione del Governo Granducale.

Tutto ciò meglio risulta dal foglio separato, che a più preciso e categorico riscontro della memoria suavvertita mi do l'onore di qui compiegare.

In ogni modo per altro vostra Eccellenza può rimanere persuasa che Sua Altezza Reale l'Augusto mio Sovrano, valutando debitamente i riguardi dovuti alla valevole interposizione e ai buoni uffici di vostra Eccellenza, si compiace di essere assicurata del gradimento che per l'accordata sospensione di ostilità ha dimostrato il Governo della graziosa di lei Sovrana fermo sempre nell' esternata fiducia che troverà nel Governo istesso il più valido appoggio al buon diritto della sua causa.

(Firmato)

G. FORNI.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Modena, September 29, 1848.

SINCE the receipt of your valued note of 17th instant and of the accompanying memorandum of the Tuscan Government (for which and for your Excellency's promptness in procuring the desired explanations, His Royal

Highness my August Sovereign charges me to thank you), information has reached us of the prolongation of the Armistice till the 22nd October.

Your Excellency sees perfectly well that this circumstance cannot equally oblige His Royal Highness to prolong the effect of the concessions by which he consented to suspend during the original duration of the Armistice the occupation of his Provinces of Massa, Carrara, Lunigiana, and Garfagnana, which provinces are in a greater danger of anarchy, while forcibly kept subject to a foreign Government, than if they returned to their legitimate dependence. Besides this consideration, the *statu quo* on which the memorandum of the Tuscan Government is founded, whether referring to the condition previous to the war or to the condition of those districts at the commencement of the Armistice, seems to be an argument void of legal foundation, in so much as the *statu quo* has been manifestly violated by the continuance of Piedmontese forces in these very districts with the consent of the Grand Ducal Government.

This is made evident in the separate paper which I have the honour to inclose as a more precise and categorical answer to the aforesaid memorandum.

At all events your Excellency may remain persuaded that His Royal Highness my August Sovereign, esteeming justly the regards due to your valuable interposition and to your good offices, is delighted to be assured of the satisfaction which the Government of your gracious Sovereign has demonstrated at the suspension of hostilities, being still firmly convinced that he will find in the said Government the strongest support to the justice of his cause.

(Signed) G. FORNI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 460.

The Chevalier Giorgini to Sir George Hamilton.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Florence, 6 Octobre, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de votre office du 1er et de vous renvoyer les documens qui y étaient annexés.

J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'attention le mémoire du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Modène, et j'ai dû me confirmer dans l'opinion que jusqu'à l'issue des négociations actuellement pendantes, la conservation du *statu quo* est pour la Toscane un droit sacré et inviolable. Dans le mémoire susdit on avance que la durée de la Convention stipulée sous la médiation de votre Excellence entre la Toscane et les autorités militaires Autrichiennes, était liée à la durée de l'Armistice du 9 Août entre l'Autriche et le Piémont. Mais cette fixation de terme est tout-à-fait arbitraire, et dans les documens dont résulte la Convention sus-énoncée on ne trouve aucune déclaration capable de la déterminer. Il n'y a pas un mot sur cela. A défaut pourtant d'une déclaration expresse, il faut remonter au but que les parties contractantes ont eu en vue, et qui a été aussi, comme tout fait présumer, celui de la haute médiation de votre Excellence. Ce but a été évidemment celui de ne pas laisser la Toscane seule exposée au choc de toutes les forces ennemies, tandis que son allié le Piémont ne pouvait pas employer ses forces pour la défendre. C'a été aussi le désir de faire au moins pour le moment cesser la guerre et l'effusion inutile du sang. D'après cela il est évident que le but ne serait pas atteint, si, tandis que le Piémont prolonge son armistice, les effets de la médiation Anglaise ne devaient pas également se prolonger pour la Toscane. Dans l'hypothèse contraire, une fois expiré le premier terme de l'Armistice, la Toscane se trouverait précisément dans les conditions qui ont déterminé la médiation Anglaise, laquelle, en acceptant le point de vue auquel se place le Cabinet de Modène, aurait été de cette manière sans résultat comme elle aurait été sans objet. Il est évident aussi que tandis qu'on a voulu pendant les négociations une suspension d'hostilités, les hostilités recommenceraient lorsque les négociations pendent toujours. J'espère que la vérité incontestable de ces observations suffira pour convaincre le Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale François V. que jusqu'à ce que la médiation de l'Angleterre et de la France pour l'arrangement général des affaires d'Italie n'ait pas conduit à un résultat définitif, il faut ajourner toutes les questions subalternes et accessoires, et maintenir partout le *statu quo*.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) G. GIORGINI.

(Translation.)

Monsieur le Ministre,

Florence, October 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 1st instant, and to return the documents which were annexed to it.

I have read with much attention the memorandum of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Modena, and I was strengthened in the opinion that until the issue of the pending negotiations, the observance of the *statu quo* is a sacred and inviolable duty for Tuscany. In that memorandum it is asserted that the duration of the convention stipulated under your Excellency's mediation between Tuscany and the Austrian military authorities, was connected with the duration of the Armistice of the 9th of August between Austria and Piedmont. But such a limitation is entirely arbitrary, and in the documents out of which the said convention originated, no declaration can be found which can determine the period of it. There is not a word on the subject. In the absence, however, of an express declaration, the object which the Contracting Parties had in view must be considered, and everything gives us the right to assume that such also was the object of your Excellency's high mediation. That object plainly was not to permit Tuscany to be exposed singly to all the enemy's forces, whilst Piedmont her ally could not employ forces to defend her. It was also a desire to put an end at least for a time to war and useless bloodshed. From this it is plain that the object would not be gained if, whilst Piedmont prolongs her armistice, the effects of British mediation were not equally to extend to Tuscany. In the contrary case, the term of the Armistice once expired, Tuscany would find herself precisely in the same circumstances as those which caused the British mediation, which, by an acquiescence in the view taken by the Cabinet of Modena, would in that case be without result as it would be without object. It is also evident that whilst a suspension of hostilities was desired during the negotiations, hostilities would recommence when negotiations were still pending. I trust that the indisputable truth of these observations will suffice to convince the Government of His Royal Highness Francis V that until the mediation of England and of France for a general arrangement of the affairs of Italy shall have arrived at a definitive result, all subsidiary and accessory questions should be adjourned, and the *statu quo* should be preserved everywhere.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) G. GIORGINI.

No. 461.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 5, 1848.

I HAD the honour of informing your Lordship in my despatch of the 1st instant, that I had sent down Mr. Barron to Leghorn to consult with Her Majesty's Consul and Captain Codrington as to what steps it might be advisable to take for the protection of English property there, as the Tuscan Government had declared its inability to guarantee the safety of the English residents.

Mr. Barron has returned and has reported to me that after consultation with the gentlemen above mentioned, he wrote in my name to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, stating the reasons for which I had sent him to Leghorn, and suggesting to him that in the present state of affairs it would be very desirable that an additional ship should be stationed at Leghorn, and if possible a steam-ship.

Mr. Barron reports Leghorn to be perfectly quiet at present. At a meeting of the British merchants resident there, the substance of the note of the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating the inability of the Government to protect them, was communicated to them. It appears, however, that these gentlemen do not apprehend any imminent danger to their lives or property, but would feel grateful for the protection afforded them by the presence of another of Her Majesty's ships.

I am happy to say that there are to-day some indications of a better feeling at Leghorn towards the legitimate Government. A deputation has been

sent to the Grand Duke with the names of three individuals whom they would be glad to receive as Governor, and in whom they place full confidence. The Grand Duke has acceded to their request, inasmuch as he has appointed Professor Montanelli, a member of the Chamber of Deputies and one of the three designated by the deputation, to be Governor. The deputation have returned to Leghorn, satisfied with the result of their mission. M. Montanelli is suspected of Republican principles.

Guerrazzi has issued a farewell address to the Livornese, recommending them to respect their new Governor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON

No. 462.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by my French colleague and myself to his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, in order to induce him if possible to modify his determination with regard to the remaining half of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*, which is still detained at Peschiera contrary to the stipulations of the Armistice of the 9th August.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 462.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

Turin, le 10 Octobre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ayant reçu communication de la lettre de M. le Chef d'Etat-Major de l'armée Impériale au Ministre de la Guerre des Etats Sardes, relativement à la retenue faite par ordre de son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky de la moitié du parc de siège de Peschiera, sous le prétexte que l'Armistice n'était pas complètement exécuté en ce qui concerne le retour de l'escadre Sarde dans la Méditerranée, la reddition de la place d'Osopo, et l'évacuation du Duché de Modène, les Soussignés ont demandé au Gouvernement Sarde communication des pièces relatives à l'exécution de l'Armistice, et après avoir examiné les plaintes de son Excellence M. le Maréchal Radetzky et les raisons par lesquelles le Gouvernement Sarde a combattu ces plaintes, les Soussignés, sans reproduire ici les raisons qui sont parfaitement connues de son Excellence, regardent comme un devoir d'exprimer la conviction qu'ils ont acquise, que le Gouvernement Sarde a toujours agi avec une extrême bonne foi et a toujours exécuté scrupuleusement les conditions de l'Armistice.

Les Soussignés ont vu avec peine que son Excellence n'avait pas rendu plus de justice au Gouvernement Sarde, et qu'il a fait répondre par des paroles amères aux justifications du même Gouvernement, ainsi que le constate la lettre de M. le Général Hess, Chef de l'Etat-Major de l'armée Impériale, au Ministre de la Guerre de ce Gouvernement.

Les Soussignés, chargés d'une mission de paix et de conciliation qu'ils ont été assez heureux pour faire admettre au Gouvernement Sarde, et qui a été également acceptée à Vienne par le Cabinet Impérial, ont l'honneur de demander à son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky, au nom de cette mission, de vouloir bien considérer à quel point la mesure prise relativement au parc de Peschiera est contraire aux espérances que cette mission pouvait faire concevoir pour la paix de l'Europe, et de le prier en revenant sur cette mesure, de coopérer avec les deux Gouvernemens médiateurs à éloigner tout sujet de plaintes qui pourraient compromettre l'heureuse issue des négociations.

(Signé)
SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 10, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., having received communication of the letter of the Chief of the Staff of the Imperial army to the Sardinian Minister of War, respecting the retention by order of his Excellency Marshal Radetzky of half of the siege artillery at Peschiera, under pretence that the Armistice was not completely executed as concerned the return of the Sardinian fleet into the Mediterranean, the surrender of Osopo, and the evacuation of the Duchy of Modena, they have requested the Sardinian Government to communicate to them the documents respecting the execution of the Armistice, and after having examined the complaints of Marshal Radetzky and the statements with which the Sardinian Government has met those complaints, the Undersigned, without repeating here statements which are perfectly well known to your Excellency, consider it their duty to express the conviction at which they have arrived, that the Sardinian Government has constantly acted with extreme good faith and has always scrupulously carried into effect the conditions of the Armistice.

The Undersigned have seen with regret that your Excellency has not shown more justice to the Sardinian Government, and that you have caused an answer to be returned in bitter terms to the explanations of that Government, as is shown by the letter of General Hess.

The Undersigned, entrusted with a mission of peace and conciliation which they were fortunate enough to persuade the Sardinian Government to recognize, and which has been equally accepted by the Imperial Cabinet, have the honour to request Marshal Radetzky, in the name of that mission, to be so good as to consider how far the step taken in respect to the artillery at Peschiera is at variance with the hopes which that mission was entitled to conceive for the peace of Europe; and to request him, by yielding this point, to co-operate with the two mediating Governments in the removal of every subject of complaint which could compromise the happy issue of these negotiations.

(Signed) S. DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 463.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord,

Milan, October 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a proclamation dated Vienna, 20th September, 1848, was published here this morning, of which the following is a translation:

“In the full confidence of seeing peace re-established in all the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and sincerely desirous that their populations should partake of those liberties which the other provinces of the Austrian Empire enjoy, we feel pleasure in making known from this moment our intentions on the subject.

“We have already granted, without distinction, to all the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom a full pardon for the part they have taken in the political events of the present year, enjoining that no inquisition or punishment whatever shall take place against them; with the reserve of those measures that it may be deemed necessary to adopt in the re-appointments to public employments. It is likewise our sovereign will that the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom should have a Constitution corresponding as well in respect to nationality and the wants of the country as to their union with the Austrian Empire. For such an object, as soon as peace and tranquillity are sufficiently secured, we will convoke, in a place to be fixed on, the representatives of the nation who shall have been freely elected throughout all the provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

“Given from our residence at Vienna, this 20th September, 1848.

“(Signed) FERDINAND.

“WESSENBERG.”

The preceding most important proclamation, although printed in Milan, bears no date from this city, nor is it in conformity with the usual practice countersigned by any authority here. These omissions will not fail to strike your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 464. X

Viscount Palmerston to M. Manin.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 16, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 20th of August last, adverting to the relations of Venice towards the Austrian Empire, and calling upon Her Majesty's Government to use their endeavours in order to prevent that city from again falling under Austrian rule.

In reply I have to inform you that it forms no part of the proposals made by the British Government to the Government of Austria for the pacification of Italy, that Venice should cease to be under the Imperial Crown, and that consequently it would be wise for the people of Venice to come to an understanding with the Austrian Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 465.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.—(Received October 16.)

Sir,

Admiralty, October 13, 1848.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated from Naples the 4th instant, and of its inclosures, relative to the state of affairs in the Adriatic.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 465.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Hibernia," Naples, October 4, 1848.

I TRANSMIT for the information of the Lords of the Admiralty copies of the last reports which I have received from Captain Ramsay relative to the state of affairs in the Adriatic, together with one from Captain Symonds of the "Spartan," communicating the notification of the resumption of the blockade of Venice by the Austrians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 465.

Captain Ramsay to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

"Terrible," off Venice, September 8, 1848.

IN my last letter dated August 29th I stated my intention of crossing over to Venice. On Thursday the 31st ultimo we quitted Trieste, leaving at that port Her Majesty's ship "Harlequin."

The same afternoon we arrived here and the next day I sent the "Spartan" to Trieste with despatches and letters which fast accumulate here, as intercourse except by men-of-war is almost entirely cut off. I found off this port the Sardinian and Venetian squadrons as before.

On the 4th September we weighed and under sail alone stood down to the Malamocco passage to observe the motions of the Sardinian and Venetian squadrons. During two days the Piedmontese troops were embarking on board the Sardinian vessels of war. We returned to the anchorage on the 6th, when the whole were embarked and the Venetian vessels hauled into the canals. But the Sardinian squadron has not yet sailed, and Admiral Albini puts it upon this, that if he quits, the Austrian authorities must pledge themselves not to attack Venice.

The Sardinian squadron, since the Venetian vessels have gone into port, consist of seven sailing-vessels and seven small steamers.

There are I understand about 1800 Piedmontese troops embarked on board (the sick remain on shore), and altogether the squadron is in a better condition than before for recommencing hostilities.

There have been some disturbances at Fiume owing to disputes between the Hungarians and Croats, but all is once more quiet.

On Wednesday the 7th the French steam-frigate "Asmodée" arrived here.

Inclosure 3 in No. 465.

Captain Ramsay to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

"Terrible," Trieste, September 12, 1848.

ON Friday the 8th of September, my last letter dated off Venice left by the "Harlequin." The same night the Sardinian squadron sailed. Upon the day before, the 7th, Admiral Albini gave notice that the blockade of Trieste was entirely given up. He had not attempted, as far as I could learn, to execute any of the rights of the blockade since the Armistice, although he would not acknowledge that it was not in force.

Upon the receipt of that communication at Trieste on the 8th instant, the Austrian commander of the garrison issued a proclamation reinstating the civil authorities.

On Saturday morning the 9th, Captain Ricaudy, of the French steam-frigate "Asmodée" and the senior French naval officer in the Adriatic, came on board the "Terrible" to ask me what I proposed doing if the Austrian squadron either menaced or blockaded Venice. I told him a perfect neutrality. The conference was afterwards adjourned to Mr. Dawkins', the Consul-General's house, who perfectly agreed with me in the line of conduct to be adopted until orders to the contrary; a perfect neutrality. I also observed that the only official communication I had received was the Articles of the Armistice, which it was quite clear the Sardinian squadron had broken.

Both Mr. Dawkins and myself strongly represented that these important affairs must be settled elsewhere, and that any strong step taken by us, who were subordinates, would only embarrass matters.

Mr. Dawkins having strongly represented to me the importance of his being able to communicate with Trieste, in order that his despatches might go imme-

diately to Vienna and England, I left that night, Saturday, in the "Terrible," and arrived here early on Sunday, passing the "Spartan" on her way to Venice. I sent her back on Wednesday night the 13th, and I hope to get away on the 14th. I shall first cross over to Venice with Mr. Dawkins' despatches, and then proceed on to Corfu and Malta.

On Sunday morning the 10th we passed the Austrian squadron, consisting of two frigates, one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, and one steamer, coming out of the Gulf of Trieste. Whether they are going to Pola or off Venice I am not aware, but I do not think they have any intention of attacking the latter town, as they have left one of their frigates and several gun-boats at Trieste, besides which they have no troops on board.

I am told a French line-of-battle ship, the "Jupiter," and a frigate, "Psyché," have been sent off to Corfu and may be expected here shortly.

At the request of Mr. Dawkins and the English residents at Fiume, I have sent the "Harlequin" to that place.

Inclosure 4 in No. 465.

Captain Symonds to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.

Sir,

"Spartan," Trieste, September 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a notification from his Excellency the Governor of Trieste to me, of the resumption of the blockade of Venice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. M. C. SYMONDS.

Inclosure 5 in No. 465.

The Governor of Trieste to Captain Symonds.

Illustrissimo Signore,

Trieste, 16 Settembre, 1848.

ESSENDOSI riattivato el blocco di Venezia dichiarato coll' anteriore notificazione 3 Maggio, e rimasto interrotto per qualche tempo in seguito degli avvenimenti della guerra, viene contemporaneamente impartito l'ordine agli uffizi di porto ed alle Deputazioni di Sanità, di non rilasciare più spedizioni per Venezia, col qual ordine cessa quell' anteriore interinale di cui feci comunicazione al Consolato di Sua Maestà Britannica quì residente, con mia nota del 2 Giugno.

Mei pregio di porgere di ciò avviso a vostra Signoria illustrissima cogliendo pure quest' occasione, &c.

(Firmato)

SALM, Governatore.

(Translation.)

Sir,

THE blockade of Venice, declared in the former notifications of the 3rd May, having been renewed with vigilance after it had been interrupted for some time in consequence of the occurrences of the war, an order has now been given to the officers of the ports and quarantine establishments not to deliver any more ships' papers for Venice, by which order ceases all former interruption to the blockade of which I gave notice in my note of the 2nd June to the British Consulate here. I hasten, Sir, to advise you of this, and seize this opportunity, &c.

(Signed)

SALM, Governor.

No. 466.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 16, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting the measures contemplated by the Sardinian Government to enforce the restitution of the remaining half of the Sardinian park of artillery that was in Peschiera at the moment of its evacuation by the Sardinian troops; and I have to inform you in reply, that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language held and the arguments used by you with reference to that intention.

It cannot be denied that the refusal of Marshal Radetzky to give up the artillery which he bound himself by the Armistice to surrender, is an inexcusable breach of faith; but it is also an act which there can be no reason to expect will be sanctioned by the Government of Vienna; and therefore unless the Sardinian Government wants a pretence for renewing the war, they ought to wait for the effect of the representations which the British and French Governments have already caused to be made at Vienna on this subject, instead of taking precipitate steps which can scarcely fail to involve them in very disagreeable embarrassments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 467.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 4, 1848.

SINCE I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 21st September the proceedings of the Circolo Italiano, or club, which holds daily sittings here, has caused some uneasiness to the Provisional Government.

Several members of this club, not natives of Venice or the Venetian provinces, have arraigned in very strong terms the measures of the Provisional Government, and a few nights ago, after one of the most violent meetings, three of the orators most conspicuous for their opposition to the Government were arrested.

An order has since been issued forbidding the military of every rank from attending the meetings of the Circolo without a special permission from the Government, under penalty of dismissal from the service as regards Venetians, and expulsion from Venice as regards natives of other parts of Italy. Some excitement has been produced by these measures.

The Government has at the same time issued a decree, copy of which is inclosed, convoking the Assembly of Deputies for the 11th instant, for the purpose,—

1. Of electing a Committee to take into consideration the political situation;
2. To nominate a new Government if it should be decided that the urgent danger which led to a Dictatorship has ceased.

Austrian steam-boats having seized several vessels that were on their way hither with cattle, a considerable rise has taken place in the price of meat, and distress and discontent are fast increasing.

Some merchant-vessels are being armed in the arsenal with the intention I am assured of going out of the port with the Venetian vessels of war and offering battle to the Austrian squadron.

The French merchant steamer "Ocean" arrived here on the 30th ultimo from Genoa with 6000 muskets on board, which had been purchased by the Provisional Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 467.

Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice.

Assemblea dei Deputati della Città e Provincia di Venezia.

PER disposizione oggi impartiti dal Governo Provvisorio di Venezia, il sottoscritto, Presidente della Assemblea dei Deputati della città e provincia di Venezia, invita i Deputati medesimi ad intervenire nella sala del Maggior Consiglio alle ore 10 antimeridiane del giorno di Mercoledì, 11 corrente, al fine:

- 1°. Di eleggere un Comitato il quale tratti delle condizioni politiche;
- 2°. Di nominare un Governo nuovo, quando risulti cessato il pericolo urgente che indusse a conferire la dittatura.

Il presente verrà affisso nella città e nelle comuni della provincia non occupate dal nemico, e diramato ai Deputati che vi hanno dimora o domicilio eletto.

Venezia, 3 Ottobre, 1848.

(Firmato) RUBBI.

(Translation.)

Assembly of Deputies in the City and Province of Venice.

IN consequence of orders to-day imparted by the Provisional Government of Venice, the Undersigned, President of the Assembly of Deputies of the city and province of Venice, invites the same Deputies to assemble in the Hall of the Greater Council at 10 o'clock A.M., on Wednesday, the 11th instant, in order,

1. To elect a Committee to look after political affairs.
2. To name a new Government, when the danger will have ceased, which was the cause of a dictatorship being set up.

This will be posted in the city and in the public places of the province not in the power of the enemy, and distributed to those Deputies who have a fixed residence or domicile therein.

Venice, October 3, 1848.

(Signed) RUBBI.

No. 468.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 16, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instructing your Excellency to urge upon the Austrian Government the necessity of restoring to the Sardinian Government the remaining half of the Sardinian park of artillery which was left at Peschiera, I transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* on that subject which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, together with a copy of my reply†; and I have to instruct your Excellency to renew your representation with respect to it to the Austrian Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See No. 445.

† See No. 466.

No. 469.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 16, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 5th instant, reporting what passed between you and Baron Wessenberg on the subject of the accounts transmitted by Vice-Consul Campbell of the state of Milan, I have to say that no doubt the measures mentioned by Lieutenant Campbell are the result of the state of siege, or to use the English expression, of the state of martial law proclaimed and established at Milan; but the question still remains, what is it that renders it necessary for the Austrians to proclaim and maintain martial law in Lombardy and the Venetian State?

This state of things can be occasioned only by the general, if not universal aversion to Austrian rule; and is that aversion likely to be diminished by the measures taken to repress it?

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 470.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 16, 1848.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 10th instant, stating the nature of the instructions which M. Bastide was about to send to the French Minister at Turin remonstrating against the disposition of the Sardinian Government to act offensively against Austria; and I have to instruct your Excellency to state to M. Bastide that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with the greatest satisfaction the language which he intended to hold to the Sardinian Government, and which is entirely in accordance with the language upon this matter which has been held by Mr. Abercromby.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 471.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 9, 1848

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker has sent to Leghorn the "Porcupine" steam-ship, Lieutenant Roberts, in consequence of the representations I made to him relative to the state of that place.

The new Governor Montanelli has been received with acclamation by the people, and conducted in triumph to the Government house. He harangued the people from the balcony.

At a meeting held of the British residents at Leghorn, they expressed their hope, through Her Majesty's Consul, that I would remonstrate with the Tuscan Government on their throwing off the responsibility of protection of British life and property at Leghorn.

I had already considered the propriety of such a proceeding on my part, but on reflection I thought it would be useless to make a formal remonstrance to a Government on its incapacity to protect the interests of foreigners, when it was obliged reluctantly to acknowledge its total incapacity to provide for its own. I however conversed on this subject with the President of the Council, and he frankly acknowledged to me how painful it was to the Govern-

ment to make such an admission, and with how much alacrity they would resume, when possible, their responsibility for the protection of British property at Leghorn.

The Tuscan Ministry have resigned the extraordinary powers granted to them by the Chambers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 472.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 9, 1848.

THE Internuncio at this Court has called on me, at the desire of His Holiness, to request that in the event of any serious disturbance at Leghorn, the protection of Her Majesty's naval forces might be extended to the Roman residents there.

I replied that having no doubt of the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to comply with the wishes of His Holiness, I would give the necessary instructions to the Commanders of the Queen's ships at Leghorn.

The Prussian Minister has made a similar request to me, which I have answered in the same manner.

The Internuncio further informed me that the Pope had expressed great anxiety as to the result of the differences between Modena and Tuscany on the subject of Massa and Carrara. I had the satisfaction of informing him that I hoped there would be no disturbance of the peace of Italy on that account, and at his request I furnished him with copies of my correspondence with the Modenese Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 473.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of a report from Mr. Consul Brown, relative to a tumult which took place at Genoa on the night of the 10th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 473.

Consul Brown to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Genoa, October 11, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that last night a tumult took place not insignificant in itself, and which was on the verge of becoming very important.

At dusk, Pellegrini and several others of the Circolo were seen walking on the Acquaverde, speaking to Facchini, who soon talked with the sentinels of the barrack Annona, and tried to force their way in. The Regiment Della Regina, well known as favouring the popular cause, is stationed there; the brother of Larrotti of the Circolo is an officer of La Regina, and it is supposed some of the soldiers were seduced; however, be this as it may, the cries uttered by them were, "La guerra o a casa!" Pareto with a part of the Civic Guard, were soon there, but the populace collected shouted "Morte a Pareto!" He ordered the Guardia Civica to fix bayonets, when two of the mob rushed upon

him, and one of them, stated to be a Mantuan, seized his sword and broke it. General Durando shortly sent from the Ducal Place troops and civics, and by 10 o'clock the tumult subsided without further collision.

All the Lombards, &c., were in the affair, and Pellegrini remained to the close.

Yesterday letters from Nice were shown at Porto Franco, stating it as certain a revolution would take place here on the 12th (to-morrow).

I have, &c.,

(Signed) TIMOTHY YEATS BROWN.

No. 474.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 18.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 13, 1848.

A PARTIAL change in the Government has occurred in consequence of the resignation of Marquis Alfieri di Sostegno of his office as President of the Council of Ministers.

He has been succeeded by his Excellency the Baron de Perron, who retains also the Department for Foreign Affairs.

No. 475. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 10th instant, reporting what passed between you and the Baron de Perron on the subject of the continued refusal of Field-Marshal Radetzky to restore that portion of the Sardinian artillery which was left at Peschiera, and on the proceedings of the Austrian Government with respect to Venice, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the representations made by you to the Sardinian Minister, and I have to instruct you to urge again the same considerations upon the Sardinian Government.

It is quite true that the refusal of Marshal Radetzky to deliver up the Sardinian cannon in conformity with the conditions of the Armistice, is an unjustifiable breach of faith; and the tone of the letter from General Hess is certainly offensive. But both the one and the other bear the appearance of a desire on the part of Marshal Radetzky to goad the Piedmontese into some proceeding which may lead to a renewal of hostilities, in order that the Austrian troops may enter Piedmont, which they were forbidden by the Austrian Government from entering when they reached the banks of the Ticino.

It would however most obviously be very unwise for the Piedmontese Government by any act of their own, unnecessarily to expose their country to all the losses and sufferings which cannot fail to be inflicted upon a country which becomes the theatre of war.

With regard to the cannon, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna has been instructed to represent to the Austrian Government the bad effect which must be produced upon the character of Austria if the engagements entered into by the Austrian Commander should continue to be violated; and Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the sense of honour by which the Imperial Cabinet is actuated will induce them to give positive directions to the Marshal to fulfil his engagements.

The Piedmontese Government therefore ought to wait to see the result of these representations.

With regard to the letter of General Hess, that ought to be looked upon as an attempt to provoke an adversary, in a case in which the party who writes has no plausible justification to offer in his own defence.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 476. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 11th instant, inclosing a copy of the note addressed by you and M. Bois-le-Comte to Field-Marshal Radetzky, relative to the continued detention at Peschiera of the Sardinian cannon and stores, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve that note.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 477. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, inclosing a note which he had received from the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the continued refusal of Field-Marshal Radetzky to restore that portion of the Sardinian artillery which was left at Peschiera. I likewise inclose a copy of my reply†, and I have to instruct you Excellency to represent strongly to the Austrian Government, that the continued refusal of Marshal Radetzky to fulfil the stipulations of the Armistice by restoring the cannon and stores, tends to throw a slur upon the good faith of Austria, although those persons who know the scrupulous integrity with which the Austrian Government always executes its engagements must be confident that orders have been sent to the Marshal to deliver up these things without further delay. Yet it is very essential to the success of the negotiations about to be entered into under the mediation of Great Britain and France, that nothing should take place which could afford a pretext to any persons for expressing want of confidence in engagements which the Austrian Government may contract.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 478. X

Viscount Palmerston to M. Valentino Pasini.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1848.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 6th instant, and in reply beg to assure you that you and your countrymen only do justice to Her Majesty's Government in believing that Her Majesty's Government take a lively and sincere interest in the welfare of the Italian nation, and would gladly contribute by all means properly within their power to the prosperity and happiness of Italy. It was from the impulse of these feelings, as well as from an anxious desire to assist in rescuing Europe from the calamities of war, that Her Majesty's Government, in concert with the Government of France, offered to the contending parties in Northern Italy the mediation of Great Britain, in conjunction with that of France, for the purpose of settling by amicable agreement those questions which were at that time depending upon the result of the conflict of armies in the field of battle. But Her Majesty's Government offered mediation, and did not pretend to impose arbitration. The object which Her Majesty's Government propose to attain by intervention in these affairs, is an arrangement to be agreed to by the parties concerned, and not a decision to be dictated by the mere will of the intervening Powers. Of course the nature

* See No. 459.

† See No. 476.

of the settlement thus to be arrived at by the mutual consent of the parties concerned must be most materially influenced by the results of the recent campaign.

If the conflicts which have taken place in Northern Italy had ended favourably to the Italian arms, the Austrian Government might have been persuaded to consent to an arrangement by which the city of Venice, together with a portion of the Venetian State, might have been set free from the dominion of the Imperial Crown. But the course of events was different; victory declared itself on the side of Austria, and the Austrian troops have re-occupied the whole of Lombardy and the Venetian State, with the exception of the city of Venice. That city the Austrians might no doubt have reoccupied if they had chosen to do so; and if they have abstained hitherto from employing for that purpose the means at their disposal, it has been merely in deference to the request of the two mediating Powers, who have earnestly entreated the Austrian Government to abstain from causing a needless effusion of blood to attain some short time sooner, a result which, some little time later, they will arrive at by peaceable means.

Austria, having thus regained possession of her Italian provinces, the mediating Powers could not propose to her with any chance of acceptance, such conditions of arrangement as they might have proposed if the issue of the contest had been different; and the proposals which have been made to Austria do not contemplate the severance of the city of Venice, or of any part of the Venetian territory from the Imperial Crown; but on the contrary, those proposals would leave Venice and its territory still under the dominion of Austria. It is evident, therefore, that Austria being at liberty to employ her naval and military means for the purpose of re-establishing her authority in the city and State of Venice, any armed resistance on the part of the Venetians must be fruitless, and could only lead to a needless effusion of blood and to a bootless sacrifice of life.

Consequently, as you express a wish to know what advice Her Majesty's Government would in the present state of things offer for the consideration of the people of Venice, I would beg to suggest that the wisest thing which the Venetians could do would be to enter into communication with the Austrian Government with regard to the future condition of the Venetian State.

The Austrian Government has formally declared its intention of granting to its Italian subjects liberal institutions founded upon the principle of nationality, and has intimated that it means to consult in regard to such institutions the wishes and feelings of the people to whom they are to be granted. The people of Venice, therefore, would do well to state to the Austrian Government, without reserve, their sentiments and desires on these matters, and there can be no doubt that any communications so made, if expressed in proper and becoming form, will receive from the Austrian Government full and deliberate consideration.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 479.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note received to-day from Chevalier Giorgini, announcing that the Grand Ducal Government has resumed the exercise of its authority in Leghorn, and is thereby enabled to guarantee the safety of the life and property of British residents in that town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 479.

The Chevalier Giorgini to Sir George Hamilton.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Florence, 9 Octobre, 1848.

J'AI la satisfaction d'annoncer à votre Excellence que Livourne étant rentré dans l'ordre, et un nouveau Gouverneur ayant été nommé dans la personne de M. le Professeur Montanelli, le Gouvernement du Grand Duc vient de reprendre l'exercice de son autorité dans cette ville, que avait dû par la force des circonstances être temporairement suspendu.

Le Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale est charmé que ce fait le mettra de nouveau à même de garantir la sûreté tant des personnes que des propriétés des Anglais demeurant à Livourne.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé)

G. GIORGINI.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

I HAVE the satisfaction to announce to your Excellency that order being restored at Leghorn, and a new Governor having been appointed in the person of Professor Montanelli, the Grand Duke's Government has resumed the exercise of its authority in that town, which was necessarily suspended for a time by the force of circumstances.

The Government of His Royal Highness is glad that this fact will enable it again to guarantee the safety both of the persons and property of British subjects, resident at Leghorn.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

G. GIORGINI.

No. 480.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 19.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, October 16, 1848.

SINCE the late news from Vienna the Central Government professes its intention of advising Austria to abandon all design of keeping Lombardy.

No. 481.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 19.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 14, 1848.

THE news of the events at Vienna on the 7th instant have naturally given rise to much excitement here, and an address has been voted to His Sardinian Majesty by the Circolo Politico, urging His Majesty to resume hostilities against Austria.

I fully expect also that when the Chambers meet for business next week strong efforts will be made by the violent party to force the Government into war, and I fear that in that case the Government will not have the strength to offer a decided opposition to such a course.

Crowds, but not formidable in point of numbers, have assembled for these two last evenings in the principal square of Turin in front of the Ministerial offices, but the cries raised were of so contradictory a sort as to render these demonstrations harmless.

Some soldiers of the Brigade of Savona, and some even it is asserted of the Brigade of Savoy, mixed in these assemblies, declaring their wishes to be allowed to return to their homes and their disinclination to resume the war; on the

other hand the people uttered cries for the renewal of hostilities; but neither party succeeded in making serious disturbance in the town, nor in producing any notable effect upon the public.

At a review by His Sardinian Majesty two days ago of the troops in garrison, His Sardinian Majesty was harangued on his return home by a Padre Camarino, a Lombard priest, at the head of some Lombard soldiers, the burden of whose speech was war against Austria; His Majesty I have been informed, for I was not myself present, replied at once to this harangue by stating that having drawn the sword in defence of the cause of Italy he would not sheath it again until he had succeeded in his object.

No. 482.

Memorandum communicated by Baron Koller, December 19.

Provinces Autrichiennes en Italie.

14 Septembre, 1848.

L'ETAT de possession a été défini et garanti par les traités. Les Puissances signataires de ces traités sont intéressées au maintien de cette base. Le Gouvernement de la République Française lui-même ne s'est pas dissimulé les dangers qui résulteraient d'une altération de ces traités par rapport à la circonscription territoriale. L'homme pacifique et raisonnable qui est aujourd'hui à la tête de ce Gouvernement ne voudra pas donner un démenti au manifeste de M. Lamartine.

Dans les affaires d'Italie la justice de la cause Autrichienne et les principes d'une saine politique paraissent être inséparables. En déviant des traités existans on s'exposerait à des complications bien fâcheuses, et cette déviation des traités que saurait-elle avoir pour prétexte, après que les provinces Italiennes auront obtenu les concessions les plus libérales? La phrase "du joug étranger" ne trouvera alors plus d'application raisonnable, et les consciences des Cabinets qui se sont proposés le soi-disant affranchissement de la Lombardie pourront être tranquilles, car les institutions politiques données à ces provinces auront parfaitement répondu à ce but. La nouvelle doctrine des nationalités ne saurait fournir un prétexte valable pour une déviation des traités. Commentée dans ce sens, cette doctrine serait celle d'un bouleversement général; les provinces Slaves voudraient en profiter aussi bien et avec le même droit que les provinces Italiennes.

Cette doctrine de la nationalité n'a été exploitée jusqu'à présent qu'aux dépens de la tranquillité et du bien-être des peuples. L'état actuel des provinces Autrichiennes en Italie en fournit une preuve très éclatante. Les populations dans le Milanais s'y prononcent aujourd'hui d'une manière formelle contre leur réunion à la Sardaigne—et contre la séparation d'avec le pays de Venise, auquel les attachent des intérêts d'industrie et de commerce. L'abus du principe des nationalités serait ce que l'on pourrait inventer de plus funeste au maintien de la paix, la promesse tacite que cette doctrine renferme est une espèce de prime accordée aux révoltes qui voudraient se faire passer pour des révolutions, et par conséquent un élément de discorde et de bouleversement. Jamais plus que dans ce moment l'Europe a le besoin de voir que les traités soient encore respectés. Une déviation de ces traités par rapport à la circonscription territoriale mettrait en émoi toutes les Puissances qui les ont signés et ouvrirait la voie à des changemens dont on ne saurait prévoir la fin. Le Gouvernement Britannique ne pourrait défendre une pareille déviation, et le Gouvernement Français ne paraît point avoir l'intention sérieuse d'une politique contraire. L'Autriche en tenant à l'état de possession tel qu'il a été défini par les traités, n'agit pas seulement dans son intérêt, mais aussi dans celui de tous les pays dont la sûreté serait compromise dès qu'un changement pareil dans la circonscription territoriale eût fourni un prétexte à des commotions continuelles.

(Translation.)

Austrian Provinces in Italy.

September 14, 1848.

THE state of possession has been defined and guaranteed by treaties. The Powers who signed these treaties are interested in maintaining this basis. The Government of the French Republic itself has not shut its eyes to the

dangers which might result from an alteration of those treaties in regard to territorial limits. The peaceable and reasonable man who is at present at the head of that Government will not be willing to retract from the manifesto of M. Lamartine.

In the affairs of Italy, the justice of the Austrian cause, and the principles of sound policy, appear to be inseparable. By departing from existing treaties, the risk of very serious complications would be incurred, and what pretext could there be for such a deviation from treaties after the Italian provinces shall have obtained the most liberal concessions? The phrase "from the foreign yoke" will no longer be reasonably applicable, and the consciences of the Cabinets who have proposed to themselves the so-called enfranchisement of Lombardy will be at rest, for the political institutions granted to those provinces will have fully answered that object. The new doctrine of nationalities cannot furnish a valid pretext for deviating from treaties. Interpreted in that sense, this doctrine would be that of a general convulsion; the Slavonic provinces would desire to profit by it equally and with the same right as the Italian provinces.

That doctrine of nationality has not been propagated up to the present time save at the expense of the tranquillity and the prosperity of all people. The existing state of the Austrian provinces in Italy supplies a striking proof of this. The people in the Milanese district now declare themselves formally against their union with Sardinia, and against separation from the territory of Venice, to which they are attached by industrial and commercial interests. The abuse of the principle of nationalities would be the most fatal invention for the maintenance of peace; the tacit promise involved in this doctrine is a species of premium attached to revolts which would wish to pass themselves off as revolutions, and is consequently an element of disorder and confusion. Never more than at the present time is it necessary for Europe that treaties should be still respected. A departure from these treaties in regard to territorial limits would fill with anxiety all the Powers who signed them, and would open the way to changes the end whereof it would be impossible to foresee. The British Government cannot defend such a deviation, and the French Government does not appear to entertain any serious intention of a contrary policy. Austria, in holding to the state of possession such as it was defined by treaty, does not only act for her own interests, but likewise for that of all the countries whose safety would be perilled as soon as a change in territorial limits should have furnished a pretext for constant commotion.

No. 483.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 19.)

(Extract.)

Naples, October 11, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch to your Lordship, of the 9th ultimo, respecting the arbitrary suppression of the opposition journals, I ought perhaps to have informed your Lordship previously that their publication only remained suspended for three days, although one was subsequently definitively abolished and has since been revived under another name in a moderated spirit.

No. 484.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 15, 1848.

M. SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE in execution of instructions from his Government announced yesterday to his Excellency the Baron de Perron that he had received orders from Paris not to offer any opposition to the return of the Sardinian squadron before Venice, should the Armistice of Milan not be faithfully executed by the Austrians.

To-day I have heard from his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs that orders will be sent by the mail this evening to Admiral Albini, instructing him to take the squadron back to Venice.

I told his Excellency the Baron de Perron that I had received no instructions from your Lordship upon this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 485.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 20.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 15, 1848.

OFFICIAL information reached the Sardinian Government this morning that the Tuscan Ministers have resigned their offices, and that their places have been filled as follows :

Presidency	.	.	Signor G. B. Nicolini.
Interior	.	.	Signor Guerrazzi.
Foreign Affairs	.	.	Signor Montanelli.
War	.	.	Signor Mariano d'Ayala.
Public Works	.	.	Signor Mazzoni.
Culte	.	.	Professor Pigli.
Grace	.	.	Guidi Rontani.
Finance	.	.	Fenzi.

A proclamation has been issued urging on the renewal of hostilities, and an appeal has been made to the people to join the ranks of the army for that purpose.

The prospects which this change of Government in Tuscany holds out are unsatisfactory.

No. 486.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 15, 1848.

HIS Excellency the Baron de Perron called upon me this morning and placed in my hands the inclosed note.

After reading this note, I inquired from his Excellency what in his opinion would constitute the grounds for denouncing the Armistice of Milan with the intention of actively renewing hostilities.

His Excellency replied:—

The occurrence of an insurrection in this country for such a purpose ;

The occurrence of an insurrection in Lombardy against the Austrians ;

The event, after the recent changes at Florence, of Tuscany recommencing the war.

I had so repeatedly expressed my opinion to the Baron de Perron of the inexpediency of renewing the war, that I did not on the present occasion go over the ground again with him. I however stated to him as strongly as I could my conviction that the events of the 7th instant at Vienna, and the known state of discontent and hostility existing in the Austrian army of Italy amongst the Hungarians and Croats, were operating most efficaciously for the interests of Italy, and that I could not impress upon him too strongly in consequence the great impolicy of damaging such an advantageous condition of affairs by any hasty and precipitate act on the part of the Italians, which might not improbably have the effect of rendering to the Austrians and to Field-Marshal Radetzky the most signal service, by rousing the point of honour of the Austrian troops and of uniting them for the defence of the Imperial cause.

His Excellency Baron de Perron agreed fully in this view of the case, and assured me that he would use all his endeavours to prevent any hasty outbreak.

He is equally convinced, speaking both militarily and politically, that more is to be gained by not hurrying on events too fast ; but he is much afraid that

the violent party will not listen to reason on this subject, and that the Government may be forced into a course which they would otherwise have avoided.

These fears are not, I am bound to say, without foundation, and the affairs of Tuscany may give any additional impulse to the activity of the ill-disposed, without producing in those who are more alive to the interests of their country a corresponding stimulus to exert themselves, and to profit by the example which has been set them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 486.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 15 Octobre, 1848.

PAR sa note du 11 Septembre passé, le Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, a donné aux Gouvernemens d'Angleterre et de France l'assurance que celui du Roi ne dénoncerait point l'Armistice sans avoir pris préalablement leur avis et sans s'être entendu avec eux à cet égard, afin de ne point troubler le cours des négociations entreprises par les Puissances médiatrices.

Mais la lenteur de la marche de ces négociations, les graves événemens qui se passent à Vienne et en Hongrie, l'oppression intolérable sous laquelle gémissent les peuples de l'Italie soumis au joug Autrichien, ont surexcité, à un tel point, l'opinion publique, soit dans les Etats Sardes, soit dans les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes, qu'il sera difficile de la contenir plus long-tems.

L'Etat de l'Italie rend imminente une explosion bien plus terrible que celle du mois de Mars passé; crise que le Gouvernement du Roi ne pourrait maîtriser, ni s'empêcher de saisir, sans courir les plus grands dangers et sans manquer à son devoir.

Dans ces circonstances il est dans l'obligation de faire savoir aux Puissances médiatrices qu'il se trouvera peut-être dans la nécessité de devoir dénoncer l'Armistice sans avoir le tems de s'entendre avec elles à ce sujet.

Le Soussigné saisit cette occasion pour témoigner aux Puissances médiatrices la reconnaissance qu'éprouve le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté pour les efforts qu'elles font afin d'amener une paix honorable et propre à assurer l'autonomie de l'Italie.

Le Gouvernement du Roi déclare néanmoins que par cette démarche il n'entend point renoncer à la médiation, ni dénoncer l'Armistice; il veut simplement se réserver sa liberté d'action et avertir que des circonstances impérieuses et indépendantes de sa volonté peuvent, d'un instant à l'autre, le contraindre à reprendre les hostilités.

Le Soussigné prie Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française de vouloir bien porter cette communication à la connaissance de leurs Gouvernemens, et s'empresse, &c.

(Signé) B. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 15, 1848.

BY his note of the 11th of September last, the Undersigned, &c., assured the Governments of England and France that the King's Government would not denounce the Armistice without having previously taken their advice, and without having come to an understanding with them in that respect, in order not to disturb the course of the negotiations undertaken by the mediating Powers.

But the slow progress of these negotiations, the important events which are taking place at Vienna and in Hungary, the intolerable oppression under which the people of Italy subject to the Austrian yoke are groaning, have roused public opinion to such an extent as well in the Sardinian States as in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, that it will be difficult much longer to control it.

The state of Italy renders imminent an explosion much more terrible than that of last March; a crisis which the King's Government cannot master, nor avoid availing itself of, without incurring the greatest dangers and without failing in its duty.

In this state of things it is necessary that it should acquaint the mediating Powers, that it may perhaps find itself compelled to denounce the Armistice without having time to come to an understanding with them on that matter.

The Undersigned takes this opportunity to express to the mediating Powers the gratitude felt by His Majesty's Government for the efforts which they are making in order to bring about an honourable peace, and one calculated to ensure the independence of Italy.

The King's Government nevertheless declares that it does not intend by this communication to renounce the mediation, or to denounce the Armistice; it simply desires to reserve its freedom of action, and to give notice that overbearing circumstances, independent of its will, may from one instant to another compel it to resume hostilities.

The Undersigned requests the Minister, Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic to have the goodness to convey this communication to the knowledge of their Governments, and he avails.

(Signed) B. DE. PERRON.

No. 487.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 20.)

My Lord,

Milan, October 13, 1848.

THE ill-feeling of the people against the Austrians in the greater part of Lombardy having increased lately to a great extent, I shall do myself the honour to state for your Lordship's information such facts as have come to my knowledge in confirmation of the same.

The amnesty lately granted to the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom has been received with the greatest indifference, even with contempt. The length of time it was kept back by Field-Marshal Radetzky, the manner it was published here without the usual preamble of the local Government, and without the signature of any authority in Milan, have been severely commented on. With respect to the Constitution as promised in the amnesty, the general belief is that the Austrians will take the first opportunity, when granted, of reducing it to mere nullity.

Besides the districts in a disturbed state, as mentioned in my despatch of the 13th ultimo, the whole of the inhabitants around the Lake of Como, those in the cities and provinces of Bergamo and Brescia, manifest a hatred to the Austrians greater than before the Revolution of the five days. The people in those regions still retain their arms, they having only delivered up such as were useless. The peasantry in the Val Assina, Val Sassina, Val Brembana, Val Seriana, Val Trompia, and Val Sabbia (the deep valleys or glens between the mountains), openly say that if the Austrians want their arms they must take them by force. The Brescian peasantry expect to be called on to rise against the Austrians from day to day; and such as do not possess muskets or swords, keep their *falci** well sharpened, with which they boast to make great havoc among their enemies.

On the 1st instant a disturbance took place at a village called Novate, three miles from Milan. It seems that some soldiers at an osteria, or public-house, drew their swords on a few farmers who happened to be there. The gendarmes in the neighbourhood interfered to prevent a collision, but without avail. The country-people turned out with their fire-arms to the assistance of their brethren, and fired on the soldiers and the gendarmes. A sergeant belonging to the latter was killed and some of the soldiers wounded.

On the 2nd instant a patrol of Croats were disarmed by the populace in the Porta Ticinese, who liberated a person in the custody of the former. The

* A sort of curved axe used for agricultural purposes.

ringleader of the riot, a discharged douanier, when discovered, was shot. With the exception of this disturbance, the city has been quiet.

The state of siege still exists to the almost total annihilation of trade, as although there is a general amnesty, it is impossible for the rich to return to Milan while their houses are filled with soldiers, and consequently there is great distress among the lower classes. Formerly beggars were not to be seen in this city; now they crowd the public thoroughfares. The harsh measures adopted against the Tessinois will ruin numbers of the farmers, who have not been able to buy their usual supply of cattle at the annual fair of Lugano. Already want is beginning to be felt among the peasantry.

It has been evident for some time past that serious differences have existed between the Hungarian and Croatian troops quartered in Milan. These differences have manifested themselves in an open conflict, which took place in the castle during the night before last, with their swords and bayonets, when several on both sides were wounded. Last night they intended to renew the contest with their fire-arms, but Field-Marshal Radetzky prevented its taking place by ordering all the officers belonging to the regiments there, the greater part of whom were billeted in private houses, to sleep in the castle.

It is said that the Hungarians have applied to Field-Marshal Radetzky for permission to return to their native country to defend it against the Croats, but that the Marshal, instead of complying with their request, has placed two of their superior officers under arrest, and threatened to decimate the Hungarian regiments in case he found any symptoms of insubordination among the men as to their wish of returning to Hungary. I cannot vouch for the truth of these reports, but they are generally believed and spoken of everywhere.

Count Montecucoli, who was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary for the civil administration of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, under the direction of Field-Marshal Radetzky, assumed his functions as such on the 1st instant. On the 11th he left this for Verona.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 488. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 15th instant, reporting that the Sardinian Government had given directions to the Sardinian squadron to return to Venice, I have to instruct you to say that Her Majesty's Government very much regret that this step should have been taken. It can have no practical effect towards compelling the Austrians to give up the remainder of the guns and stores at Peschiera, but it will afford the Austrians a pretence for continuing to retain them. It would have been far wiser for the Piedmontese to have put themselves completely in the right in regard to the Armistice, and to have trusted to the representations which the mediating Powers have been making at Vienna for obtaining from the Austrians an equally faithful fulfilment of the conditions of the Armistice by them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 489. X

Viscount Palmerston to Hon. R. Abercromby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1848

WITH reference to your despatch of the 15th instant, reporting what passed between you and the Baron de Perron on the subject of a renewal of hostilities, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language held by you on that occasion, and I have to instruct you to press upon the Sardinian Government the extreme impolicy of such a renewal of hostilities on their part. Whatever advantage may accrue to the

interests of the Italians from recent events in Austria, those advantages can only be reaped by the progress of negotiation, and would be entirely lost by an appeal to arms.

For a renewal of hostilities brought about by the act of the Piedmontese, would lead to great military disasters to them; and they would not in such disasters have the sympathy of any part of Europe, because it would be manifest to everybody that they had wantonly brought misfortune upon themselves by their own act and choice.

There seems reason to believe that public opinion in Germany is becoming more favourable to the Italian cause than it was, and if that opinion should gain in strength and make itself heard, it could not fail to have some influence upon the decisions of the Austrian Government. But an unprovoked renewal of hostilities by the Piedmontese might probably turn the current of public feeling in Germany against them, and deprive them of all moral support from that quarter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 490. X

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 9th instant, reporting that the Papal and the Prussian Representatives had applied to you for the protection of Her Majesty's naval forces to their respective countrymen at Leghorn, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the reply given by you provided the protection to be afforded does not lead the British vessels to depart from the tenor of their instructions not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Tuscan State.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 491.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord,

Milan, October 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austrian army are concentrating near Lodi. During the last three days large bodies of troops have left Milan for that quarter.

The menacing position of the Piedmontese in forming a camp of 30,000 men at Casatisma (a village between Voghera and Pavia, three miles from the Po), is without doubt the reason of the movement of the Austrian troops in the direction of Lodi.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 492.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 16, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of the answer returned by my French colleague and myself to the Baron de Perron's note of the 9th instant, already forwarded to you in my despatch of the 10th instant together with copy of Marshal Radetzky's reply to our communication dated 10th instant, and inclosed in my despatch of the 11th instant, with reference to the detention at Peschiera of the remaining half of the Sardinian *matériel de guerre*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 492.

*The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.**Turin, le 11 Octobre, 1848.*

LES Soussignés, &c., ont reçu la note en date du 9 du courant, par laquelle son Excellence M. le Baron de Perron, &c., leur a fait l'honneur de leur communiquer les réclamations faites auprès de son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky contre la retenue de la moitié du parc de Peschiera, contrairement à l'Article II de l'Armistice du 9 Août, et la réponse faite par son Excellence M. le Général Hess à ces réclamations.

Les Soussignés ont vu avec peine le peu de justice qui est rendu à la conduite du Gouvernement Sarde, et ils ont été heureux de voir que ce Gouvernement avant d'en témoigner lui-même la fâcheuse impression au Commandant-en-chef de l'armée Impériale, se soit adressé aux Représentans des Puissances médiatrices.

Pour seconder les vues de leur Gouvernemens, les Soussignés se sont empressés de demander à son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky la révocation d'une mesure si nuisible au rétablissement de la paix. Ils espèrent que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde, fidèle aux sentimens de modération et de confiance dont ils font preuve en cette circonstance, continuera à accomplir toutes les conditions de l'Armistice, ainsi qu'ils s'y sont montrés disposés, dans le cas où le Maréchal Radetzky opérerait cette restitution, et que dans tous les cas aucune décision susceptible d'une reprise d'hostilités ne sera prise, sans donner le temps aux Gouvernemens médiateurs d'en avoir connaissance et de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour prévenir un si fâcheux résultat.

(Signé) SAIN BOIS-LE-COMTE.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 11, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have received the note dated the 9th instant, by which his Excellency the Baron de Perron has done them the honour to communicate to them the representations addressed to his Excellency Marshal Radetzky against the detention of the moiety of the artillery of Peschiera, contrary to the IInd Article of the Armistice of the 9th of August, and the reply returned by his Excellency General Hess to those representations.

The Undersigned have seen with concern the scanty justice done to the conduct of the Sardinian Government, and they have been glad to observe that that Government, before intimating to the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial army the painful impression which had been made on it, has applied to the Representatives of the mediating Powers.

In furtherance of the views of their Governments, the Undersigned have requested his Excellency Marshal Radetzky to renounce a measure so prejudicial to the re-establishment of peace. They trust that His Sardinian Majesty's Government, faithful to the sentiments of moderation and confidence which they exhibit on the present occasion, will continue to execute all the conditions of the Armistice, as they have hitherto shown themselves disposed to do, in the event of Marshal Radetzky making this restitution, and that at all events no determination of the nature of a resumption of hostilities will be taken without giving time to the mediating Governments to have knowledge thereof, and to take the requisite measures for preventing so painful a result.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 492.

*Marshal Radetzky to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.**Milan, le 12 Octobre, 1848.*

J'AI reçu l'office que leurs Excellences MM. les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser par rapport à la remise de la seconde partie du parc de siège qui se trouve à Peschiera, et je m'empresse d'y répondre tout de suite.

N'ayant été nullement autorisé par mon Gouvernement à entrer en relations diplomatiques avec leurs Excellences, j'ai pourtant osé le faire quelquefois de mon propre chef, et par les réponses adressées à leurs offices précédens je crois avoir prouvé évidemment la bonne volonté que j'avais de répondre aux communications qu'elles ont bien voulu me faire à plusieurs reprises; mais en même temps j'ai cru devoir me diriger au Ministère Impérial et Royal pour avoir des instructions à ce sujet.

N'ayant eu là-dessus jusqu'à présent aucune réponse affirmative, leurs Excellences me pardonneront bien de ne pouvoir entrer avec elles nouvellement en discussion sur un objet, qui, comme purement militaire, doit être réglé moyennant la correspondance du Quartier-Maître-Général de l'armée avec le Chef d'Etat-Major de l'armée Sarde.

En me voyant par cela privé de l'honneur de me mettre en relation avec leurs Excellences avant d'en avoir l'ordre exprès de Vienne, je suis néanmoins dans le cas de les informer que j'ai fait part à mon Gouvernement des mesures qui m'ont paru nécessaires quant à la remise de la seconde partie du parc, mesures qui me paraît suffisamment justifiée par les raisons alléguées d'une manière aussi franche que loyale dans la note adressée par mon Quartier-Maître-Général à M. le Lieutenant-Général Baron de Chiodo en date du 2 Octobre.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé)

C. RADEZKY, M.

(Translation.)

Milan, October 12, 1848.

I HAVE received the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic have done me the honour to address to me with reference to the restoration of the second portion of the siege artillery at Peschiera, and I hasten forthwith to reply to it.

Having been in no wise authorized by my Government to enter into diplomatic relations with their Excellencies, I have nevertheless occasionally ventured to do so on my own authority; and by the answers which I have returned to their previous notes, I think that I have clearly shown the good disposition which I had to reply to the communications which they have at various times been pleased to address to me; but at the same time I have thought it my duty to apply to the Imperial and Royal Minister for instructions on this matter.

Not having hitherto received any answer in the affirmative, their Excellencies will excuse me for not being able to enter again into discussion with them upon a matter, which, as being wholly of a military nature, must be settled by means of the correspondence of the Quarter-Master General of the army with the chief of the staff of the Sardinian army.

Being thereby debarred from having the honour of entering into communication with your Excellencies before I receive express orders from Vienna, I am nevertheless able to acquaint you that I have apprized my Government of the measures which appeared to me to be necessary in regard to the restoration of the second portion of the artillery, measures which appear to me to be sufficiently justified by the reasons so frankly and so properly stated in the note addressed by my Quarter-Master-General to Lieutenant-General Baron de Chiodo, dated the 2nd of October.

I avail, &c.

(Signed)

C. RADEZKY, M.

No. 493.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 17, 1848.

WITH reference to my former despatch of October 15 transmitting to you the list of the new Tuscan Ministry which I had received from his Excellency the Baron de Perron, I now find that that information has not been confirmed.

The Capponi Cabinet has however certainly resigned, and the Grand Duke has accepted the resignations of the members of that Government, but no successors have it would appear been yet definitively named.

The officers of the National Guard and a large body of the citizens of Florence have made a demonstration in favour of the Marquis Gino Capponi.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 494.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 23.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 18, 1848.

THE Sardinian Parliament resumed its sittings on the 16th, but the business of the day was limited to renewing by ballot the Committees of the Chamber, and other matters of form.

Yesterday the Houses met for the dispatch of business, and questions were addressed in both of them to the Ministers with regard to the present condition of the country.

The replies were similar: that the Government proposed to give an account in detail of their administration of affairs since their entrance into office, and it was agreed that this account should be rendered on Saturday next in the Senate and on Thursday in the Chamber of Deputies.

It is probable that the Government may, for reasons which are evident, require that the sittings on those days should be secret, so long as they have reference to the state of the country and to the future projects of the Government.

In the Chamber of Deputies the Ministers were yesterday asked whether they considered the law passed at the close of the session of July last, conferring dictatorial powers upon the King's Government, to be still in force now that the Parliament had reassembled. The answer given by the Ministers was, that in their opinion the operation of that law had ceased.

It is yet too soon to estimate with any certainty the strength of the various parties in the Chamber, but within these last few days there seems to be an impression that the Opposition have in some degree moderated their language, and that they are not disposed to push matters quite so far as had been previously expected.

It is much to be desired that such should be the case, and that they should not damage by an act of ill-judged precipitation the cause which they profess to wish to see advanced.

The Cabinet appear to expect to be met by a violent and uncompromising opposition to the policy which they defend, and by a general clamour for war.

No. 495.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship translation of a handbill that has been widely spread throughout the Province of Lombardy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 495.

Paper circulated in Lombardy.

Instructions aux Lombards.

SOYEZ tous prêts à frapper le grand coup; et pour cela inquiétez l'ennemi de toutes parts; ne lui laissez ni paix ni trêve.

Epiez ses mouvemens, prenez-le à l'improviste, tuez sans pitié, principalement les officiers.

Que les jeunes conscrits forment des bandes dans la montagne et fondent ensuite à l'improviste sur les convois, sur les chars, sur les petites troupes; qu'ils se cachent ensuite, et que tout le monde leur prête secours.

Refusez l'impôt; que celui qui achète des biens à l'enchère soit menacé et mis à mort comme traître à la patrie; le Gouvernement Italien n'approuvera pas cette vente.

Aucune consommation des produits de l'Allemagne. Que les riches eux-mêmes ne portent que des habits communs des draps et des étoffes fabriqués dans le pays, les femmes en deuil; que l'élégant soit regardé comme Autrichien.

Qu'aucun Italien qui a de quoi vivre ne garde un emploi. Le Gouvernement Italien n'accordera aucune pension à ceux qui servent maintenant; qu'on maltraite les employés Allemands; que personne ne les loge, qu'ils trouvent tout cher et de mauvaise qualité; aucun recours aux tribunaux pour les procès; que tout s'arrange par le moyen d'arbitres; que les Autrichiens et leurs partisans soient évités comme pestiférés.

Inscriptions sur les murs des villes et des villages, sur la porte des églises, et à la campagne sur les bornes de la route et jusque sur les arbres.

Pendant la nuit à la campagne des coups de fusil, des cris, le tocsin, une alarme continuelle. Que l'ennemi soit ainsi contraint à diviser ses forces même dans les villages, où il sera facile de l'attaquer en temps opportun. Parcourir en tous sens les provinces pour les tenir toujours à l'éveil sur tout.

Que les nouvelles, les communications, les avis soient transmis de village en village, comme par une chaîne; qu'ils soient courts et en caractères contrefaits.

Dans les villes et dans les pays où l'on n'a point encore établi le comité secret qu'on l'établisse immédiatement, qu'il se mette en communication avec celui de la province et avec le comité central.

Que le peuple se rassemble tous les soirs dans les églises pour prier Dieu de nous délivrer de nos maux.

Que les exactions, les brigandages des Autrichiens soient recueillis. Qu'on en forme un document précis. Qu'on les répande et qu'on les publie dans les journaux étrangers.

Que celui qui le peut suscite des embarras à l'ennemi dans sa propre maison.

Faux, fourches, bèches, couteaux, que tout, tout soit prêt et mis en œuvre; qu'on fasse sauter les poudrières, qu'on incendie les casernes, que l'on persuade d'une manière épouvantable, à l'ennemi, que le sol le dévorera s'il ne nous détruit tous.

Enfin qu'on se souvienne que les Autrichiens ne sont que de vils instrumens de despotisme, que des sicaires vendus à un Radetzky et Cie., et que tandis qu'ils envahissent l'Italie ils tuent leur propre patrie où l'on combat pour la même cause.

C'est une sainte œuvre que d'extirper de la terre des monstres semblables.

(Translation.)

Instructions to the Lombards.

BE all prepared to strike a great blow, and for that purpose distract the enemy on all sides; let him have neither peace nor truce.

Spy out his movements; take him off his guard; slay him without pity, especially the officers.

Let the young conscripts form bands in the mountains, and then fall suddenly on the convoys, on the cars, on the small detachments; let them then conceal themselves, and let every one afford them succour.

Refuse payment of taxes; let him that buys goods at auction be put to death as a traitor to his country; the Italian Government will not approve of any such sale.

Let there be no consumption of German produce. Let the rich themselves only wear common clothes of the cloths and stuffs made in the country, the women in mourning;—let a person elegantly dressed be looked upon as an Austrian.

Let no Italian who has the means of subsistence hold an employment. The Italian Government will grant no pension to those who are now serving. Let the German employés be maltreated; let no one lodge them; let them find everything dear and of bad quality; let there be no recourse to the courts of justice for law suits; let all matters be settled by arbitration; let the Austrians and their partisans be shunned as plague-stricken.

Let there be inscriptions on the walls of towns and villages, on the church doors, and, in the country, on the stones by the way-side, and even on the trees.

During the night, in the country, let there be musket-shots, cries, the tocsin, a perpetual alarm. Let the enemy be thus compelled to divide his forces even in the villages, where it will be easy to attack him at a suitable time. Let the provinces be traversed in all directions, to keep them always on the alert.

Let intelligence, communication, information be transmitted, as by a chain, from village to village; let them be brief, and in counterfeit characters.

In the towns, and in the districts where a secret committee has not yet been established, let one be so immediately; let it place itself in communication with that of the province and with the Central Committee.

Let the people assemble themselves every evening in the churches, to pray God to deliver us from our calamities.

Let the exactions, the plunderings of the Austrians be taken account of. Let a correct statement of these be drawn up. Let it be circulated, and published in the foreign journals.

Let those who can, embarrass the enemy at home.

Let scythes, pitchforks, spades, knives—let everything be prepared and made use of. Let the powder-magazines be blown up; let the barracks be burnt; let the enemy be persuaded in an awful manner that the soil will swallow him up if he does not destroy us all.

Finally, let it be remembered that the Austrians are only the vile instruments of despotism, assassins sold to Radetzky and Co., and that while they are invading Italy, they are sacrificing their own country, where a contest for the same cause is being carried on.

It is a holy work to extirpate such monsters from the earth.

No. 496.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 18, 1848.

A ROYAL Decree has been published for the purpose of indemnifying those public functionaries who were deprived of their offices in consequence of the Revolution of 1821.

By this decree it is provided that all political condemnations pronounced after the 1st January, 1821, shall cease to take effect, unless the interests affected thereby shall have devolved to a third party; that civil functionaries of all ranks deprived of their offices for political offences are allowed the retiring pensions to which they would have been entitled had they continued in their respective offices; and that if any of the above-mentioned functionaries have left widows or children in reduced circumstances, a suitable provision shall be made for them.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 497.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord,

Berlin, October 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Chevalier de Regina, who has been acting for some time past as Neapolitan Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, received a few days ago his nomination in the same capacity to

St. Petersburg, with instructions to proceed immediately to his new post, which he has accordingly done.

M. de Regina is charged with copies of the correspondence which has lately been exchanged between the British and French Legations and Admirals on the one side, and the Neapolitan Government on the other, relative to the affairs of Sicily.

He has been replaced here as *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim*, during the absence of the Minister Baron d'Antonini at Frankfort, by M. de Santo Paolo, late Neapolitan Secretary of Legation at Florence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 498.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord,

Berlin, October 19, 1848.

BARON MEYENDORFF has this day received a despatch from St. Petersburg announcing to him that the Emperor has declined taking part in the mediation in the affairs in Italy, as was proposed by the Government of Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 499.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 24, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, extract of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan, reporting on the state of Lombardy, and I have to instruct your Excellency to show this extract to Baron Wessenberg when you have an opportunity of doing so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 500.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 25.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 19, 1848.

THE Abbé Gioberti was yesterday re-elected President of the Chamber of Deputies by a considerable majority.

The election of a Vice-President of the Chamber in the place of Professor Merlo, now Minister of Justice, took place this day.

The principal competitors were the General Giacomo Durando, late Royal Commissioner at Genoa under the present Government, and the Advocate Ratazzi, Minister of Justice of the Pareto-Gioberti Cabinet.

These two candidates may therefore fairly be considered to represent in the Chamber the opinions of the two parties, that of the Government that exists, and that of the Opposition party.

General Durando was elected Vice-President by a majority which, though not large, is yet sufficient I think to indicate that the opinion of the Chamber is less extreme than it was during the last session, and the present Ministers are acquiring a greater amount of support in the Lower House.

After the election of the Vice-President the Chamber proceeded to hear the report of the Minister of the Interior as to the policy and measures of the present Government since their assumption of office.

* See No. 487.

His Excellency Signor Pinelli explained in frank and distinct terms all that occurred with regard to the acceptance by Sardinia of the joint mediation of Great Britain and of France, but his Excellency with prudent reserve firmly declined to communicate at the present moment the basis upon which that mediation was offered and accepted.

I was present in the Chamber during this portion of the report made by his Excellency Signor Pinelli, and I was glad to observe that these explanations were received by the Chamber with calmness and approbation.

His Excellency Signor Pinelli was succeeded in the tribune by his Excellency General Dabormida, Minister of War, who communicated a report with regard to the army, the measures which have been adopted to augment its efficiency and strength, and its present condition.

This report I am informed also was well received by the Chamber.

The Advocate Signor Brofferio, a member of ultra-Liberal principles proposed as an amendment, "that the Chamber, disapproving of the negotiations of peace, should declare that further progress of the joint mediation of England and of France should be stopped, and that the Chamber should intimate to the Government its desire that war should be declared."

Should this amendment come to a division, which from its unconstitutional character is doubtful, there is a well-founded belief that it will be rejected by a vote of the Chamber.

These various circumstances come much in support of the opinion that a more favourable disposition is showing itself in the Chamber towards the Government, and that the probabilities of their being successfully supported by a majority of the members have been within these last few days materially increased.

I cannot help thinking also that the firm and constitutional language in which his Excellency the President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs has expressed himself on the various occasions on which he has hitherto been called upon to speak, has considerably tended to produce this good result, for it has inspired courage amongst the well-disposed, and has proved at least that the Minister now at the head of the Government has the frankness and the decision to assert publicly his opinions, and to defend his policy.

The discussion on the reports of their Excellencies the Ministers of the Interior and of War is not yet terminated, but there is a good prospect that the Ministers will in the end obtain a majority in their favour.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 501.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 18th instant, reporting that the members of the Opposition in the Sardinian Parliament have in some degree moderated their language, I have to instruct you to omit no opportunity of impressing both on the Government and upon any members of Parliament with whom you may converse, the extreme folly, to use no stronger word, which Piedmont would be guilty of, if it plunged into renewed hostilities with Austria for any other purpose than self-defence.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 502.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 26, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit your Excellency for your information copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, inclosing a handbill which has been extensively circulated in Lombardy, and I have to instruct your Excellency to show the paper unofficially to Baron Wessenberg.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 503.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 25.)

My Lord,

Florence, October 14, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Capponi Ministry have resigned, and their resignation has been accepted by the Grand Duke.

Like the Ridolfi Administration they have resigned, because a cry was got up against them in some of the large towns of "Down with the Ministry!" although both Administrations enjoyed the confidence of the Sovereign and the Chambers, and there appeared no objection to them on the part of the Florentine public.

The retreat of this Administration is deeply to be regretted, presided over as it was by the venerable and upright Marquis Capponi whom the Tuscans have always been accustomed to designate as the "Patriarch of Liberty," and who in the most despotic times was used to lift up his voice in favour of liberty, but who is now thought too retrograde by the movement party.

A crowd assembled yesterday in Florence, and proceeded to the Pitti Palace, calling upon the Grand Duke to nominate Guerrazzi and Montanelli the newly appointed Governor of Leghorn, as Ministers.

Considerable quantities of arms and ammunition which have been sent up from Leghorn by the insurgents have been discovered by the police of Florence.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 504.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 27.)

My Lord,

Paris, October 26, 1848.

I HAD some conversation with M. Bastide yesterday upon the position of Venice. He repeated what he had once before mentioned, and had then told me he had communicated to M. de Beaumont, that the only event to which the French Government could not possibly submit in connexion with the actual state of affairs in Italy was the reduction of Venice during the mediation, and he repeated that the French fleet there could not permit that the blockade should be enforced to the extent of storming the town.

I told M. Bastide that he knew we completely agreed with him in the impropriety of Austria continuing any hostile measures against Venice after accepting our mediation based on the cessation of all hostilities; and he also knew that we had made very strong representations at Vienna on the subject, but that the active intervention of the French fleet, even for that limited purpose, was not strictly in the character of a mediation, and certainly not of a joint mediation, as we had no portion of our fleet sent there for the same purpose; that as the last intelligence we had received announced that the blockade had been much relaxed, we were in hopes that this awkward position

* See No. 495.

might have no practical consequences, but that it was impossible to say that such interference was strictly in accordance with the character France had assumed conjointly with us.

M. Bastide said that it was only intended in case of necessity to prevent a great calamity which would have been caused by a complete disregard on the part of Austria of the mediation, and that an interference so occasioned and so limited could not be considered by her as a case of war.

I replied that I thought most likely not, but that this must depend more upon the position in which circumstances had now placed Austria, with reference to the Italian question, than the character of the act itself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 505.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 27.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, October 23, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an Austrian courier passed through Frankfort this morning on his road to Olmütz with despatches from M. Thom, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, the purport of which was to inform the Austrian Government that he had been invited to an interview by General Cavaignac and M. Bastide on the 19th ultimo, and been formally assured that the French Government would discountenance any attempt that might be made by the Sardinians to renew the war in the North of Italy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 506.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 27.)

My Lord,

Milan, October 22, 1848.

I DO myself the honour to call your Lordship's attention to the circumstance that the day before yesterday sixty-three waggons, and yesterday ninety waggons, filled with sick Austrian soldiers left this city in the direction of Verona. It may be proper to mention here that the mortality of the Austrian troops since their arrival in Milan has been very great. It is now proved beyond a doubt that lately there were not less than 12,000 of them either in hospital or convalescent unfit for duty.

I do myself the honour further to call your Lordship's attention to another circumstance, viz., that yesterday an order was issued for the money in the Public Treasury at the Marino Palace, which is in the centre of the town, to be removed to the Governor's Palace in the Borgo Monforte, near the bastions, for the purpose it is said of being easily carried away in case of an insurrection. This order, however, it was impossible to comply with, there being no place sufficiently commodious or secure to contain the money, amounting as it would appear to very large sums.

The departure of the sick to Verona, and the intended removal of the military chest are facts which I consider of sufficient importance to be brought under your Lordship's notice.

The garrison of Milan at present does not exceed 10,000 men. It is reported that desertions to a great extent of the Hungarian and Croatian troops are continually taking place. I can only speak positively to two facts on this point, which I have from excellent authority. On the 12th instant sixty Croatian soldiers, deserters from their regiments, passed through a village called Tegnone, in the Brianza; and on the 19th instant twenty-five Hungarian deserters, with an officer, passed through the village of Casate Nuovo, also in the Brianza. The latter were regaled by the peasantry.

With respect to the differences that existed between the Hungarians and the Croats I understand that Field-Marshal Radetzky, with his usual tact and

talent, has managed to put an end to them. It is apparent however that there is no cordiality between the officers or the men belonging to these two races, as they are never seen to associate in public.

On the walls of many houses in the principal streets are written in large characters "*Viva l'Ungheria!*" "*Viva l'Italia!*" The most inflammatory addresses are distributed all over the city.

Those tracts of country described in my preceding despatches as being on the verge of insurrection, have not become more tranquil. On the contrary in many parts, such as those round the Lake of Como and in the Brianza, the inhabitants commit the most daring acts against the Government. In the upper part of the lake the boatman hoist the tricoloured flag and wear the tricoloured cockade, while in the town of Como the conduct of the citizens has been so turbulent that the Austrian commandant of the place ordered them to retire to their houses by 7 o'clock in the evening, but he, on finding it impossible to enforce such a measure, has greatly relaxed its severity lately.

On the 15th instant a band of eighty natives of the Brianza, wearing Calabrese hats (which the greater part of the Brianzoli have adopted), proceeded in the night-time to the chief place of the district called Oggiono, where the surrendered arms were kept, selected the best, and marched off with them in the face of the gendarmerie who hastened to the spot but were afraid to interfere.

On the 19th instant, at a village called Azzone, in the Val Brembana, 600 Tyrolese sharpshooters, who went there for the seizure of arms, were attacked by the peasantry, who were all provided with muskets and rifles. The troops were obliged to retire after having six killed and many wounded. The peasantry had laid a plan to capture the whole of them, and would have succeeded had not the tocsin been sounded too soon.

A disturbance lately took place at Pavia between the soldiery and the citizens, in which some of the latter were wounded.

Milan from what I can learn is the most quiet place in Lombardy; a fact which may be attributed in a great degree to the general belief that the Austrians intend to evacuate Lombardy. This belief, from actual circumstances, has no appearance of being verified. Since the arrival of the Austrians here they have thrown up a high embankment with a deep ditch in front of the Castle, towards the city. Cannon are already placed along the whole upper part of the Castle, and the towers at each angle are preparing in order that cannon may be mounted on them also, as well as on the embankment when finished, which is nearly so. The Austrians have begun to fortify in the same manner in the rear of the Castle, or the part towards the Simplon Gate. Large supplies of provisions and ammunition have lately been taken into the Castle. In the Vice-Regal Palace ovens have been erected to bake the bread for the troops. The impression of many is that the Austrians intend to leave a small garrison here, which will be concentrated in the Castle.

The distress among the middle and lower classes, but principally among the latter, has lately increased to a frightful extent, and threatens to increase still more as the winter approaches. The cause of this is attributed to Milan continuing to be kept in a state of siege, which there seems no probability of being put an end to.

Although the amnesty has now been out twelve days, not a single family of any importance has returned to Milan. I am assured that none mean to return while the Austrians remain in Lombardy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 507.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 27.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 22, 1848.

THE discussion on the subject of the policy and administration by the present Cabinet of the affairs of this country terminated at 2 o'clock this morning by a division in which the Ministers obtained a majority of 19 votes.

By the "ordre du jour motivé" which was adopted, the Sardinian Government are released from all restraint on the question of war and the period for commencing it, but on the other hand the Administration is committed on the question of Italian independence.

The sitting of last night was extremely stormy and irregular, the galleries applauding violently all allusions made by the Deputies in their speeches to the renewal of hostilities or the complete establishment of Italian independence.

Count Camille Cavour at length adverted in strong terms to the great impropriety of permitting the continuance of these marks of popular opinion in an assembly that had met for the grave and serious consideration of the interests of the State, and he energetically protested against the infringement of all parliamentary regulations and all principles of free discussion.

Various members of the Chamber took part in this discussion, and amongst them his Excellency Signor Merlo, the Minister of Justice ; but after all, the subject was allowed to drop without any decision having been come to as to the execution of the existing rules of the Chamber against the expression of the opinion of the public in the galleries, and a precedent had been created which it may be difficult hereafter to correct.

From the language of the one or two members of the Chamber whom I have seen this morning, I am in hopes that the disgraceful scene of last night has produced rather a good than a hurtful impression, as it is proved how advisable it is that a stop should be put to such unjustifiable proceedings.

The amendment of the Advocate Brofferio, which had for object the immediate declaration of war, was supported by only 13 votes, whereas the order of the day was carried by 77 votes.

No. 508.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 13.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 24, 1848.

HER Majesty's Consul at Genoa writes that a disturbance had taken place at the door of the Political Circle or Club.

Some of the men of the corps of Reale Nave, or marines, had determined that the club should not be opened, whilst some of the Lombard refugees, of whom a great many are now at Genoa, insisted upon the contrary.

The Marquis Pareto, General commanding the National Guard, appeared upon the spot, and some shots were fired.

A Lieutenant Gavotti and two men of the marines were wounded, and one of the Lombards so seriously so that his life is despaired of.

Mr. Consul Brown also writes that the Genoese appear determined to get rid of the Lombards, whose presence at Genoa has become a serious inconvenience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 509.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 24, 1848:

AMONGST the various despatches which I had the honour to receive from your Lordship by messenger Lieutenant Robbins, were those of the 16th and 18th instant, of this year's series, written in reply to those which I addressed to your Lordship on the 6th and 10th instant.

Your Lordship in your above-mentioned despatches instructs me to renew to the Sardinian Government the representations and arguments which I stated to you I had employed in conversation with his Excellency the Baron de Perron, when he communicated to me the measures which he and his colleagues proposed to adopt in consequence of the conduct pursued by Field-Marshal

Radetzky with regard to the Armistice of Milan. I have therefore addressed a note to his Excellency the Baron de Perron upon this subject, as it afforded me the best means of effectively executing your Lordship's instructions.

Inclosed herewith I have the honour to forward to you a copy of that note.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 509.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, October 23, 1848.

ON the 6th instant his Excellency the Baron de Perron, &c., communicated confidentially to the Undersigned, &c., the measures which the Cabinet of Turin had in contemplation in order to enforce the restitution of the remaining half of the Sardinian park of artillery that was in Peschiera at the moment of its evacuation by the Sardinian troops; and his Excellency at the same time requested the Undersigned to convey to the knowledge of his Government both the nature of the measures themselves and the arguments by which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty defended the adoption of them.

On the 9th instant the Undersigned received from his Excellency the Baron de Perron an official note informing him, in consequence of the continued non-restitution by Field-Marshal Radetzky of the remaining portion of the Sardinian artillery at Peschiera, and the recommencement by the Austrian Naval squadron of the blockade of Venice, together with the preparations for attacking that town by force of arms, the Government of His Sardinian Majesty would consider themselves obliged to order Admiral Albini not only to quit the Adriatic but to return with the Sardinian naval squadron under his command before Venice, unless satisfactory assurances were promptly given by the Austrian Government of their determination to abstain from all acts of hostility against Venice, and to restore the remaining portion of the park of Sardinian artillery unjustly detained in Peschiera.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron annexed to the above-mentioned note copy of a letter from Lieutenant-General Hess to General Chiodo, dated Milan, the 1st October, 1848, and his Excellency requested that the Undersigned would transmit both these documents to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty.

The Undersigned lost no time in complying in both instances with the wishes of his Excellency the Baron de Perron.

When his Excellency the Baron de Perron communicated to the Undersigned, on the 6th instant, the contemplated measures of the Sardinian Government, the latter at once expressed to his Excellency the various reasons which in his opinion rendered the course which the Cabinet of Turin was inclined to follow both dangerous and impolitic.

The Undersigned did not for a moment attempt to excuse the conduct of the Austrian General in withholding, contrary to the positive stipulations of the Armistice of the 9th August, the Sardinian artillery and stores, for such conduct was evidently contrary to all principle of good faith, and could not therefore be defended by any justifiable argument, but he pointed out to the attention and consideration of his Excellency the Baron de Perron, that the course which he and his colleagues were about to follow, might easily give the impression that Sardinia had for a second time given rise to the calamities of war; that it would seriously impede if not altogether destroy the action of the mediating Powers; that if war resulted from the step which they were about to take, and that they had to trust, as might possibly be the case, to their own resources only for a successful conduct and termination of it, they might again find that their strength was unequal to the task, and that they had involved their country in difficulties from which under such circumstances it would not be easy either for them or their friends to extricate her; that proof had already been given of the little reliance that could be placed upon the energy of the rest of the Italians to assist in accomplishing their own independence, though he did not dispute

the existence of the hatred felt throughout Italy to Austrian rule, which kept up a state of ferment in the country though it did not quite assume that character of strong determination necessary to secure success without the aid of foreign force: and that he could not implicitly believe that the feeling in this country was so uncompromisingly strong in favour of war, as to render the renewal of hostilities popular with the masses.

To the arguments adduced by his Excellency the Baron de Perron in the course of the same conversation, that Austria was evidently endeavouring to gain time; that the present state of armed peace was as ruinous to the finances of the country as a state of war, without affording the favourable chances which war offers; that the successful termination of the joint mediation of England and of France had become doubtful, and that the continuance of a state of suspense became positively prejudicial; the Undersigned had the honour to reply that if such were the opinions of the Sardinian Government, they had better at once declare that they withdrew their acceptance of the joint mediation, and were prepared to encounter the vicissitudes of war; for that to profess to continue to invoke the assistance of mediation when they were meditating the execution of an act calculated to render that mediation fruitless, was a mockery.

The observations and arguments which the Undersigned had the honour to make to his Excellency the Baron de Perron on the occasion above mentioned, were duly reported by him to Viscount Palmerston, and his Lordship has been pleased to notify to the Undersigned the approbation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government at the language he had held.

Her Majesty's Government do not deny that the refusal of Marshal Radetzky to give up the artillery which he had bound himself to surrender, is an inexcusable breach of faith, but it is also an act which there can be no reason to expect will be sanctioned by the Government of Vienna, and therefore unless the Sardinian Government wants a pretence for war they ought to wait for the effect of the representations which the British and French Governments have already caused to be made at Vienna upon the subject, instead of taking precipitate steps which can scarcely fail to involve them in very disagreeable embarrassments.

In the conversation that took place between the Undersigned and his Excellency the Baron de Perron on the 10th instant, upon the subject of the contents of his note of the preceding day, the same arguments were used on each side. There was however this additional declaration made by the Baron de Perron upon that occasion, that he and his colleagues were fully aware of the possible consequences of the return of the Sardinian squadron before Venice, and that he and they were ready to accept the chances of war even had this country to carry it on unaided by foreign support.

The Undersigned, intimately convinced of the dangers likely to result to this country from the adoption of such a course, and anxiously desiring, before it was too late, that no doubt should exist of the opinion which he felt sure would be entertained by Her Majesty's Government with regard to it, did not hesitate to renew in the strongest terms the arguments which he had already used against what he considered to be so unsafe and inopportune a system of policy.

In this opinion the Undersigned has not been deceived, for the above representations, which he reported to Lord Palmerston as having been made, have received the approval of Her Majesty's Government, and he has been further instructed to urge them again upon the consideration of the Sardinian Cabinet.

The Government of His Sardinian Majesty complain of the conduct of the Austrian General-in-chief in not complying with the terms of the Armistice of Milan and delivering up the Sardinian artillery, and there is no doubt that this is an unjustifiable breach of faith; the letter of General Hess also is certainly offensive; but both the contents of that letter and the conduct of Field-Marshal Radetzky alike bear the appearance of a desire to goad the Government of His Sardinian Majesty into some proceeding which may lead to a renewal of hostilities, and afford the Austrian troops an opportunity of carrying the war across the Ticino and into the dominions of His Sardinian Majesty.

The Undersigned is convinced that his Excellency the Baron de Perron will at once see how obviously unwise it would be for the Piedmontese Govern-

ment to give into the trap thus laid for them, and by any act of their own unnecessarily to expose their country to all the losses and sufferings which cannot fail to be inflicted upon a country which becomes the theatre of war.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty have not delayed for a moment instructing Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna to represent as strongly as possible the bad effect which must be produced upon the character of Austria if the engagements entered into by the Austrian commander should continue to be violated; and the Undersigned cannot but observe to his Excellency the Baron de Perron, that it is not only for the interests of Sardinia, but also in furtherance of the object and principles of the joint mediation, that the Government of His Sardinian Majesty ought to wait to see the result of those representations.

His Excellency the Baron de Perron will perceive at once from the arguments and observations which the Undersigned has been instructed to urge upon the notice of the Sardinian Cabinet, how important Her Britannic Majesty's Government considers it to be that Sardinia should abstain from any act calculated to bring about a renewal of hostilities; and how anxiously Great Britain, as the old and attached ally of Sardinia, wishes to see her avoid voluntarily engaging in a course of policy so contrary to the true interests of this country, and which would not only expose her for a second time to the serious accusation of rekindling the flame of war, but which might in the most serious manner risk the welfare and even the existence of the State.

If the arguments already used were not sufficient to convince the Sardinian Government of the correctness of the view taken by Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the present position of Sardinia, it would not be difficult to bring forth others still stronger in support of the opinion of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; but the Undersigned entertains a hope that his Excellency the Baron de Perron and his colleagues in the Cabinet will give that mature consideration to the representations of Her Britannic Majesty's Government which is due to those feelings of intimacy and of friendship which have so long marked the relations between the two countries, and that the Cabinet of Turin will wisely pause before they throw away the advantages of their present position, or render fruitless the negotiations of the mediation.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 510.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 30.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 25, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship for your information, copies of various notes which have passed between his Excellency the Baron de Perron and my French colleague and myself, and between us and Field-Marshal Radetzky, relative to the portion of the Sardinian park of artillery unjustly detained by the Marshal at Peschiera.

Your Lordship will perceive by the Marshal's reply to my French colleague and myself, dated Milan, 23rd October, that he consents to restore the remainder of the Sardinian artillery and stores upon certain conditions, which conditions we have by our note to Baron de Perron of yesterday's date, applied to the Government of His Sardinian Majesty to furnish us with the means of fulfilling, as desired by Field-Marshal Radetzky.

Your Lordship will also perceive that M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself have stated to the Sardinian Government our readiness to express to our respective Governments our hopes that measures would be taken by them to obtain from the Imperial Cabinet assurances that hostilities would not be renewed against Venice by the Austrian troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 510.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 20 Octobre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, &c., se fait un devoir de prévenir Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, que le Gouvernement du Roi s'est vu dans la nécessité de faire donner au Contre-Amiral commandant la flotte Sarde dans l'Adriatique, l'ordre de se rendre avec ses forces devant Venise, afin d'obliger M. le Maréchal Radetzky à nous rendre enfin le matériel de siège et les chevaux que nous avons dans Peschiera, et que sous de vains et spécieux prétextes il s'est refusé jusqu'à présent à nous restituer.

Le Soussigné croit également devoir faire connaître à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires que la flotte devra soutenir l'exécution des dispositions de l'Article IV de l'Armistice du 9 Août relative à Venise, et s'opposer à toute violence que les troupes Autrichiennes de terre et de mer pourraient exercer envers cette ville, contrairement à ces stipulations.

Enfin le Soussigné se croit en devoir de prévenir Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires, sans rappeler ici des raisons qui leur sont suffisamment connues, que si M. le Maréchal Radetzky persistait plus longtemps dans son refus de remplir les conditions que l'Armistice a positivement établies, le Gouvernement du Roi se trouverait encore dans l'obligation de prendre d'autres mesures énergiques dans le but d'en assurer l'accomplissement.

C'est avec extrême regret que le Soussigné se voit obligé de prévoir l'éventualité de ces dernières mesures et d'en avertir Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre et de France, mais ils connaissent trop les dispositions conciliantes du Gouvernement du Roi, la longanimité qu'il a montrée jusqu'à présent, pour ne pas reconnaître qu'il ne le fait que parce qu'il ne pourrait supporter plus longtemps un état de choses qui devrait nécessairement finir par une crise désastreuse.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 20, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., makes it his duty to inform the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, that the King's Government has found itself under the necessity of causing the Vice-Admiral commanding the Sardinian fleet in the Adriatic to be instructed to go with his forces to Venice, in order to oblige Marshal Radetzky to return to us the siege artillery and horses which we have in Peschiera, and which, under vain and specious pretences, he has up to the present time refused to restore.

The Undersigned equally considers it his duty to make known to the Plenipotentiaries that the fleet will support the execution of the stipulations of Article IV of the Armistice of the 9th of August respecting Venice, and will oppose every act of violence which the Austrian land and sea forces might attempt against that city in contravention of those stipulations.

Lastly, the Undersigned considers it his duty to inform the Plenipotentiaries, without recapitulating here the reasons which are sufficiently known to them, that if Marshal Radetzky longer persists in his refusal to fulfil the conditions which the Armistice has positively laid down, the King's Government would again find itself obliged to take other energetic measures with a view to secure their full accomplishment.

It is with extreme regret that the Undersigned finds himself compelled to look forward to the possibility of these last measures, and to give the Ministers Plenipotentiary of England and France warning thereof, but they know too well

the conciliatory disposition of the King's Government and the patience which it has hitherto displayed, not to acknowledge that it does so only because it could no longer endure a state of things which must necessarily end in a disastrous crisis.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 510.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

Turin, le 21 Octobre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, ont reçu la réponse que son Excellence le Maréchal Comte Radetzky leur a fait l'honneur de leur adresser le 12 courant, relativement à la restitution de la seconde partie du parc de Peschiera.

Les Soussignés ont l'honneur de remercier son Excellence de la bienveillance particulière pour leurs personnes qui lui a permis de leur répondre, bien qu'il ne fût pas autorisé par son Gouvernement à entrer en communication avec eux. Ils regrettent vivement que cette autorisation n'ait pas été donnée par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, mais ils espèrent que son Excellence, prenant conseil, comme eux, de la gravité des circonstances et de la nécessité de remédier aux inconvéniens des distances, voudra bien continuer des relations qui ne sont basées que sur un désir sincère de conciliation et de paix.

C'est dans ce but que les Soussignés avaient demandé à son Excellence la restitution de la seconde partie du parc de Peschiera. Ils auraient désiré éviter aussi que, par un malentendu fâcheux, et pour une question minime en comparaison des graves intérêts auxquels elle pourrait nuire, l'espérance de la paix entre les deux Puissances belligérantes, qui est le seul vœu et le seul intérêt des Puissances médiatrices, ne fût compromis et peut-être perdu.

La note que viennent de recevoir les Soussignés de la part du Gouvernement Sarde ne confirme que trop la crainte que la réponse de son Excellence n'ait eu ce résultat. Cette note, datée du 20 courant, est conçue en ces termes :

“Le Soussigné, &c., se fait un devoir de prévenir MM. les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, que le Gouvernement du Roi s'est vu dans la nécessité de faire donner au Contre-Amiral commandant la flotte Sarde dans l'Adriatique, l'ordre de se rendre avec ses forces devant Venise, afin d'obliger M. le Maréchal Radetzky à nous rendre enfin le matériel de siège et les chevaux que nous avons dans Peschiera, et que sous de vains et spécieux prétextes il s'est refusé jusqu'à présent à nous restituer.

“Le Soussigné croit également devoir faire connaître à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires, que la flotte devra soutenir l'exécution des dispositions de l'Article IV de l'Armistice du 9 Août relatives à Venise, et s'opposer à toute violence que les troupes Autrichiennes de terre et de mer pourraient exercer envers cette ville contrairement à ces stipulations.”

Les Soussignés regrettent vivement de n'avoir pu réussir à éviter la mesure énoncée dans cette note ; leurs efforts n'ont tendu qu'à ce but depuis quinze jours ; ils espèrent encore que la haute sagesse de son Excellence comprendra que l'intérêt de la paix générale en Europe, qui se lie si intimement à la cessation de la guerre en Italie, domine les questions de détail, et exige qu'elles soient méditées et résolues avec tout le sang-froid nécessaire pour éviter de ces douloureux conflits.

C'est avec confiance que les Soussignés s'adressent à son Excellence, dans l'espérance que sa décision ou son intervention auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale amèneront ce résultat.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

RA. ABERCROMBY,

BOIS-LE-COMTE.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 21, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have received the answer which his Excellency Marshal Count Radetzky has done them the honour to address to them, dated the 12th instant, respecting the restitution of the second portion of the artillery at Peschiera.

The Undersigned have the honour to thank his Excellency for the peculiar civility to themselves personally which has permitted him to reply to them, although he was not authorized by his Government to enter into communication with them. They regret very much that that authority has not been given by the Government of His Imperial Majesty, but they trust that his Excellency, taking counsel, as they do, from the importance of the circumstances, and from the necessity of finding a remedy for the inconvenience arising from distance, will be good enough to continue relations which have only for their basis a sincere wish for conciliation and peace.

It is with this view that the Undersigned have asked of his Excellency the restitution of the second portion of the artillery at Peschiera. They would also have wished to prevent that, by an unfortunate misunderstanding, and on account of a question of small importance when compared with the important interests which it may possibly injure, the hope of peace between the two belligerent parties, which is the only desire and the only interest of the mediating Powers, should be compromised and perhaps lost.

The note which the Undersigned have just received from the Sardinian Government confirms their apprehension only too strongly, lest his Excellency's answer should be followed by that result. That note, dated on the 20th instant, is expressed thus:—

“The Undersigned, &c., makes it his duty to inform the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, that the King's Government has found itself under the necessity of causing the Vice-Admiral commanding the Sardinian fleet in the Adriatic to be instructed to go with his forces to Venice, in order to oblige Marshal Radetzky to return to us the siege artillery and horses which we have in Peschiera, and which under vain and specious pretences he has up to the present time refused to restore.

“The Undersigned equally considers it his duty to make known to the Plenipotentiaries that the fleet will support the execution of the stipulations of Article IV of the Armistice of August 9, respecting Venice, and will oppose every act of violence which the Austrian land and sea forces might attempt against that city in contravention of those stipulations.”

The Undersigned regret very much that they have been unable to obviate the measure announced in this note; their endeavours have been directed solely towards this object during the last fifteen days; they still trust that his Excellency's wisdom will understand that the interest of general peace in Europe, which is so closely connected with the cessation of the war in Italy, predominates over questions of detail, and requires that they should be considered and determined upon with all the coolness necessary to prevent these lamentable contests.

The Undersigned address themselves to his Excellency, with confidence in the hope that his decision or his intervention with the Government of His Imperial Majesty, will bring about this result.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

BOIS-LE-COMTE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 510.

Marshal Radetzky to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Milan, le 23 Octobre, 1848.

JE viens de recevoir l'office que leurs Excellences Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 21 de ce mois, et je m'empresse d'y répondre de suite.

La dissolution momentanée du Ministère Impérial et Royal effectuée par

les événemens qui ont eu lieu à Vienne le 6 Octobre, m'a fait entrevoir la nécessité d'agir indépendamment, en m'aggravant en même temps de toute la responsabilité qui pourra en résulter.

En me voyant donc dans le cas de pouvoir me mettre, de mon propre chef, en relation avec leurs Excellences, je profite de cette occasion pour les informer que je suis décidé à la remise complète de la seconde partie du parc de siège et autre matériel de guerre qui se trouve à Peschiera, sous la seule et unique condition, que leurs Excellences, dans leur qualité de Représentans des Puissances médiatrices d'Angleterre et de France à la Cour de Turin, me donnent leur garantie que dès que le parc de siège se mettra en marche vers le Piémont, l'escadre royale fera voile pour retourner immédiatement dans les Etats Sardes.

(Signé) C. RADEZKY.

(Translation.)

Milan, October 23, 1848.

I HAVE just received the communication which their Excellencies the Ministers Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic have done me the honour to address to me, dated the 21st instant, and I hasten to reply thereto.

The momentary dissolution of the Imperial and Royal Ministry, brought about by the events which took place at Vienna on the 6th of October, has shown me the necessity of acting independently, while it throws on me the whole responsibility which may result therefrom.

Seeing myself therefore in a position to be able on my own responsibility to place myself in communication with your Excellencies, I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that I have determined on the entire surrender of the second portion of siege artillery and other munitions of war which are at Peschiera, on the single and only condition that their Excellencies, in their character of Representatives of the mediating Powers, England and France, at the Court of Turin, will give me their guarantee that as soon as the artillery shall have set out towards Piedmont, the royal fleet will immediately set sail on its return to the Sardinian States.

(Signed) C. RADEZKY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 510.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, ce 24 Octobre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, &c., ont l'honneur de transmettre à son Excellence M. le Baron de Perron, &c., la copie de la lettre qu'ils ont reçue de son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky, Commandant-en-chef de l'armée Impériale.

Les Soussignés sont heureux d'avoir concouru par leurs réclamations à faire valoir et reconnaître la juste réclamation du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde pour l'exécution de l'Armistice du 9 Août; et comptant sur l'accomplissement réciproque de ces conditions par ce Gouvernement, ils espèrent qu'il voudra bien les mettre à même de remplir l'engagement qui leur est demandé par son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky.

Les Soussignés, toujours empressés à s'interposer dans l'intérêt de la paix, espèrent que dans cette circonstance le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde ne fera rien qui puisse la troubler, surtout après avoir reçu cette satisfaction à ses réclamations.

Quant aux hostilités des troupes Autrichiennes devant Venise, elles ont déjà cessé, et les Soussignés ne manqueront pas, en envoyant à leurs Gouvernemens copie de la lettre de son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky et de la note ci-jointe, d'appuyer sur la nécessité qu'elles ne se renouvellent plus.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé) BOIS-LE-COMTE.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 24, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have the honour to transmit to Baron de Perron, &c., a copy of the letter which they have received from Marshal Radetzky, Commander-in-chief of the Imperial army.

The Undersigned are glad to have contributed by their representations to cause the just claim of the Government of His Sardinian Majesty respecting the carrying out of the Armistice of the 9th of August, to be respected; and relying on the reciprocal performance of its conditions by that Government, they hope that it will enable them to enter into the engagement which is asked of them by Marshal Radetzky.

The Undersigned, always anxious to interpose in favour of the interests of peace, trust that under present circumstances the Sardinian Government will do nothing to disturb it, particularly after its claim has thus been satisfied.

As concerns the hostile proceedings of the Austrian troops before Venice, they have already ceased, and the Undersigned will not fail in sending to their Government copies of Marshal Radetzky's note and of the annexed note, to press the necessity of their not being again renewed.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) BOIS-LE-COMTE.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 511.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 30.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 25, 1848.

THE accounts received here up to last night of the state of affairs at Leghorn and in Tuscany were far from being satisfactory.

Leghorn was completely in the power of the people; for the Governor, Professor Montanelli, who had headed the popular faction at the commencement of the present disturbances, has returned to Florence.

No Government has yet been able to be formed to succeed the Cabinet of the Marquis Capponi; the arrangement which was to have included Messieurs Ricasoli, Max. d'Azeglio, Nerino Corsini, and others of that political colour having failed, from Prince Nerino Corsini having thrice refused to join the proposed Government.

The hesitation thus caused in the formation of a Government is most unfortunate, for it affords time for the more effectual machinations of the violent party; and there is the continual fear that in a country where the power of the constituted authorities is so weak and inefficient, attempts may be made to push matters to extremities.

Orders have been sent to the Piedmontese troops traversing Tuscany on their return from Venice to halt in Tuscany and to join the three battalions of Piedmontese already there. These two corps united will make a total of about 7000 men.

Whilst writing this despatch I have received news that the accounts arrived here this morning from Tuscany continue to be worse; and the Grand Duke has deemed it prudent to send his family from their late residence at the Villa di Castello near Florence, to Sienna;—a measure which indicates I am afraid that the Grand Duke himself is apprehensive that it may be necessary for him to follow.

Orders have been sent to the Piedmontese troops to defend, if necessary, the person and family of the Grand Duke, and to repel force by force, should the troops be attacked.

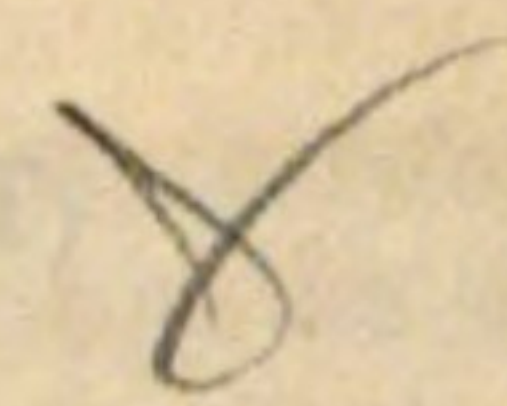
No. 512.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 30.)

(Extract.)

Florence, October 22, 1848.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that Leghorn is again in rebellion, and the Governor Montanelli who had been appointed with a view to satisfy the people, has been obliged to resign and retire to Florence. The gates of the town are in the hands of the people, and by the last accounts all egress was forbidden.

No. 513. *Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.*

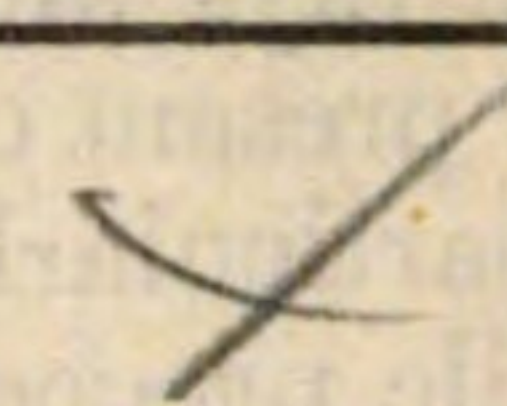
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1848.

I HAVE to inform you that while, as at present, the Austrian Government is in abeyance, it is impossible that any further steps can be taken in regard to the negotiations in respect to the North of Italy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 514. *Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.*

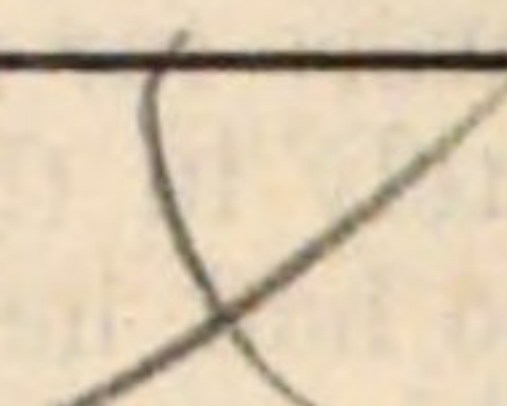
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th instant, inclosing copies of notes which have passed between yourself and your French colleague, the Baron de Perron, and Field-Marshal Radetzky, relative to the restitution of that portion of the Sardinian ordnance stores which had been left at Peschiera, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued by you with regard to this question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 515. *Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.*

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, October 31, 1848.

IT has lately been said that the Central Government intends to collect an army of 50,000 men somewhere in Bavaria or in neighbouring parts, or to increase to that amount the body of troops thus assembled in that quarter, and that the purpose for which such force is to be there stationed is that it may make a demonstration in the Tyrol, or even actually march to Verona in support of the Austrian cause in Italy, if Field-Marshal Radetzky should be obliged in consequence of the state of things in Austria and Hungary to send into Germany any considerable part of the Austrian troops now in Italy. With regard to an advance of German troops to Verona it is needless to say that it would be open to the same kind of objection as the advance of Russian troops to Cracow and Galicia. For it would be the entrance of troops into a territory not belonging to the Power in whose service such troops were; such a move would justify other Powers who might be inclined to do so in sending troops also to the scene of operations in order to restore the balance, and thence would arise imminent danger of collision.

A concentration of German troops within the German frontier would certainly not be open to the same objection, and in point of right would be liable to no remark. As a question of prudence and expediency, it might indeed be doubtful, because it might and probably would lead to a corresponding measure on the part of another Power, and these reciprocal military preparations would more or less tend to disturb the confidence which the nations of Europe seem at present to place in the prospect of the maintenance of international peace.

To speak plainly on this matter, it must be obvious to the Central Government that any great augmentation of the forces now collected in Southern Germany would be looked upon in France as a demonstration intended to bear upon pending questions in Italy, and would lead to corresponding measures in the south-eastern provinces of France, and that any advance of a German force into the Tyrol, or still more to Verona, might be the signal for an advance of French troops into Italy, and this can surely not be an

event which the Central Government can have any wish to give an occasion for.

I have spoken on this subject and to the same effect to Baron Andrian, who says that the only object which the Central Power has in view is to prevent the Sardinian troops, in the event of a renewal of hostilities, from infringing upon the German territory in the Tyrol as they did during the late campaign, but I remarked to him that a very small force would be amply sufficient for that purpose; and that it would be time enough to take measures for such an object when the Sardinian Government had given notice of the termination of the Armistice and of the resumption of hostilities, which as yet it had not done, and which Her Majesty's Government hope and trust it will not do.

The probability seems to be that this measure was really intended by the Central Power as a demonstration to assist Austria in regard to pending questions in Italy; and that the more moderate purpose put forward by Baron Andrian was the result of a very animated conversation which M. de Beaumont had with him on the subject, and in which M. de Beaumont plainly declared to the Baron the absolute necessity in which the French Government would find itself of taking step by step military measures corresponding with those which the Central Power might take in this matter. Your Lordship will avail yourself of an early opportunity of representing to the Central Power the view which Her Majesty's Government have taken of this matter, and of pointing out the inconveniences and evils which would inevitably arise from any hasty or unnecessary steps by the Central Power in regard to it.

No. 516.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, copy of a despatch* I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, inclosing a correspondence with Field-Marshal Radetzky, relative to the restitution of that portion of the Sardinian warlike stores which were left at Peschiera, and I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate the same to the Austrian Government, and to express a hope that the arrangement proposed therein will be confirmed by the Austrian Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 517.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(Extract.)

Berne, October 27, 1848.

I HASTEN to transmit to your Lordship intelligence which I have just received, and which, inasmuch as it is contained in a letter from the Postmaster of Croire to that of Berne referring to the interception of a postal communication, appears to merit attention, stating that a band of Lombard refugees in Switzerland had crossed the frontier and commenced hostilities near Chiavenna.

The Government of Turin had evidently knowledge of a movement being organized in that quarter, from the fact that this morning the newly accredited Minister to the Confederation, Count Rignon, received instructions to put the Vorort on their guard, and to request them to check any hostile movement upon the Swiss territory.

* See No. 510.

No. 518.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 1.)

(Extract.)

Naples, October 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a decree summoning the electoral colleges, which are at present without representatives, to meet on the 13th of next month for the purpose of electing deputies.

The terms of the decree recognise the impropriety of reassembling Parliament on the 30th of November without the completion of the lawful number of members in the Lower House, but no reason is alleged in explanation of the delay in prescribing a measure so necessary to restore the integrity of the legislature.

Inclosure in No. 518.

Decree convoking the Electoral Colleges of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Ferdinando II, &c.

VISTA la Legge Elettorale provvisoria de' 29 di febbrajo di questo anno, ed il Real Decreto de' 24 di Maggio prossimo scorso, col quale fu la medesima richiamata in osservanza con talune modificazioni quivi indicate;

Considerando che il numero de' componenti la Camera de' Deputati non è compiuto, sia per elezione della stessa persona in diversi distretti, sia per rinunzie accettate, per esclusioni pronunziate, o per morte di alcuni degli eletti, sia per non essersi da taluni de' candidati raccolto il numero legale de' suffragi, sia da ultimo per non essersi in diversi distretti riuniti i collegi elettorali;

Considerando in conseguenza che è necessario il provvedere alla novella elezione de' Deputati che mancano, acciocchè, nel riprendersi nel dì 30 del veggente Novembre la sessione della Camera suddetta, il numero de' suoi componenti si trovi completo;

Considerando che, postamente alla distanza de' capoluoghi de' circondarii da quelli de' distretti, ed al tempo necessario per la convocazione de' collegi, tutte le operazioni si possono presumere terminate pel dì 13 dell' entrante Novembre;

Sulla proposizione del nostro Ministro Segretario di Stato dell' Interno;

Udito il nostro Consiglio de' Ministri;

Abbiamo risoluto di decretare, e decretiamo quanto segue:

Articolo 1.—I collegi elettorali ne' circondarii de' distretti, segnati nello stato che segue, sono convocati pel dì 13 del venturo mese di Novembre, a fine di procedere alla elezione de' Deputati che mancano, a norma di quanto trovasi stabilito nella legge elettorale provvisoria de' 29 di febbrajo, e nel real decreto de' 24 di Maggio, 1848.

Quadro per le Rielezioni.

Distretti dove si verificano le vacanze e numero delle medesime.	Nomi de' Deputati che debbono essere sostituiti.	Motivo della vacanza.
<i>Napoli</i> , sei Deputati	Savarese Giacomo	Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera.
	Roberti Michelangelo	Idem.
	Capitelli Domenico	Ozione per Caserta.
	Poerio Carlo	Idem per Gaeta.
	Imbriani Paolo Emilio	Idem per Avellino.
	Troya Carlo	Idem per Casoria.

Distretti dove si verificano le vacanze e numero delle medesime.	Nomi de' Deputati che debbono essere sostituiti.	Motivo della vacanza.
<i>Castellamare</i> , tre Deputati	Conforti Raffaele Degli Uberti Vincenzo Troya Carlo	Ozione per Salerno. Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera. Ozione per Casoria.
<i>Sala</i> , un Deputato	Parisi Donato	Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera.
<i>Ariano</i> , un Deputato	Degli Uberti Vincenzo	Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera.
<i>Campobasso</i> , un Deputato	Colaneri Nazario	Elezione annullata per mancanza di capacità.
<i>Avezzano</i> , un Deputato	Ferrante Antonio	Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera.
<i>Foggia</i> , un Deputato	Manca	Non eseguita elezione legale, poichè il terzo candidato non ha ottenuto sufficiente numero di voti.
<i>Bovino</i> , due Deputati	Janigro Desiato Manca	Elezione annullata per mancanza di capacità. Non seguita elezione perchè il secondo candidato non ha ottenuto sufficiente numero di voti.
<i>Bari</i> , un Deputato	Ruggiero Francesco Paolo ..	Elezione annullata per mancanza di capacità.
<i>Altamura</i> , un Deputato	Manca	Non seguita elezione.
<i>Lecce</i> , tre Deputati	Mancano	Non seguita elezione.
<i>Lagonegro</i> , due Deputati	Mancano	Non seguita elezione legale, poichè il 2° ed il 3° candidato non hanno ottenuto sufficiente numero di voti.
<i>Reggio</i> , un Deputato	Genovese Federico	Defunto.
<i>Cosenza</i> , quattro Deputati	Mancano	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Castrovillari</i> , tre Deputati	Mancano	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Paolo</i> , due Deputati	Mancano	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Rossano</i> , un Deputato	Manca	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Catanzaro</i> , tre Deputati	Mancano	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Cotrone</i> , un Deputato	Manca	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Nicastro</i> , due Deputati	Mancano	Mancanza assoluta di elezione.
<i>Monteleone</i> , due Deputati	Manca Marchese Taccone Giuseppe	Non seguita elezione perchè il terzo candidato non ha ottenuto sufficiente numero di voti. Rinunzia accettata dalla Camera.

Articolo 2.—Il nostro Ministro Segretario di Stato dell' Interno è incaricato della esecuzione del presente Decreto.

Napoli, il di Ottobre, 1848.

(Firmato) FERDINANDO.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato
dell' Interno,

(Firmato) RAFFAELI LONGOBARDI.

Il Ministro di Stato Presidente del
Consiglio de Ministri,

(Firmato) PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

We Ferdinand II, &c.

HAVING considered the provisional Electoral Law of February 29 of the current year, as well as the Royal Decree of May 24, by which the said law was recalled into force subject to certain modifications therein specified;

Considering that the number of the members of the Chamber of Deputies has not been completed, on account of the election of the same persons in different districts, resignations accepted, declarations of incompetency, the death of members, candidates not having obtained the legal number of votes, and lastly, because in various districts the electoral colleges did not meet;

Considering that it is in consequence necessary to provide for the election of the wanting Deputies, in order that at the meeting of Parliament on the 30th November next the number of the members may be complete;

Having considered the distance of the chief towns of the circondarij from those of the districts, the time necessary for the convocation of the colleges, and having seen that all the preliminaries may be gone through before the 13th day of November next;

Upon the proposition of our Minister Secretary of State of the Interior;

Having consulted our Council of Ministers;

Have resolved to decree and do decree as follows:—

Art. 1. The electoral colleges in the places specified in the following schedule are convoked for the 13th of November next for the purpose of proceeding to the election of the wanting Deputies according to the rules established by the provisional Electoral Law of February 29 and the Royal Decree of May 24.

Schedule for Re-elections.

Districts where vacancies occur, and number of the same.	Names of Deputies to be replaced.	Causes of vacancy.
<i>Naples</i> , six Deputies	Savarese Giacomo Roberti Michelangelo Capitelli Domenico Poerio Carlo Imbriano Paolo Emilio Troya Carlo	Resignation accepted by the Chamber. Ditto. Option for Caserta. Ditto for Gaeta. Ditto for Avellino. Ditto for Casoria.
<i>Castellamare</i> , three Deputies. .	Conforti Raffaele Degli Uberti Vincenzo Troya Carlo	Option for Salerno. Resignation accepted by the Chamber. Option for Casoria.
<i>Sala</i> , one Deputy	Parisi Donato	Resignation accepted by the Chamber.
<i>Ariano</i> , one Deputy	Degli Uberti Vincenzo	Resignation accepted by the Chamber.
<i>Campobasso</i> , one Deputy	Colaneri Nazario	Election annulled for incompetency.
<i>Avezzano</i> , one Deputy	Ferrante Antonio	Resignation accepted by Chamber.
<i>Foggia</i> , one Deputy	None	No legal election, because the third candidate did not obtain a sufficient number of votes.
<i>Bovino</i> , two Deputies	Janigro Desiato None	Election annulled for incompetency. No election, because the second candidate did not obtain a sufficient number of votes.
<i>Bari</i> , one Deputy	Ruggiero Francesco Paolo .	Election annulled for incompetency.
<i>Altamura</i> , one Deputy	None	No election.
<i>Lecce</i> , three Deputies	None	No election.
<i>Lagonegro</i> , two Deputies	None	No legal election, because the second and third candidates did not obtain a sufficient number of votes.

Districts where vacancies occur, and number of the same.	Names of Deputies to be replaced.	Causes of vacancy.
<i>Reggio</i> , one Deputy	Genovese Federico ..	Deceased.
<i>Cosenza</i> , four Deputies ..	None	No election whatever.
<i>Castrovillari</i> , three Deputies ..	None	No election whatever.
<i>Paolo</i> , two Deputies	None	No election whatever.
<i>Rossano</i> , one Deputy	None	No election whatever.
<i>Catanzaro</i> , three Deputies ..	None	No election whatever.
<i>Cotrone</i> , one Deputy	None	No election whatever.
<i>Nicastro</i> , two Deputies ..	None	No election whatever.
<i>Monteleone</i> , two Deputies ..	None	No election, because the third candi- date did not obtain a sufficient number of votes.
	Marchese Taccone Giuseppe	Resignation accepted by the Chamber.

Art. 2. Our Minister Secretary of State of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

RAFFAELI LONGOBARDI.

PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

No. 519.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 2.)

(Extract.)

Naples, October 22, 1848.

AT the termination of the year 1847 and before the development of the revolutionary spirit had diminished the revenues or enlarged the expenditure of the State, there was already an accumulated deficit of 5,329,000 ducats, or upwards of 888,000*l.* For this sum the Neapolitan Government was principally indebted to the bank the Cassa di Sconto and the Sinking Fund; but although in several of the departments of administration an excess of disbursements over the receipts must have occurred, it cannot I think be said that there was before 1847 an actual deficiency in the whole revenue of any one year compared with the whole of the payments; for while on one side the Government was incurring liabilities, on the other the national debt had continued to be systematically reduced by a regular annual extinction of 1,600,000 ducats. However this may be, the new Government which entered upon its functions in the beginning of 1848, inherited from its predecessors a floating debt of the amount above mentioned, and this was rapidly augmented by the operation of various causes.

The public revenues were impaired—

1. By the reduction of the salt tax and the abolition of that on grinding corn in the autumn of the preceding year, involving an annual sacrifice of more than 1,500,000 ducats.

2. By the cessation of the payment of the Sicilian quota towards the common expenses, which amounted to 3,200,000 ducats.

3. By a falling off in all the branches of taxation, whether in the Customs, which yielded less in consequence of the poverty of the country contingent on the bad harvest of 1847, the growing prevalence of smuggling, and the suspension of commerce caused by the general political disorders; or in the direct taxes, which form here the principal bulk of the revenue, and which have been imperfectly levied, owing to the rebellious spirit of the peasantry and the want of energy in the fiscal authorities.

Moreover while the sources of taxation and the public income have been thus attenuated, the State has been called upon to meet extraordinary demands. Such were—

The arming of the National Guard;

The dispatch of a body of troops to the Italian war;

The military operations in Calabria and Sicily;

The creation of new offices and the dismissal with pensions of public functionaries, useless under the Constitutional order of Government.

By such and similar causes the deficit in the current year is by the Report of the Minister of Finance, addressed to His Majesty the King, estimated to amount to 7,497,000 ducats, which, added to the previous one of 5,329,000 ducats, form an aggregate of near 13,000,000 ducats, or upwards of 2,000,000*l.* which it has fallen to the present Ministry to cover.

The most natural expedient was the negotiation of a loan, but with the 5 per cent. securities at 85 that operation could only in present times be concluded on disadvantageous terms. The Cabinet after a lengthened discussion determined to create a new 5 per cent. stock, the interest of which should be 600,000 ducats, and the capital consequently if accepted at par, 12,000,000 ducats; and they published a royal decree to that effect on the 4th instant.

This stock will be made over to the contractors and other public creditors at its market value in payment of debt, or sold on 'Change by the Government broker at the price of the day, as money is wanted until it be all disposed of.

The Minister assumes that he may dispose of the stock gradually at about 85, while a loan could not be contracted at more than 80, and the country will therefore greatly benefit by the milder and more deliberate expedient. The favourers of a loan urge on the contrary, that the State will constantly suffer from petty arrears, and be habitually unable to satisfy the public contractors and creditors, for the Government will not dare to bring a sufficient portion of the new stock into the market even to satisfy the ordinary diurnal expenditure; while the negotiation of a loan would have placed them at once in the possession of a considerable sum, and enabled them to meet all demands in a handsome and punctual manner.

I will not venture to determine which opinion is most sound.

The interest of the new stock is provided for by withdrawing 700,000 ducats from the sum of 1,600,000 ducats, hitherto annually devoted to the Sinking Fund. The new demand will consequently be met without any increase in the public burdens, and merely by incurring some delay in the process of extinguishing the national debt, an evil which cannot be considered serious in a country in which the interest of that incumbrance does not exceed one-fifth of the whole revenue.

In short, if the deficit be correctly estimated at below 13,000,000 ducats, and the value of public securities be not seriously depressed by the introduction of the new stock, the present scheme would prove a not injudicious method of supplying the necessities of the State, but its wisdom can in fact be only sufficiently tested by the result, for I fear the deficit may prove considerably greater than is stated by the Minister of Finance, and during the last fortnight under the mere apprehension of the new measure, and the bare appearance of a larger offer than usual in the market, the five-per-cent. securities have sunk from 85 to 83½.

No. 520.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 2.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 28, 1848.

GENERAL DABORMIDA, Minister of War, has resigned, and has been succeeded by Colonel the Chevalier Alphonse de La Marmora, who has in consequence been promoted to the rank of Major-General.

General Alphonse de La Marmora has of late been serving as chief of the staff of His Royal Highness the Duke of Genoa, and he is considered to be a young officer of great promise.

The vacant office of Minister of Commerce and Agriculture has been filled up by the appointment of Signor Torelli, a Lombard, and a person distinguished in literature.

He has the reputation also of being well versed in all that regards the financial interests of Lombardy, and particularly with every detail connected with the Austro-Lombard debt.

General Regis, who had been named to reside at the head-quarters of the King as responsible countersigning Minister, has resigned his seat in the Cabinet, his functions having ceased with the return of His Sardinian Majesty to Turin.

No. 521.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 2.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 28, 1848.

AN animated discussion has taken place in the Chamber of Deputies on the subject of who originally sought the mediation of England and of France, and on the conduct of Count Revel accepting that mediation and the bases upon which it was founded, as offered by the Cabinets of St. James and of Paris.

Signor Pinelli, Minister of the Interior, in a formal debate had asserted that the Pareto-Gioberti Cabinet had in fact been the real seekers of the mediation, and that documents existed substantiating the fact.

In support of this assertion he read in the Chambers a despatch of the Marquis Pareto to Count A. de Revel in London, instructing him to urge your Lordship to employ your good offices to obtain a satisfactory peace.

This communication brought on a very animated discussion, which was further extended to the constitutional question of the acceptance of the mediation by Count Revel as sole member of the present Cabinet at that moment sworn into office.

Count Revel in a spirited manner replied to the observations made by his opponents, and dared them to put into execution the threat of impeaching him for his conduct.

A division took place upon the question of passing to the simple order of the day, which was carried by a majority of 18 in favour of the Ministers, and there the discussion ended.

This second trial of strength between the Government and their adversaries has therefore been successful.

The last division also shows that the Ministerial party is, when a ballot is called, more steady and compact than I had at first expected; and I am therefore not without hopes that the influence of the Government will rather increase than diminish in the Chamber.

No. 522.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of an answer made by his Excellency the Baron de Perron to the note addressed to him on the 24th instant by my French colleague and myself, and inclosed in my despatch of the 25th instant, with reference to the detention at Peschiera of the Sardinian artillery and stores.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 522.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 25 Octobre, 1848.

LE Soussigné, &c., a l'honneur d'accuser réception à Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de la République Française et de Sa Majesté Britannique de la note collective qu'ils lui ont fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date d'hier

24 du courant, ainsi que de la copie de la réponse qui leur a été faite par son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky, au sujet de la dernière partie du parc d'artillerie qui nous appartient et qui se trouve encore à Peschiera.

Le Gouvernement du Roi charge le Soussigné de témoigner ses remerciemens empressés à Messieurs de Bois-le-Comte et Abercromby pour la peine qu'ils se sont donnée, et pour l'empressement qu'ils ont bien voulu mettre à solliciter de la part du Général-en-chef Autrichien l'entière exécution de l'Armistice du 9 Août dernier.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a appris avec une bien vive satisfaction que les hostilités contre Venise avaient cessé; seulement il désirait être assuré qu'elles ne recommenceront plus, ni envers la ville ni envers les forts, pendant tout le temps que dureront les négociations de la médiation.

Aussi le Soussigné s'empresse de faire connaître à Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires de la République Française et de Sa Majesté Britannique, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté est décidé à donner l'ordre à l'escadre Royale de faire voile pour revenir immédiatement dans les Etats Sardes, à condition—

1°. Que la totalité du parc que nous avons à Peschiera nous sera rendue.

2°. Que l'Autriche reconnaitra l'Article IV de l'Armistice, et qu'elle donnera l'assurance positive que Venise, les forts et les îlots qui en dépendent, ne seront ni bloqués ni attaqués pendant toute la durée des négociations pour la médiation.

3°. Que si quelques uns de ces forts ou de ces îlots sont tombés entre les mains de l'armée Impériale, depuis le commencement de l'Armistice, elle les évacuera sur-le-champ et en fera la remise au Gouvernement Provisoire de Venise.

Le Gouvernement du Roi désire que ces assurances lui soient données par l'Autriche elle-même, c'est-à-dire par le Gouvernement de la Cour de Vienne, et il ne pourrait accepter les assurances du Maréchal Radetzky à ce sujet, vû que dans la note dont Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires ont bien voulu transmettre copie au Soussigné, M. le Maréchal fait suffisamment comprendre que c'est en l'absence de tout Gouvernement Impérial, de son propre mouvement, et malgré les ordres qu'il avait reçus, qu'il se décide à nous rendre le reste de notre parc si injustement retenu; ce qui nous assure que si, comme il est probable, le Ministère Autrichien vient à se réorganiser, à communiquer avec M. le Maréchal, et s'il désapprouve l'esprit de conciliation et de justice qui semble l'animer aujourd'hui, son Excellence se ferait un devoir de ne plus nous rendre le reste de notre parc et de recommencer les hostilités contre Venise, les forts et les îlots qui en dépendent.

Le Gouvernement du Roi regrette que l'entêtement que le Gouvernement Autrichien a mis à ne pas rendre le parc que nous avons à Peschiera et à ne pas observer l'Armistice à l'égard de Venise, l'ait forcé à envoyer la flotte Sarde devant cette ville.

Messieurs les Ministres de la République Française et de Sa Majesté Britannique doivent se rappeler que du moment où les troupes Sardes ont quitté cette ville et les forts qui en dépendent, le Soussigné a réclamé avec force auprès d'eux pour l'exécution de l'Article IV du 9 Août. Ils n'ignorent pas non plus, le Soussigné le pense, que leurs Gouvernemens ont reconnu la justice des réclamations de celui de Sa Majesté et qu'ils les ont fait valoir près la Cour de Vienne.

Du reste, au point où en sont arrivés les événemens, il paraît au Soussigné que les Hautes Puissances médiatrices ne tarderont pas à savoir si l'Autriche veut enfin, oui ou non, accepter les bases de la médiation qu'elles lui ont offerte, ce qui simplifiera toutes les questions.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 25, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the joint note which the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic and of Her Britannic Majesty did him the honour to address to him under date of yesterday, the 24th instant, as well as a copy of the answer which was returned to them by his Excellency Marshal Radetzky on the subject of the second portion of the park of artillery belonging to us, and which is still at Peschiera.

The King's Government directs the Undersigned to convey to M. Bois le

Comte and Mr. Abercromby its sincere thanks for the trouble which they have given themselves, and for the alacrity with which they requested from the Austrian General-in-chief the entire execution of the Armistice of the 9th of August last.

His Majesty's Government has learnt with the liveliest satisfaction the cessation of hostilities against Venice; only it wished to be assured that they will not recommence, either against the city or against the forts, during the whole time that the negotiations for the mediation shall continue.

Accordingly the Undersigned acquaints the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic and of Her Britannic Majesty that His Majesty's Government has determined to give orders to the Royal squadron to put to sea immediately on its return to the Sardinian States, on condition—

1st. That the whole of artillery which we have at Peschiera shall be restored to us.

2nd. That Austria shall recognize the IVth Article of the Armistice, and shall give a positive assurance that Venice, the forts and islets dependent on it, shall not be blockaded nor attacked during the whole of the negotiations for the mediation.

3rd. That if some of those forts or of those islets have fallen into the hands of the Imperial army since the commencement of the Armistice, they shall forthwith be evacuated and restored to the Provisional Government of Venice.

The King's Government desires that these assurances may be given to it by Austria herself,—that is to say, by the Government of the Court of Vienna; and it could not accept the assurances of Marshal Radetzky on this subject, seeing that in the note of which the Ministers Plenipotentiary have had the goodness to transmit a copy to the Undersigned, the Marshal gives it clearly to be understood that in the absence of an Imperial Government, of his own motion, and notwithstanding the orders which he had received, he has decided to restore to us the remainder of our artillery so unjustly withheld from us; which satisfies us that if, as is probable, the Austrian Ministry should be re-organized, should communicate with the Marshal, and if he should disapprove the spirit of conciliation and of justice which now appears to animate it, his Excellency would not restore the rest of our artillery, and would recommence hostilities against Venice, the forts and islets dependent on it.

The King's Government regrets that the obstinacy of the Austrian Government in not restoring to us the artillery which we have at Peschiera, and in not observing the Armistice in regard to Venice, should have compelled it to send the Sardinian fleet to that city.

The Ministers of the French Republic and of Her Britannic Majesty, must recollect that from the time that the Sardinian troops quitted that city and the forts dependent on it, the Undersigned has urgently claimed from them the execution of the IVth Article of the 9th of August. Neither are they ignorant, the Undersigned imagines, that their Governments have admitted the justice of the claims of that of His Majesty and that they have represented them to the Court of Vienna.

Besides, in the present stage of these matters, it appears to the Undersigned that the high mediating Powers will not delay ascertaining whether Austria will at length accept or not the bases of the mediation which they have offered to her, which will simplify all questions.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

BE. DE PERRON.

No. 523.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 28, 1848.

GENERAL DABORMIDA, before quitting the Ministry of War, brought in a bill for the levy of 13,000 recruits of the year 1829.

This bill has been passed by both houses.

This measure enables the War Department to send back to their families and homes a considerable number of the married men of the reserve now under arms.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 524.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 3.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, October 30, 1848.

M. DE TALLENAY called upon me late yesterday evening, having received the copy of a despatch dated the 25th instant, addressed by the French Minister in London to M. Bastide, after a conversation which he had with your Lordship, respecting the supposed intention of the Central Power to send an army of 50,000 men to assist the Austrians in Italy; and he came to ask me if I had heard anything of the kind, or had written to your Lordship on the subject.

I told him that if any intention of the kind existed it was as much unknown to me as to him, and that I did not believe it, for I did not know where, with the calls it had for troops at home, the Central Power was to find 50,000 men to send. I do not fear taking upon myself to assure your Lordship that at this moment at least the Government of Frankfort has neither the means nor the disposition to undertake any such expedition.

No. 525.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 3.)

(Extract.)

Paris, November 2, 1848.

IN a conversation which I had with Marquis Ricci he stated that whenever the Austrian Government was re-established, it would be necessary at once to ascertain, not when Austria would consent to treat, but whether she would do so on the basis of the proposed mediation.

Your Lordship will observe that in the note of M. Perron, contained in Mr. Abercromby's despatch of the 28th ultimo, forwarded by this occasion, that Minister concludes with pretty nearly the same words, that the mediating Powers will soon be able to ascertain whether Austria accepts the basis of the mediation; and the whole tone of the Sardinian Chambers and the Ministerial declarations there made, would lead one to believe that if Baron Wessenberg renews the negotiations in the spirit of his former declarations, which were limited to an invitation to the mediating Powers to approve of the constitutional modifications to be effected in that portion of the Austrian dominions, Sardinia would at once declare that she would take no part in any conferences which were of so different a character from the proposals made to her. It would no doubt be more prudent for her to consider that the relative positions of the parties have much changed since the first days of August, when these propositions were made; but every account leads me to believe that Charles Albert is determined not to concede anything beyond the proposals then made; that consistently with the engagements he has taken he could hardly come to any other decision; and that in such a resolution he would certainly be supported by the most demonstrative portion of the public opinion of his country.

No. 526.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 3.)

(Extract.)

Paris, November 2, 1848.

SEVERAL French officers have gone to the head-quarters of the Sardinian army, both since the suspension of hostilities and before. Their uniform report has been that nothing could be finer than the materials of the army. The infantry was admirable, so was the artillery, and the cavalry good; nor did they find any fault with the regimental officers. The great defect was in the superior command, and especially in the commissariat. King Charles Albert had by way of conciliating the Lombards carried to excess the privations which he had imposed upon his troops, rather than call for any sacrifice on the part of the peasants. As one instance, the French officers had seen the soldiers lying on the bare stones in the Fortress of Peschiera, because they did not choose to cut

the straw in the immediate neighbourhood. Much of the fodder for the cavalry was brought all the way from Piedmont; at the last the commissariat arrangements had become so bad that previous to their retreat the troops had had nothing whatever to eat for two days. These officers were also much struck with seeing no Italian auxiliaries in any number with the army, the Sardinians being left alone to fight the cause of the rest of the Peninsula.

No. 527.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 4.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself to Field-Marshal Radetzky, in answer to his note of the 23rd instant, already transmitted to you in my despatch of the 25th instant, in which he demands from us guarantees that the Sardinian naval squadron shall leave the Adriatic at the same time that the park of artillery shall begin its march from Peschiera towards Piedmont.

We have, as your Lordship will observe, informed Marshal Radetzky that the question of the guarantees demanded by him, and of those required by the Sardinian Government with regard to Venice, will be referred by us to our respective Governments.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 527.

The Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte to Marshal Radetzky.

Turin, le 29 Octobre, 1848.

LES Soussignés, &c., ont reçu la réponse que son Excellence le Maréchal Radetzky leur a fait l'honneur de leur adresser relativement à la réclamation du Gouvernement Sarde de la restitution entière du parc de siège de Peschiera. Ils remercient son Excellence de la bienveillance toute particulière avec laquelle il a accueilli leur demande, de l'intérêt qu'elle a accordé cette fois aux réclamations du Gouvernement Sarde. Ils se sont empressés de transmettre à ce Gouvernement les propositions de son Excellence. Mais le Gouvernement Sarde a déjà dans sa réponse, demandé sur la situation particulière de Venise des explications et des garanties qu'il n'appartient qu'aux Puissances médiatrices elles-mêmes de donner.

Les Soussignés les ont transmises à leurs Gouvernemens, en leur demandant des instructions, et s'empresseront, aussitôt qu'ils les auront reçues, d'en faire part à son Excellence.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

(Translation.)

Turin, October 29, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., have received the answer which his Excellency Marshal Radetzky did them the honour of addressing to them in regard to the claim of the Sardinian Government to the entire restitution of the siege artillery of Peschiera. They thank his Excellency for the very remarkable kindness with which he has received their request, for the attention which he has on this occasion shown to the representations of the Sardinian Government. They have hastened to forward to that Government his Excellency's propositions; but the Sardinian Government has already in its reply requested explanations and guarantees in regard to the peculiar situation of Venice, which the mediating Powers themselves cannot afford.

The Undersigned have transmitted them to their Governments, asking

instructions, and as soon as they shall receive them, they will hasten to communicate them to his Excellency.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) SAIN DE BOIS-LE-COMTE. RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 528.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 4.)

(Extract.)

Turin, October 30, 1848.

I REGRET to have to state that Genoa has been the scene of some disturbance, occasioned by the Lombards congregated there together without any fixed occupation or means of living.

It seems that a body of these persons broke open and pillaged two armourers' shops, and attacked on the evening of the 28th instant the Zecca, or Mint, the Monte di Pietà, and the Palais Tursi, the head-quarters of the Civic Guard.

In their attempts upon the Zecca and Monte di Pietà these rioters failed, and on their attacking the Palais Tursi, shots were fired upon them by the Civic Guard, by which one Lombard was killed and six or seven wounded.

The troops of the Line employed together with the Civic Guard made a charge upon the mob, and dispersed it; they seem also to have fired, but in the air.

The Marquis Pareto, General of the Civic Guard, when addressing the mob from one of the windows of the Palais Tursi, had a pistol fired at him, but without effect.

The cries which prevailed during this disorderly movement were "Viva la Costituente Italiana!" "Abbasso il Ministero Pinelli!" "Evviva Montanelli!" clearly proving that the disturbances of Genoa were the effect of the recent events which have taken place in Tuscany.

One circumstance is satisfactory, namely, that only a very small portion of the lowest rabble of Genoa joined the Lombards, the populace of Genoa not having taken part with the rioters; but on the other hand Her Majesty's Consul writes me word that on the following morning, the 28th, but few of the Civic Guard had turned out, and that there is division in the corps.

His Excellency Signor Pinelli, Minister of the Interior, reported these events at Genoa to the Chamber of Deputies this morning, and laid upon the President's table a project of a temporary bill, empowering the authorities of Genoa, on the promulgation of the proposed law, to call before them all Italians not subjects of the ancient States of Sardinia, to require them to declare their names and their means of living; enabling the Government to offer military service to all those between certain ages who were destitute of means of living and who were willing to enlist for the duration of the war, and authorizing the Government to send all others to certain depôts in the interior of the country where they will remain under the inspection of the police, receiving from the State, those above eighteen years, eighty cents per diem, those under eighteen years fifty cents daily. The law concludes by voting a credit of 100,000 francs to the Minister of Finance to cover these expenses.

No. 529.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 5.)

My Lord,

Turin, October 31, 1848.

THE partisan warfare commenced by the Lombards along the shores of the Lake of Como, the valley of Chiavenna, and the valley of the Adda, continues, and partial encounters have already taken place between the insurgents and the Austrian troops.

It seems that neither money or ammunition are wanting for the present necessities of the insurrection, neither are the insurgents deficient in arms, as they have six pieces of artillery with them.

I am told that General Garibaldi has been sent for to Leghorn by the ultra-Liberal Lombard party with the intent of sending him into Lombardy, to place himself at the head of the movement.

The officers also belonging to the Lombard corps in the Sardinian service are sending in their resignations, in order to take part in the present insurrection.

It does not appear that Marshal Radetzky, whose head-quarters are now at Locate in the centre of the triangle of Milan, Lodi and Pavia, has yet sent any great force into the disturbed districts, but he will no doubt soon do so, and unless the insurgents retreat into the mountains and confine their operations to those limits, they will be unable to maintain themselves against regular troops.

General Shönhalz and General d'Aspre have it is said been sent on a mission to Germany by Field-Marshal Radetzky.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 530.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 6.)

(Extract.)

Turin, November 1, 1848.

MR. CONSUL BROWN informs me that a fresh attack was made upon the head-quarters of the civic guard at Genoa at midnight on the 29th ultimo, eleven men succeeded in forcing their way in but they were immediately made prisoners, and 50 or 60 more were subsequently arrested.

No shots were fired, but many of the rioters were wounded by the regulars, who charged with their bayonets. The Lombards were joined on this occasion by some of the populace of Genoa, and it is evident that if strong measures be not taken, serious consequences will follow.

No. 531.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 6.)

(Extract.)

Florence, October 17, 1848.

NO progress has yet been made towards the formation of an Administration here; the Grand Duke has applied to the Marquis d'Azeglio, but he, like all the others to whom he has addressed himself, has refused to undertake so ungrateful a task.

Several demonstrations have been made in Florence by the supporters of peace and order, in favour of the Marquis Capponi and the late Administration.

As a specimen of the notices which are now daily posted in great numbers on the walls of Leghorn, I inclose one of them which was blown down by the wind and sent to me this morning.

Inclosure in No. 531.

Notice posted on the Walls of Leghorn.

Noi, Popolo Livornese, per la Grazia di Dio Primo della Rigenerazione Toscana.

AVENDO inteso che Leopoldo II ha l'intenzione di nominare al Ministero i Signori Dazzelio e Salvagnoli; decretiamo quante segue:

1. Si riconosce ora per all' ora nulla la suddette nomine.
2. Che i Signori Dazzelio e Salvagnoli non accetteranno la suddetta carica se non che sentito avanti il parere di noi Popoli.
3. Ordiniamo che le città interne si mettino subito in relazione con noi Popoli Livornese acciò dare esito al presente decreto di cui il Popolo Toscano è incaricato.

Dato in Livorno, li 14 Ottobre, 1848.

Il Ministro della Forza e della Rigenerazione Toscana,
(Firmato) POPOLO.

(Translation.)

Notice posted on the walls of Leghorn.

We, the People of Leghorn, by the Grace of God, the first of the Tuscan Regeneration.

HAVING heard that Leopold II has the intention of naming as Ministers Messrs. Dazzelio and Salvagnoli, we decree as follows:—

1. The above-mentioned nomination is not recognized in any way at present.

2. That Messrs. Dazzelio and Salvagnoli shall not accept the said charge before having first consulted the opinions of the People.

3. We order that the surrounding cities shall come into communication with us People of Leghorn, in order to give utterance to the present decree, of which the Tuscan people are charged.

Given in Leghorn, the 14th October, 1848.

The Minister of the Strength and Regeneration of Tuscany,
(Signed) THE PEOPLE.

No. 532.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 6.)

(Extract.)

Florence, October 27, 1848.

SINCE I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship on the affairs of this country they have been rapidly approaching to a serious crisis.

The Capponi Government, which still holds the seals of office, informed me that they had certain knowledge of an organized plot for overturning the Grand Ducal power, that a party was ready to seize upon the Pitti Palace, and they feared that the personal safety of the Grand Duke was in danger; under these circumstances they could hardly recommend His Royal Highness to remain in Florence.

In answer to my queries whether they had any means on which they could rely for preventing the threatened catastrophe, and whether the adoption of any measures might avert it, they said that the only measure which could ward off the calamity would be the appointment of a Guerrazzi Administration.

The Grand Duke then assembled his Council, and Montanelli was appointed Minister.

I have the satisfaction of finding that His Royal Highness' decision is applauded by many of the most sensible and intelligent persons at Florence and by those who immediately surround His Royal Highness.

It is understood that Montanelli will be Minister for Foreign Affairs and Guerrazzi Minister of the Interior.

No. 533.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 7.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 2, 1848.

THE Sardinian Government received notice yesterday through the medium of the public journals, that General Pepe, commanding the Venetian forces, had made a sortie from the fort of Malghera, and had committed acts of hostility against the Austrian troops stationed in the neighbourhood.

I have since seen his Excellency General Perron upon this affair, and I learn from him that a communication is on the point of being made to the Government of Venice in the name of the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, stating that the Sardinian naval squadron had been recently re-dispatched to Venice, for the purpose of securing to that port and city a strict and impartial execution of the IVth Article of the Armistice of the 9th August, 1848, signed at Milan; that it was for the Venetian Government to decide whether they would continue the war in defiance of that Armistice; but should

their decision be in favour of that course, the Government of His Sardinian Majesty deemed it to be their duty to inform them that the Sardinian naval squadron would immediately be ordered to retire from the Venetian waters.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 534.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 7.)

(Extract.)

Paris, November 6, 1848.

THE Marquis Ricci came to me this morning and read me another despatch from the Foreign Minister at Turin, still urging the importance of some step being taken at the first possible moment to give a definite form to the mediation.

M. Ricci remarked that the conduct of Marshal Radetzky continued to be such about the park of artillery at Peschiera, that the renewal of hostilities might at any time be provoked indirectly by these proceedings.

It appears by M. Ricci's account that Marshal Radetzky having stated that he could not remove the artillery himself, he has since detained also the horses which had in consequence been sent for its removal.

No. 535.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 7.)

My Lord,

Milan, October 30, 1848.

AS the spirit of disaffection in Lombardy against the Austrians has increased so much since I had the honour of addressing your Lordship in my despatch of the 22nd instant, I shall proceed to state for your Lordship's information such facts as bear on the subject.

Within the last week the town of Chiavenna, at the head of the Lake of Como, broke out into open insurrection, forced the garrison to retire, hoisted the tricoloured flag, and declared itself a Republic. In many parts of the Valtellina the inhabitants threaten to follow the example of their brethren at Chiavenna. In the Val Assima, the people have not given up their fire-arms; they continue the sport of shooting in the face of the troops, who dare not interfere. That side of the Lake of Como stretching from the Riva di Chiavenna to Lecco is expected to rise from day to day in open insurrection. Already several of the galleries through which the military road runs between Belluno and Varenna are mined, ready to be blown up on the approach of a strong military force.

On the opposite side of the lake the whole of the villages having shown by many acts their hostility to the Austrians, the latter, who took possession of the three steamers plying on the lake, approached the shore at various times to reduce these villages to obedience; but they always met with the most determined resistance. They occasionally succeeded in landing, but their stay was of short duration, as they were invariably repulsed and forced to fly on board the vessels. One village in particular named Argegno, situated at the opening of the Valle Intelvi, which leads into Switzerland, was attacked from the steamers on the 27th instant, the troops on board which endeavoured to land but were driven back with some loss. Finding it impossible to effect their object, they threw congreve rockets into the village, but they went over the houses without doing any damage.

On the night of the 25th instant, forty armed men attacked and completely pillaged the house of a British subject two miles from Como, which he rented. The same party then proceeded the same night to the house of another British subject, his own property, four miles from Como (near a place called Cernobbio), containing many valuable pictures and much rich furniture. They did not attempt to injure it in any way, but merely asked the servants for a little bread and wine, which on obtaining they quietly retired. The general impression is,

that the outrage committed on the former of these two gentlemen was in consequence of his political opinions.

In the Val Brembana the inhabitants have set the military at defiance, and even in the town of Bergamo the troops in the upper part not finding themselves sufficiently secure, were concentrated in the lower part, together with those which were ordered from a large village called Almenno, seven miles from Bergamo, where they had been quartered. The recall of the troops from Almenno was in consequence of a repulse they met with a few days previous from the armed peasantry of a place in its vicinity called Caprino.

In the Val Camonica (which, although belonging to the Province of Bergamo, is from its geographical situation in the Province of Brescia) the peasantry have formed an armed organized body of 700 men, headed by the Signori Camozzi and Piazzoni, two rich proprietors, to resist the payment of the taxes.

In the Province of Como very few of the communes have paid the taxes. In the large District of Lecco, belonging to the Province of Como, where there are twenty-one communes, not one of them has paid the taxes, which have been some weeks due. In the Province of Bergamo, about one-half of the communes have paid, but they intend to resist the payment of them for the future. In the Province of Brescia the greater part of the communes are still in arrear. Respecting the Province of Sondrio, I cannot obtain as yet any positive information on the same matter; but judging from the manifestation of public feeling in the Valtellina, it may be inferred that the same spirit prevails there as in the other provinces.

In the Brianza the authority of the Government is quite despised. About a week ago bands of peasants attacked the chief places (*capiluoghi*) of Missaglia and Burzanò, where surrendered arms are kept, selected the best and marched off with them.

The distress among the lower classes in Milan is now so general that Count Montecucoli in a late public notice calls upon those in better circumstances to subscribe for their relief; but the appeal has been made in such a manner that no good result can be expected from it. Besides, the absence of the rich families is a great obstacle to any efficient pecuniary collection being made.

The severe measure adopted by the Military Government of Milan in causing several respectable tradesmen (charged with attempting lately to corrupt the fidelity of a soldier) to be shot, merely on legal appearances (*legali indizii*), has created the deepest indignation among all ranks in this city.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 536.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 7.)

(Extract.)

Hietzing, November 1, 1848.

I REPLIED through M. Isfordink to the letter I received from Baron Wessenberg, of which I have inclosed a copy. I said that I would communicate to your Lordship the desire of the Imperial Court that I should rejoin it at Olmütz, and added that from all I heard of that place, it was necessary I should go first to Vienna to provide what is requisite for my own family, but that if my presence could tend to the advancement of the peace, I would not delay one minute attending to that duty. M. Isfordink replied, "nothing has been done in that business; the state of domestic affairs engrossed the attention of the Imperial Government."

Inclosure in No. 536.

Baron Wessenberg to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extrait.)

Olmütz, ce 28 Octobre, 1848.

JE n'ai pas pu vous adresser encore une invitation en forme de venir joindre ici la Cour Impériale, par la raison qu'il a été jusqu'à présent impossible d'assurer au Corps Diplomatique des logemens convenables.

Sous ce rapport nous sommes ici encore plus à l'étroit qu'à Innsprück; nous avons toutefois donné des ordres aux autorités locales de pourvoir à des logemens tant soit peu spacieux pour les membres du Corps Diplomatique, et j'espère qu'à peu de temps il s'en trouvera au moins quelques uns de disponibles.

Nous attendons d'un moment à l'autre la nouvelle de la soumission de la capitale.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

Olmütz, October 28, 1848.

I HAVE not yet been able to send you a formal invitation to join the Imperial Court at this place, because it has hitherto been impossible to secure suitable quarters for the Diplomatic Body.

In this respect we are here still more confined than at Innsprück; we have however given orders to the local authorities to provide quarters ever so little roomy for the members of the Diplomatic Body, and I hope that in a short time some at least will be found available.

We are looking from one moment to another for intelligence of the submission of the capital.

No. 537.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 13, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, that the meeting of the Assembly of Deputies took place on the 11th instant, when the President read the order of the day, proposing:

1st. The election of a committee to treat of the political situation.

2ndly. The nomination of a new Government, if it should appear that the urgent danger which led to the appointment of a Dictatorship had ceased.

After a short speech from Signor Manin, stating that France had determined not to grant their request for armed intervention, at least until after mediation should have been tried, and that therefore the question being removed from the field of battle to that of diplomacy, it behoved the Government to appoint a Diplomatic Agent, the second proposal was first taken into consideration, when it was unanimously decided that the present Government should be confirmed in its present form; and upon the second proposal, viz., the appointment of a committee, being submitted, the Assembly decided against it, conferring upon the Government full powers to treat (*pieno mandato di trattare delle cose politiche*), subject to the ratification of the treaty of the Assembly.

Reports on the state of the Military and Naval forces and defences were then read by Signor Cavedalis and Signor Graziani, who with Signor Manin form the Government, according to which the number of troops in Venice and the adjacent forts amounts to 19,855 men, exclusive of sailors and marines.

No allusion was made to the state of the finances.

The proceedings of the Assembly were conducted with perfect order and tranquillity, and the sittings terminated.

The Provisional Government has sent agents to Genoa to endeavour to purchase or hire steam-vessels. If these persons do not succeed in their object at Genoa, they are to try in France or in England.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

P.S.—I transmit herewith the Venice Gazette, containing a report *in extenso* of the proceedings of the Assembly.

No. 538.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 21, 1848.

SOME days have elapsed without any vessels belonging to the Austrian squadron appearing off Venice, possibly owing to the bad weather, and several coasting vessels have entered the port with supplies of cattle.

Some small bodies of troops have also arrived from the Papal States. These men are for the most part natives of the Venetian provinces, from which they fled when Treviso was re-occupied by the Austrians.

Although all hostile operations of any importance on the side both of Austrians and Venetians are apparently suspended, the forts in the occupation of the Venetians on the side of Mestre constantly fire upon the Austrian works and outposts. The Venetians content themselves however with firing from their forts, and the Austrians rarely reply to them. In the meantime the Venetian authorities are unremitting in their endeavours to excite the population on the mainland to rise against the Austrians, and printed proclamations and addresses are conveyed from Venice by thousands urging the people to such a step. I inclose one of these addresses as a specimen, from which your Lordship will see that the most barbarous measures, such as poisoning the wells, &c., are advocated.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 538.

Address to the Venetian Population inciting them to rise against the Austrians.

Ora, o Mai. Grida di generale insurrezione ai Popoli dell' Alta Italia.

QUAL letargo funesto, qual vile timore addormenta il vostro spirito, infievolisce il vostro braccio, o popoli della Nordica Italia?

Quando stretti in nodo fraterno i cittadini dell' oppressa Penisola tutti tentarono di scuotere l'Austriaco giogo abborrito, voi non foste lenti o dubbiosi a qualunque dimostrazione necessaria a preparare la libertà della patria. Quando fuggiti i barbari dalla eroica Milano, le cui gesta immortali formeranno epoca memorabile nelle pagine della Storia, quando Venezia colla sagacità e col consiglio evitava lo spargimento di sangue, e conseguiva felicemente lo scopo vitale, anche le minori Venete e Lombarde città sorelle, i castelli, villaggi tutti insorgevano formidabili, ed in pochi giorni cacciavano sbigottito e tremante l'odiato invasore.

Ma un malaugurato regio soccorso, intromessosi nella lotta fiere e generosa fece guasto ne' cuori Italiani quasi ogni spirito d'insurrezione, vantandosi che una spada terribile bastava sola a proteggere la santa causa Italiana. In tanto ingannevole lusinga si assopirono i popoli, finchè venne condotta a termine la prima pateggiata totale consegna delle infelici Provincie Lombardo Venete alle belve Austriache, e compiuta l'esecranda missione la spada formidabile rientrò nel fodero, e sparì.

Ora minacciose e giganti le tigri Vandaliche invadono questo suolo di paradiso, e con feroce inaudita rabbia e vendetta tutto devastano, tutto rubano, incendiano, uccidono.

Su su, dunque, o cittadini dell' Alta Italia, tutti all' armi, tutti addosso agli

esecarti tiranni! Ora, o Mai sarà libera la patria dall'infame straniero. Orribile Mai! Senza un colpo il più fiero, il più risoluto, oh quanto lagrimoso avvenire, sciagurati fratelli, a voi si prepara!

Nè vi sentite rabbrivire alla sola idea, che rozzi selvaggi, abitatori d'immonde tane, ladri rapaci, progenie sanguinaria di que' mostri che costrinsero i nostri proavi a disertare dal continente, nel secolo dell'umana civiltà fatti sempre più brutali e più crudi, abbiano ad opprimere la bella patria nostra, abbiano a saccheggiare le nostre città, a devastare i nostri terreni, a stuprare le nostre donne, a profanare i nostri templi, a tenerci quali vili animali, legati con pesanti catene, a vilipenderci con atroci improperj di "Trù porca Taliana!" a martorizzarci con supplici di bastonate, di carceri, di fucilazioni, ed a privarci d'ogni libertà e d'ogni sociale prerogativa?

Questa e non altra sarà la maledetta costituzione di leggi spurie, d'imposte enormi, di rigide censure, di polizie, di sgherri, di spie, di Spielberg, di codici militari, di giudizi statarii, di leggi marziali, &c., &c., che sempre avrete dall'Austria. Nè il sangue vi s'infiama in ogni vena? nè anteponete la morte onorata sul campo, piuttosto che l'obbrobriosa morte della sferza, e dell'abbieto servaggio?

Dunque sangue per risparmiar sangue! stragi per risparmiar stragi! abnegazioni, sacrifici i più atroci, per risparmiar sostanza, per risparmiar vite! Ora, o Mai. Funesto Mai! Dunquo Toste! Dunque massacro dei mostri! Vespro sui barbari!

Vespro d'Alpe dal culmine al mar! *

Suonate di nuovo a stormo tutte le vostre campane, rialzate le barricate, riempite le vostre case d'ogni stromento mortifero. Acqua bollente, calce viva, oglio ardente, ciottoli, grondaie, tegole, masserizie, tutto tutto gettate su quelle teste maledette. Accecateli con sottile sparsa per l'aria arena infocata; avvelenate lor l'acqua nelle cisterne, il vino nelle cantine, le frutta, tutti gli alimenti, i fiori, il tabacco.

Contaminategli l'aria di pestifere esalazioni, usate di chimiche sostanze fulminanti, ardetegli caserme, polveriere, carri, furgoni, fategli scoppiare foco fulmineo dalle viscere della terra. Non abbiano mai stanza, mai letto, mai calma, mai tregua, mai riposo. Siano resi smunti, sfiniti da fame, da sete, da gelo, da veglia, da sospetto, da morbo. Contro l'assassino che devasta le nostre terre, che abbrucia le nostre case, che stupra le nostre donne, che profana i nostri altari, è lecita, è giusta, è necessaria qualunque rappresaglia.

Se vi hanno rapite le armi, armate i villici di picche, di falci, di forche, di coltelli. Fuori tutti! Uomini, donne, vecchi, fanciulli, fuori tutti, tutti addosso! Ora, o Mai. Dunque tutti addosso!

Alla testa d'ogni campestre guerriglia vada il Parroco o il Cappellano. Gridi la guerra santa, la guerra giusta, la guerra necessaria, la generale insurrezione. Morte a qualunque è tardo o restio!

Ma guai se questa insurrezione, questo massacro non sarà in un giorno, in un punto universale.

Dunque tutti tutti, dalla cime dell'Alpi Giulie, Rezie, Apurne, Elvezie, tutti dalle pianure del Piave, del Brenta, dell'Adige, del Mincio, dell'Adda, del Ticino, fino allo gran valle irrigata dal Po, tutti tutti in un baleno, tutti penetrati dalla santa idea di patria e libertà, e da necessità di salvezza delle vostre vite, di quelle delle vostre spose, de' vostri fratelli, de' vostri figli, tutti addosso ai barbari. Morte! Strage! Massacro! Vespero! Addosso! Ora, o Mai, e Mai più.

A quegli empi, ove nido precario s'erigano, negate qualunque imposta. Non cibate alimenti daziati; non giocate a lotto; non fiutate tabacco; non fumate: escludete il sale dalle vivande; non fate liti; non famigliari divisioni; non istromenti o contratti scritti; non tutto quello che affluisca tributo di bolli all'Imp. Regio e ladro erario.

Tutte le comunicazioni siano spedite a mezzi particolari, senza tassa postale, e porgano utili e secrete indicazioni. Non vestiti, non merci, non utensili d'Austriaca derivazione. Quello che acquista il possesso fiscato al fratello, abbia morte immediata. Tendete agguati agli ufficiali, e quanto più sono maggiori di grado, più presto trucidateli. Uccidete questi mandraii esecrabili, che le loro bestie puzzolenti tutte fuggiranno senza guida disperse.

* Inno all'Italia del Settembre 1847.

Per estirpare un' orda di tigri rapaci figurativi che faccia duopo d'una generale allagazione. Guai se uno scoglio solo resta scoperto dall'acque! Esse colà s'appiattano minacciose, ed aspettano le decrescenze dell'onda per discendere più rabide, e tutto divorare. Dunque la piena insurrezionale sia sollecita, come totale. Sì questo movimento dell'entusiasmo nazionale occorre Subito, ma Subito.

Decorrono i giorni. L'astuto nemico conosce che il tempo ci farà distrutti, perchè il valore marziale coll'inazione si affiacca; perchè il danaro svanisce, la vettovaglia si consume, e viene la stagione de' disagi e delle più aspre sofferenze.

Dunque e che si aspetta? Forse nuovi regi salutar soccorsi? O piuttosto gli effetti delle lente trattative diplomatiche? Illusioni! illusioni! Tali aiuti, se verrenno ancora, sarà troppo tardi ed allora saremo totalmente depressi. Dunque, subito, o mai!

Ma già s'avvicina l'inverno. Fatalissimo inverno! A voi non rimarrà briciola di pane, non vino, non cemento, non foraggio, non danaro. Mantenete 150,000 barbari voraci sei mesi ancora! Cosa vi resterà? Vi resterà una lenta morte d'inedia.

Morite dunque adesso, e morite gloriosi!

Sarete di meno degli eroi Americani, Spagnuoli, Greci, che coll'armi proprie acquistarono la loro indipendenza? Ed il popolo Italiano, il più incivilito della terra, darà esempio ignominioso all'Europa ed al mondo di aver pavidamente ceduto, e di andar coperto d'etern catene e d'eterno vituperio! No, non così, e fratelli Italiani! Fuori; tutti addosso ai barbari! Strage, massacro, ma fuori tutti, ma subito, o mai.

E voi giovin robusti, nerbo della forza nazionale, ripugnerete di prendere un'arma onde uccidere i vostri fieri oppressori? E ignorate che poi armati voi a forza sarete spinti nella Croazia, nell'Ungheria, a fucilare questi o quelli (e forse i vostri parenti) conforme giova a quel benefico Monarca che vicendevolmente fa bombardare le sue care città, ed ammazzare i suoi dilette figli Croati, Ungheresi, Boemi, Italiani, aizzando a suo beneplacito gli uni contro gli altri?

Ma questa magnanima ispirazione insurrezionale col consiglio non solo, ma coi fatti la porga ai popoli del vicino continente la immortale Venezia.

Italia, Europa, il Mondo su lei riflettono sguardi di ammirazione e di omaggio.

La veneranda Matrona, sempre grande in ogni età, arrivò all'apice della gloria nell'età presente. Sì, Venezia è ora onorata e benedetta dal labbro di tutti gl'inciviliti abitatori dell'universo. La "Signora dei quattordici secoli" per la ferocia degli antenati di quei mostri che ora l'Alta Italia devastano creò se medesima, nè diritto su lei di dominio per remota appartenenza, o per titoli dinastici poteva vantare alcuna Imperiale o Regale Signoria.

Dopo tant'epoca fu convenuto l'abbominevole ladroneccio; e Campo Formio, che meglio potria nomarsi Campo d'infamia, fu il sozzo lupanaro, ove la vile Austriaca manutengola stipulò l'iniquo trattato; e per tal furto esecrando la temeraria spiega, la folle audacia di qualificarsi investita del santo e giusto diritto di esercitare su questa Venezia tirannica perpetua dominazione. Ma la maestosa Regina dell'Adria, la "Signora dei quattordici secoli" rimarrà indipendente, libera, inviolata (se lo vuole) fino alla consumazione dei secoli, perchè cinta dalla fatal laguna e così fatta da natura imprendibile, perchè coronata dalla tremanda ghirlanda di cinquanta fortezze intrecciate da mille bronzi ignivomi sulla terra e sul mare fulminanti.

Bombarda pure, o balordo Tedesco, questa laguna! Tu mi ascolto quattro miglia da qui lontano; ma se l'eroico palpito de' cuori cittadini non si estingue, sei da qui lontano ben le mille e mille miglia.

Animiamo dunque con tutti i mezzi che stanno in nostro potere i fratelli del continente all'insurrezione, alla strage, al generale massacro del barbaro nemico.

Se poco finora per noi àvvi a temere, porgiamo a questi oppressi fratelli aiuto e coraggio. In confronto alle angosce, ai dolori ed allo strazio di que' miseri oppressi, oh quanto siemo noi fortunati! Colle busse e coi calci i nostri fanciulli ànno fugato per le intralciate vie di questo magnifico labirinto gli esosi Croati.

Coi soli gridi, urli, e fischi, e quasi senza effusione di sangue, in brevi istanti abbiamo rivendicata e rimessa la patria nel suo sacro antico dominio, per pocia aggregarla come sorella alla unita Italiana famiglia.

Veneziani! andate superbi della vostra facile riconquista. Alimentate sempre in cuore una nobile ambizione, e dite: "In poche ore abbiamo riedificata l'opera di tante generazioni. Giuriamo a qualunque costo di conservarla."

Ma, se finora pochi disagi soffrimmo, l'empio partito Austriacante divulga spesso una querimonia che genera il mal umore, e potrebbe esser fonte di popolare agitazione. Delitto è il solo lagno, perchè dannoso alla causa santa; lagno finora per noi ingiusto. S'infliggano severi castighi a chi semina il malcontento! Sia infamato chi non supporta sacrificii per la patria! Costui non è nè Veneziano, nè Italiana; costui è comune nemico.

Ma pochi sono tali; e sappia invece l'esoso Vandalo, che se mai per tradimento guidato quivi potesse introdursi, la promessa di quelle nostre eroine del 18 Marzo, che tutte gridavano: "Coppi! Coppi!" gli sarebbe fedelmente mantenuta. Sì: tegole, grondaie, masserie, acqua bollente, calce viva, oglio ardente, tutto noi getteremo sulle nemiche teste maledette, e demoliti in un subito tutti i ponti, noi faremo allora tragitto per ogni rio sovra Tedeschi stipati cadaveri.

E se non impietosite alle preci di questa Gran Donna le formidabili Mediatrici lei lasciassero barbaramente abbandonata e stretta per fame, noi allora resisteremmo fino all'estremo momento con indomito coraggio, con cieca rabbia, con disperato furore, sì fino all'estremo momento, se ancora le madri Venete dovessero nuovamente presentare alla terra l'orrendo spettacolo della madre Ebreja nell'assedio di Gerusalemme.

(Firmato)

GIOVANNI TOPPANI.

(Translation.)

NOW or never! A proclamation of general insurrection to the people of Upper Italy.

What fatal lethargy, what despicable cowardice rocks your spirit in sleep, enervates your arm, O people of the north of Italy? When the citizens of the oppressed Peninsula, bound by a fraternal treaty, all endeavoured to shake off the abhorred Austrian yoke, you were not remiss or doubtful in every necessary demonstration to forward the liberty of our country.

When the barbarians, routed from the heroic city of Milan, the immortal actions of which have formed a memorable epoch in the pages of history; when Venice, with sagacity and intelligence, avoided the shedding of blood, and succeeded in its vital object, even the smaller Venetian and Lombard sister cities, the castles, the villages, all rose up in arms most formidably, and in a few days drove away the hated invader, amazed and trembling. But the inauspicious royal succour intervening in the proud and generous struggle, cooled in the Italian hearts almost every spirit of insurrection, boasting that one terrible sword sufficed alone to protect the holy cause of Italy. Into such treacherous deception were the people deluded, until the conclusion of the first cession of the unhappy Lombardo-Venetian Provinces to the ferocious Austrians; and the hateful mission once concluded, the formidable sword re-entered in the sheath and disappeared. Now the Vandal tigers, gigantic and menacing, invade this heavenly soil, and destroy, steal, burn, and murder everything with ferocious unheard of rage and revenge. Arise! arise! then, O citizens of Upper Italy, all to arms! let all fall upon the hated tyrants! Now or never, our country shall be freed from the infamous stranger. This terrible word "Never!"—without one bold and determined blow, what a deplorable future, oh, wretched brethren, is prepared for you! Are you not horror-struck at the sole idea that rude savages, dwellers in squalid dens, rapacious thieves, bloody descendants of those monsters who compelled our forefathers to quit the continent, who, in the course of human civilization, have become even more brutal and more cruel, should be allowed to oppress our beautiful country, should pillage our cities, lay waste our lands, ravish our women, profane our temples, and keep us like wild animals, bound with heavy chains, to vilify us with atrocious epithets of "*Trù porca Taliana!*" to martyrize us with torments of bastinado, imprisonment, shooting, and to deprive us of every liberty and every social prerogative?

This and no other will be the cursed constitution of spurious laws, of enormous imposts, of rigid censorship, of police, of ruffians, of spies, of imprisonments

in the fortress of Spielberg, of military codes, of delayed judgments, of martial laws, &c., &c., that you will now have from Austria. Does not your blood boil in every vein at this? Will you not prefer an honourable death on the field to a disgraceful one by the lash, and to vile servitude?

Therefore let blood flow to save blood! Massacre to save massacre! let us have self-denial, make the most cruel sacrifice to save our substance, to save our lives! Now, or never, dread word never! Therefore quick! Therefore massacre the monsters! A vesper on the barbarians.

Vespers from the highest tops of the Alps to the sea! *

Let all your bells resound afresh to war, raise barricades, fill your houses with every deathly instrument, boiling water, quick lime, hot oil, flint stones, bricks, tiles, masses of walls, anything, everything to throw on those accursed heads. Blind them with heated sand scattered in the air. Poison for them the waters in the cisterns, the wine in the cellars, the fruits, all nutriment, flowers, snuffs. Pollute for them the air with pestiferous exhalations, make use of chemical fulminating preparations, burn the barracks, powder-magazines, carts; let fire like thunder burst forth upon them from the bowels of the earth; let them never have room, bed, quiet, truce, or repose. Let them become haggard, faint with hunger, thirst, frost, watching, suspicions, plague. Against the assassin, who wastes our lands, burns our houses, ravishes our women and profanes our altars, it is lawful, it is just, it is necessary to make use of every kind of reprisal.

If they have taken from you your arms, arm the villagers with pikes, scythes, pitchforks and knives; out with you all, men, women, old and young; out with you all, let all fall upon them! Now or never,—Therefore let all fall upon them!

At the head of every rustic set of warriors let the priest or chaplain stand; let him exhort to the holy war, to the just war, to the necessary war, to a general insurrection; death to every one who is late or who draws back.

But woe! if this insurrection, this massacre is not carried out in one day, in one universal impulse.

Therefore let all, all from the heights of the Julian, Rhetian, Pennine, and Helvetian Alps, all from the plains of the Piave, of the Brenta, of the Adige, of the Mincio, of the Adda, of the Ticino, to the great valley watered by the River Po; let all, all in an instant, all filled with the holy thought of country and liberty, with the necessity of saving your lives, that of your wives, of your brothers, your sons, all of you fall on the barbarians. Death! Slaughter! Massacre! Vespers! At them! Now or never, and never more

Refuse to submit to every tax of those impious wretches, wherever they erect unto themselves a precarious residence. Do not consume any taxed food; do not take any lottery ticket, or smoke tobacco, or take snuff; exclude salt from your viands; do not go to law or allow of domestic divisions; make no instruments or written contracts—nothing which may bring a profit in stamp duty to the Imperial Royal and sordid exchequer.

Let all communications be sent by private means to avoid paying postage, and let them contain useful and secret indications. No clothes, no merchandize, no utensils of Austrian origin. He who buys the right of collecting the revenue from his bretheren, let him meet with immediate death. Lie in ambuscades for the officers, and the greater they are in rank the sooner slay them. Destroy this execrable herd, that the nauseous animals may all, dispersed, fly away without a guide.

Let there be a universal deluge to extirpate a horde of rapacious tigers. Woe be to you if only one rock remains uncovered by the waters! they conceal themselves there, and await the decrease of the waters to descend more rapacious and devour everything. Therefore let the full insurrection be as diligent as complete. Yes, this movement of national enthusiasm is required quickly, and at once.

The days pass on. The cunning enemy knows that time will destroy us, that martial valour cools down with inaction, for money disappears, food is consumed, and then arrives the season of troubles and of cruel sufferance.

Therefore, what wait we for? For new royal efficient assistance? or, more likely, the issue of tardy diplomatic treaties? Illusions! Illusions! Such

* From a hymn addressed to Italy in September 1847.

assistance, if ever it comes, will be too late, and when we are totally put down. Therefore, at once, or never!

But the winter approaches—fatal winter! You will not have remaining a crumb of bread, nor wine, no food, no fodder, no money. Maintain 150,000 voracious barbarians other six months! What will remain to you? A slow death by famine.

Die therefore at present, and die gloriously! Will you be less than the American, Spanish, and Greek heroes, who, with their own arms, gained their independence? And the Italian people, the most civilized of the earth, will give an ignominious example to all Europe and to the World, of having timidly yielded to be covered with eternal chains and eternal shame! No, not so, come on! Italian brothers! Arise, all, fall upon the barbarians! Slaughter, massacre, but arise altogether, at once, or never.

And you, robust young men, sinew of the national strength, will you refuse to take up arms wherewith to slay your proud oppressors? Do you know that afterwards you yourselves will be armed forcibly, sent into Croatia, into Hungary to shoot these or those (perhaps your very parents) just as may please that beneficent Monarch who causes his dear cities to bombard each other reciprocally, and kills his beloved children, the Croatians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians, by urging, at his good pleasure, one against the other.

But this magnanimous inspiration to an insurrection, immortal Venice can present to the people of the neighbouring continent, not by advice only but with deeds.

Italy, Europe, the World, turn their eyes upon it with admiration and respect.

The reverend matron, great in every age, has reached the acme of glory in the present one. Yes, Venice is now honoured and blessed by the lips of all the civilized inhabitants of the universe. "The mistress of fourteen centuries" created itself in spite of the ferocity of the ancestors of those monsters who are now laying waste Upper Italy; and no imperial royal sway could boast of any right of dominion over it by remote possession, or by dynastic title.

After so long an interval the abominable theft was agreed upon; and Campo Formio, which should better be called the field of infamy, was the vile spot in which the base Austrians stipulated the iniquitous treaty; and by this execrable theft they rashly display the foolhardiness of considering themselves invested with the holy and just right of exercising over this city of Venice perpetual tyrannic dominion. But the majestic Queen of the Adriatic, "the mistress of fourteen centuries," will remain independent, free, inviolate (if it so chooses) to the end of time, because by fate it is surrounded by a lagoon, and thus by nature impregnable, and because it is crowned by a dread garland of fifty fortresses crowned with a thousand brass cannons by sea and by land.

Bombard then, O stupid German, this lagoon! I hear thee from four miles off; but if the heroic pulse of our citizens' hearts is not extinguished, thou art far from this, many and many a mile.

Let us then animate with all the means in our power, our brothers of the continent to insurrection and slaughter,—to the general massacre of the barbarous enemy.

If there is, till now, little to be feared for us, let us therefore afford to our oppressed brethren assistance and encouragement. In comparison to the anguish, the pains, and slaughter of these wretched and oppressed people, oh, how fortunate are we! With blows and kicks our children have driven away, through the intricate turnings of this magnificent labyrinth, the hated Croatians.

Only with cries, howls, and hissings, and almost without bloodshed, in a few moments we have revenged and restored our country to its sacred ancient dominion—to join it afterwards as a sister to the United Italian family.

Venetians go, and be proud of your easy conquest; nourish ever in your hearts a noble ambition, and say "In a few hours, we have restored the work of so many generations; let us swear to preserve it at all price."

But if, till now, we have suffered little inconvenience, the impious Austrian party often propagates discontent, which generates bad feeling, and might be the source of popular agitation.

A single complaint is a crime, because it is prejudicial to the holy cause; for us to complain now would be unjust. Let severe punishment be inflicted on whoever sows discontent. Let him be considered most base, who will not bear sacrifices for his country! that man is neither Venetian nor Italian—he is a common enemy.

But few are such, and, on the contrary, let the odious Vandal know that if ever he should enter here by treachery the promise of our heroines of the 18th of March, who cried, "Coppi! coppi!" (pitcher) would be faithfully kept. Yes, tiles, bricks, masses of building, boiling water, quick-lime, boiling oil, everything will we throw on the cursed heads of our enemies, and demolishing at once all the bridges we will then make a passage over every river upon heaped-up German bodies.

And if the potent mediators, unsoftened by the prayers of this our dear country, should allow her to be barbarously abandoned and straitened by hunger, we would then resist to the last moment with unconquered courage, with blind rage and desperate fury, yes, to the last moment even, although the Venetian mothers should again have to present to the earth the horrid spectacle of the Jewish mother in the siege of Jerusalem.

(Signed) GIOVANNI TOPPANI.

No. 539.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 30, 1848.

IN consequence of the events which have recently occurred at Vienna, the Venetian Government have published a decree for the formation of an Hungarian Legion. Some few Hungarian soldiers who were detained here as prisoners of war have consented to enrol themselves in this legion, which however does not yet number forty men.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 540.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 30, 1848.

THE Sardinian squadron under Admiral Albini arrived off Venice from Ancona on the evening of the 26th instant, and remains at anchor outside the port. The squadron consists of three frigates, three corvettes, one brig and six steam-vessels.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 541.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Venice, October 30, 1848.

A SORTIE was made on the 22nd instant by a body of about 400 men of the garrison of Venice, in the direction of Treporti. This force, supported by some gun-boats, succeeded in surprising a small post occupied by the Austrians called Cavallino, and in capturing two small guns. It does not appear that any lives were lost or prisoners taken on either side.

Encouraged by this success, and being desirous of keeping up the spirit of the troops, and wishing also to ascertain the degree of support they would meet with from the peasantry, whose co-operation was calculated upon, a sortie on a larger scale was planned and executed by the Venetians on the 27th instant. Before sunrise on that morning, and favoured by a very thick fog, a body of troops about 1000 strong landed at Fusina, while another body of about 2000 issued from the fort of Malghera and marched upon Mestre. The Austrian force in and near that village, consisting of about 1800 men, appears to have been

taken unawares, owing partly to the fog, but also it would seem owing to a want of common vigilance, and the result was, that after a sharp contest, which lasted till the evening, the Venetian expedition succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Mestre, with a loss to the latter of from 400 to 500 prisoners, about 150 killed and wounded, six cannons, and various military stores, while the Venetians state their own loss at about fifty killed and under eighty wounded. The number of Austrians taken prisoners is to be accounted for by the fact of a great many of their men being surprised in the different houses in which they were quartered, and surrounded by a superior force; and although the Venetians have perhaps suffered more than they proclaim, I do not believe the account of the Austrian loss to be much exaggerated.

This sortie, during which General Pepe was present in command, may be said to have succeeded perfectly, but in one respect it has greatly disappointed the Venetians, inasmuch as it received no support whatever from the peasants and country-people, who remained perfectly passive.

On the following morning, the 28th, the Austrians having brought down considerable reinforcements from Treviso, re-occupied Mestre, which is an open village, the Venetians retiring again to Malghera and Venice.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 542.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the new Ministry under the presidency of M. Montanelli has been formed in the following manner:—

M. Montanelli -	-	President of the Council, and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
M. Guerrazzi -	-	Minister of Interior.
Mazzoni -	-	Grace and Justice.
D'Ayala -	-	War.
Adami -	-	Minister of Finance.
Franchini.	-	Public Instruction.

I understand that M. Mazzoni is a lawyer of ability and integrity and a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. d'Ayala, a Neapolitan, is banished from his own country, but supposed to have military abilities.

Adami is a banker of Leghorn of great wealth, and Franchini a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Florence and Leghorn have been perfectly quiet since the appointment of the new Ministry. The declaration of their opinions and views for the amelioration of public affairs has appeared, and is moderate and sensible. Great hopes are entertained that they may render service to the country.

The Grand Duchess and her family are still resident at Sienna, where they have been received by that loyal city with the greatest rejoicings.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 543. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 9, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 2nd instant, reporting the steps taken by the Sardinian Government in consequence of the sortie made by the Venetian troops from the fort of Malghera, I have to inform you that Her

Majesty's Government consider the decision of the Piedmontese Government to be perfectly right and proper, and it must be hoped that it will have the effect of preventing the Venetians from continuing hostilities for which there can be no justification or pretext, but which will afford the Austrians full justification for any attack which they may make on Venice.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 544. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 9, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, reporting a conversation with the Marquis Ricci on the subject of the continued refusal of Field-Marshal Radetzky to restore the Sardinian artillery left at Peschiera; and I have to instruct your Excellency to bring under the most serious attention of the Austrian Government this continued breach of engagement on the part of Field-Marshal Radetzky, and to observe that the breaking of engagements so recently contracted must necessarily tend to throw great difficulties in the way of the negotiations about to be opened.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 545.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 10.)

My Lord,

Naples, November 1, 1848.

THE Revolution at Vienna and the formation of a Democratic Administration at Florence have had a subdued reaction upon this capital, and though the uncertainty of the issue and the power of the Government have prevented any open demonstration of sympathy or exultation, I observe that the Liberals are again too much disposed to build their hopes upon the dissensions of the Austrian Empire. It is difficult to persuade them that whatever race may predominate, it will refuse to relax its grasp on the Italian strongholds, and that should the strife prove long and the exhaustion be great on every side, the Germans would step in and secure the bulwarks of their country rather than allow them to pass from the hands of the Imperial or Hungarian faction into the possession of the Italians.

I do not anticipate any disorders at Naples of a serious character, although the circulation of patrols and precautions at the theatres and places of public assemblage betray some apprehension on the part of Government.

The King continues to take the air by sea; the rest of the Royal Family are frequently seen in the streets of the capital.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 546.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 10.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, November 4, 1848.

I HAD so lately the honour to express to your Lordship my intimate conviction that the Central Power had never had the intention of making any armed demonstration in favour of the Austrian cause in Italy, that I probably

* See No. 534.

should have thought it unnecessary to recur again to the subject had not your Lordship's despatch of the 31st instant shown that Baron d'Andrian had argued the question as if such a contingency was likely to arise.

I have therefore thought it a duty to ask M. de Schmerling categorically, whether there did or did not exist any mental reservation either in himself or in any of the members of the Central Government with respect to the reasons which had been given for assembling certain divisions of the Federal army in different parts of Germany.

I have received the most distinct and positive declaration from M. de Schmerling, that neither now or at any other time had the Central Power contemplated an armed interference or demonstration in Italy, and that he would write to Baron d'Andrian to give your Lordship the same assurance.

That such a project has ever been seriously entertained or discussed either by the Archduke or by the Government, I venture again to assure your Lordship has never been the case; and if your Lordship considers the penury of the treasury of the Central Power, the necessity of having troops for the preservation of order, the impossibility of taking such a step as that supposed without informing the National Assembly, and the unwillingness with which the more liberal members of the Cabinet and Assembly would assent to any measure touching on the nationality of Italy, you will see that it is very unlikely.

I must however add that should circumstances induce the French to enter Italy, the Central Government would in all probability make an effort to concentrate an imposing force in the Tyrol.

The Archduke John told me to-day that he had written more than once lately to Baron Wessenberg, to intreat him to finish the Italian question; and M. Max Gagern has informed me that the Government has given advice in the same sense.

No. 547.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 11.)

(Extract.)

Hietzing, November 6, 1848.

I HAD the honour to forward to your Lordship the letter I received from Baron Wessenberg on the subject of Olmütz. I have not heard since anything more of it.

Your Lordship has been informed that for a considerable time past nobody here has talked or thought of anything but what was passing in Vienna. To-day I conversed with M. de la Cour respecting our position, past and present, and we agreed that we did not see what more we could have done or could now do than urge the arguments furnished by our respective Governments, whenever in our power to bring them forward, as we have always had from the Government of Austria a direct refusal to adopt the plan proposed by England and France.

M. de la Cour told me that he had heard a report that Marshal Radetzky had signified his consent to restore the residue of the artillery taken at Peschiera, provided the King of Sardinia would recall his squadron from Venice. I have not heard the report, but will to-morrow inquire of M. Lebzelter how the fact is.

Having received from your Lordship the "Instructions to the Lombards," privately circulated in Lombardy, I take the liberty to offer an observation.

It is to me evident from what I have known, that the Lombards want both power and courage to resist Austrian dominion; and I think they may by such proceedings as they, the Lombards, have recourse to, irritate, perhaps compel, the Austrians to take very severe measures against them. One measure might possibly be thought of, namely, the confiscation of the landed property of the nobles and other proprietors who absent themselves in contempt of the amnesty, and the distribution of the land confiscated among the farmers who now occupy the various farms upon it.

No. 548. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 11, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* which I have received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan, reporting on the state of Lombardy; and I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate the same to Baron Wessenberg, and at the same time to request his most serious attention to the statements contained in this and in other reports which have been received from the same quarter.

Your Excellency will at the same time say that Her Majesty's Government are persuaded that these simple statements of facts must surely convince Baron Wessenberg that it is impossible to expect that a province in which there exists throughout the whole population, both in the towns and in the country districts, and from the noble to the peasant, such deeply-rooted hatred of Austrian domination can ever become either a secure or an useful possession for the Imperial Crown.

It cannot reasonably be imagined that any national institutions which the Emperor may grant to the people of Lombardy can alter their national antipathy to foreign rule, or have any other effect than that of affording them greater facilities for throwing off the yoke from which they are so anxious to get free.

If indeed such institutions as are now promised had been granted to the Lombards ten or fifteen years ago, there is no saying to what extent practical independence might have reconciled them to nominal subjection; but matters have now gone much too far between the Italians and the Austrian Government to make it possible that any such connection could be permanent; and if the whole of Lombardy is in a state of either passive or active resistance to Austrian rule now when the province has been recently reconquered and is occupied by an overwhelming Austrian force, exercising authority by all the terrors and severities of martial law, what sort of obedience can the Austrian Government expect to meet with from the Lombards, when the Austrian troops shall have retired, when the local Government shall be administered by the very Italian nobles who are now in voluntary exile to avoid any contact whatever with the foreign invader, and when there shall be assembled a Parliament composed of Italians and elected by the people who are even now under circumstances of the most extreme difficulty engaged in a desperate because wholly unequal struggle with the regular forces of Field-Marshal Radetzky.

It is much to be desired for the general interests of Europe that the present Government of Austria should not allow itself to be misled as to the real state of things, that it should without partiality or prejudice calculate the chances of the future, and that it should allow the conclusions to which it may thus arrive, to guide and determine its course in the time present.

The present moment is a most favourable one to Austria for making an arrangement by which Lombardy would be released from Austrian rule. The army of Austria has reoccupied Lombardy, and therefore the concession would manifestly be the result of deliberate choice and not of local compulsion. The authority of the Emperor has now been fully re-established at Vienna, and consequently the decision to which Austria might come as to Lombardy could not be considered as a sacrifice extorted from the Government of a dissolving empire: and the two Powers who have undertaken the present mediation are friendly to Austria and sincerely anxious for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. But several things may alter before many months have passed away. Important changes may take place in France; the election, which is coming on next month, may bring other men into power in that country; with other men another policy may come in. Traditional maxims of policy connected with a busier action in regard to foreign countries may be taken up as the guide of the Government of France. Popular feeling in that country, which at present

* See No. 535.

inclines to peace, might easily be turned in an opposite direction, and the glory, as it would be considered in France, of freeing the whole of Italy up to the Alps from the domination of Austria might reconcile the French nation to many sacrifices and to great exertions. Occasions for calling upon France to interfere in favour of Italian independence would not long be wanting, and would be amply afforded by the Lombards so soon as it was known by them that the French Government and people were disposed to answer to their call. It is hardly possible to doubt that an efficient and powerful French army, aided and supported by a general rising of the Italians, would be too strong for the force which Austria could spare for operations in Italy; and the probability is, that in such a case Austria would lose everything in Italy even up to the Alps. It may be said indeed that such a conflict might bring on a more extensive war in Europe, and that other Powers might take part with Austria. But is the Austrian Government sure that the sympathies even of Germany would be with Austria in her attempt to rivet her yoke upon the Italians; and would not the principle of nationality which is now the rallying cry of Germany tell against Austria in such a struggle? Nor would the principle of ancient prescription be much more in her favour, because although that principle may be pleaded by her in the case of that part of Lombardy which, as the Duchy of Milan, has long been connected with the Imperial Crown, yet that principle would be strongly invoked against her by the Republic of Venice, a State which has played a distinguished part in history during nearly fourteen centuries of freedom, and the Austrian title to which goes no further back than its transfer to her by Buonaparte by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and its subsequent reassignment to her by the Treaty of Vienna.

Her Majesty's Government have good reason to believe that the Administrator of the German Empire, himself an Austrian Archduke, and known to be passionately attached to the State which was the country of his birth and the residence of the greater part of a long life, is strongly of opinion that Austria ought to emancipate Lombardy; and if Her Majesty's Government are not misinformed, that same opinion prevails extensively in many parts of Germany.

Her Majesty's Government then would earnestly entreat the Austrian Government to take these matters into its most serious and early consideration; and if it should upon reflection arrive now at the same conclusion to which it had come some months ago when M. de Hummelauer presented his second memorandum, there are many obvious and weighty reasons, on account of which it would be most desirable that the Plenipotentiary whom the Austrian Government is about to send to the Conference of Mediation, should be instructed at once to make known the intentions of the Austrian Government on this subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 549.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 11, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of this day's date, I have to instruct your Excellency to read that despatch to Baron Wessenberg and to give him a copy if he wishes it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 550.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 12.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 11, 1848.

IN the course of the conversation on the affairs of Italy, General Cavaignac this morning stated that M. de la Cour had been desired to press for an answer as to the place to be chosen for the conferences, as a means of proving whether Austria still meant to adopt the mediation without renewing any qualifications which might be considered as amounting to its rejection. Yet he felt that we had now arrived at such a period as rendered it impossible to commence negotiations with any benefit; a few weeks could only elapse before a great change might take place in the Government of France, and it was but natural that Austria should desire now more than ever to gain time, and to see with whom she would have to treat.

I could not deny that such might be the natural feeling of Austria. Should, however, on the other hand, the representations of her allies induce her to manifest a desire to treat on terms which could be accepted by the North of Italy, it would be very important that this fact should be put upon record before any possible change of Government here might lead to a difference in its foreign policy. As to any definitive settlement of those complicated questions it was of course impossible to expect such a result before the Presidential election, but a first step would be important when one recollected the impatient irritation which at this moment prevailed throughout Italy. However, the possibility of doing anything in the matter must depend upon the nature of the next advices from Vienna.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 551.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 13.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, October 31, 1848.

I HAD some conversation yesterday with Count Nesselrode on the subject of the pacification of Italy, when his Excellency told me that he had learnt from Paris that the King of Sardinia had been informed that if he recommenced hostilities he must be prepared to carry them on without any assistance from France.

I said that I was not aware of any such communication having been made to King Charles Albert, but that I believed the warlike intentions lately expressed by His Majesty had been strongly discouraged by Her Majesty's Government. We then went on to speak of the prospects of the mediation, and I mentioned to his Excellency that your Lordship continued to disapprove of the idea which had been brought forward of convening a Congress for the settlement of the affairs of Italy. The Chancellor said he entirely concurred in your Lordship's views of this subject, as he could not see that any good was likely to result from such a conference of the Powers of Europe.

No. 552.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 13.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 2, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, announcing the arrival of the Sardinian fleet off this port, I transmit herewith a copy and translation of an official article published in the Venice Gazette of the same date, stating that Admiral Albin had declared to the Provisional Government of Venice that his object in returning hither with his squadron was to raise the blockade of Venice and to defend it if attacked.

I mentioned in my despatch of the 21st ultimo that no vessels of the Austrian blockading squadron had appeared off Venice for some days previously to that date, and none have subsequently been seen.

The French steamer of war "Solon" arrived at Venice yesterday afternoon from the French squadron in the Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

 Inclosure in No. 552.
*Article from the Venice Gazette of October 30, 1848.**Venezia, 30 Ottobre.*

Venerdi sera (27) gettò l'ancora nelle nostre acque la squadra di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna, composta di 14 navi.

Nel dì successivo, il Comandante Contrammiraglio Cavaliere Albin recatosi a visitare i Triumviri, dichiarò loro che il ritorno della squadra avea per oggetto di sbloccare Venezia, e di difenderla, se attaccata. Egli manifestò in pari tempo il sentimento di letizia di cui era compreso il nobilissimo animo suo, e quello dei bravi ufficiali posti sotto a' suoi ordini, per avere nuova occasione di attestare all'Italia il proprio patriotismo.

Il Governo manifestò all'onorevole Ammiraglio tutta la compiacenza di un tale ritorno; gliene porse i più vivi ringraziamenti, assicurandolo che quella gratitudine colla quale Venezia accompagna la squadra Sarda nel suo allontanamento, si ridestava adesso più forte, e plaudiva al veramente Italiano divisamento che l'aveva ricondotta in queste marine.

(Translation.)

Venice, October 30.

ON Friday evening the 27th instant the squadron of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, composed of fourteen vessels, anchored in these waters.

On the following day Rear-Admiral Albin, the Commander-in-chief, went to visit the Triumvirate, and declared to them that the object of the return of the squadron was to raise the blockade of Venice, and to defend it if attacked. He at the same time manifested the feeling of joy with which he himself and the officers under his orders were filled at having another opportunity of proving to Italy their own patriotism.

The Government manifested to the Admiral the great satisfaction which his return gave them, offered him their warmest thanks, and assured him that the gratitude with which Venice had accompanied the Sardinian squadron on its departure was now reawakened with increased intensity, and they applauded the truly Italian motive which had brought back the squadron to our waters.

No. 553.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 9, 1848.

OF late there have been several movements of troops in the Austrian army; two batteries of artillery having left Milan in the direction of Piacenza, the Regiment of Hohenlohe, 3000 strong, having marched to Pavia, and 2000 men of the Regiment of Trohaska having been directed upon Varese.

The garrison of Milan is constantly changing, as troops are constantly arriving at and leaving that town.

It is estimated that the present garrison of Milan amounts to about 15,000 men fit for duty, a number somewhat superior to the calculation made a few days ago.

The distress, social and commercial, which exists at Milan is described as being extreme; not less than 40,000 persons are said to be at this moment out of work; those who possess any little capital are obliged to draw upon that resource for their existence; others are being driven to the necessity of disposing by degrees of their furniture and property, wherewith to buy food; whilst numbers are reduced to absolute destitution and crowd the streets as beggars.

The town however is quiet.

The insurrectionary movements in the Valteline and along the shores of the Lake of Como have subsided.

The Government of the Canton of Tessin have according to the last accounts determined upon putting a stop to the intrigues of Mazzini and his adherents, and the former has been removed from Lugano to a more central point in Switzerland.

Her Majesty's Consul at Genoa informs me by a letter dated yesterday, that the Advocate Pellegrini, the leader of the violent Republican and Revolutionary party at Genoa, had been that morning arrested and imprisoned by order of the Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 554.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 14, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency copy of a further despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, relative to the detention at Peschiera of the Sardinian artillery and stores; and I have to instruct your Excellency again to urge the Austrian Government to fulfil the conditions of the Armistice with respect to them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 555.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 14, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 6th instant, stating that one of the measures against the Lombards which the Austrian Government might possibly think of, would be the confiscation of the lands belonging to the nobles and other proprietors who are still absent from Lombardy, and the distribution of such lands among the occupying tenants; I have to observe that it is possible that so unjust and odious a measure of spoliation might for the moment propitiate those persons who would be the receivers of the property thus arbitrarily and without form of law taken away from its rightful

* No. 522.

owners; but the Austrian Government would much deceive itself if it was to imagine that besides the general discredit which such a proceeding would cast upon it in the opinion of all Europe, it would not after a short interval have to encounter the same spirit of hostility on the part of the new proprietors of which it would have revenged itself on the old.

It would indeed be a subject of painful regret if a Government which like that of Austria takes its stand upon order and legality and existing right, should from passionate resentment be led to imitate the most universally condemned excesses of the most desperate and unprincipled Revolutionists.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 556.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 14.)

(Extract.)

Florence, November 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have had an interview with M. Montanelli, the President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that M. Montanelli and his colleagues seem animated with a sincere desire to support the authority of the Grand Duke, and to propose such reforms and ameliorations in the government of this country as appear to be judicious, and such as are loudly called for by the deplorable state into which every department has fallen.

Their first object will be to restore order and respect for the laws, and provide for individual safety which has been of late menaced in Tuscany. They propose with this view to remodel the Civic Guard, to establish a Municipal Guard in the great towns, and to make great changes in the army, hoping to better its discipline and create a feeling of national pride.

The many abuses at present so glaring in every department of the State will next claim their attention, and when the internal affairs of Tuscany are better provided for, it will then be their care to establish the proposed Italian League and extend the prosperity of Italy.

M. Montanelli however did not disguise from me that the Administration had to contend with such great difficulties that they almost despaired of being able to stand against them.

I will not take up your Lordship's time by detailing the observations I made to M. Montanelli on this occasion, further than stating that I left no argument untried to point out to M. Montanelli that the present Administration had it in their power to occupy a most conspicuous place in the history of their country, if they courageously followed a strictly constitutional line in endeavouring to remodel many of its institutions, to uphold the just dignity of the Sovereign, and to heal the gangrene of insubordination to the laws which was preying upon the vitals of the State.

I also said that there could be no doubt that their difficulties must be very great, which could only be surmounted by their acts. M. Montanelli emphatically declared to me, that if they failed to gain the confidence of the Sovereign and the people, it would not be from want of earnest endeavours on their part to merit it.

The Government have dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and the electoral colleges are to meet on the 20th instant to elect another.

The Ministry seem to have no fears of the peace of Leghorn being disturbed.

No. 557.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 15.)

My Lord,

Milan, November 5, 1848.

AS I had the honour to state for your Lordship's information in my despatch of the 30th ultimo, the town of Chiavenna broke out into open insurrection, forced the garrison to retire, hoisted the tricolor flag, and declared itself

a Republic. The place was retaken on the 29th ultimo by the Austrians, who levied a contribution on it, with the obligation on the communes to clear the galleries of the military road between Varenna and Belluno, which had been choked up by the insurgents. The intelligence of the surrender of Chiavenna was only known here on the 31st ultimo. It is said that the Croats have committed great excesses in the small villages of Novate, Verceja, Gera, Sorico, and various others situated on the northern part of the Lake of Como. The priests and those wearing the beard *all' Italiani* are particularly objects of their persecution.

Aregno, Toriggia, Carate, the principal villages which offered so much resistance to the first landing of the Austrian troops, are now occupied by those troops.

On the 31st ultimo a body of armed Lombards disembarked at Luino on the Lake Maggiore. According to the official gazette of the 4th instant they amounted to nearly 2000 men with two pieces of artillery. They advanced into the country by the road of Ghirla, but on the appearance of the Austrian troops fled precipitately on board the steamers and other vessels ready to receive them at Luino. No prisoners were made, nor were any of the Austrians wounded. Such at least is the official account.

In my previous despatches I did myself the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that the Province of Brescia was in a state of almost open insurrection. I shall now add several facts to corroborate my statements; facts which have only just come to my knowledge. In the beginning of last month a tree of liberty was planted in the public square of the town of Sarnico, and the Imperial arms were torn down and burnt. In the town of Iseo, on the 12th ultimo, the Imperial eagles were defaced. In the town of Chiari, the inhabitants, in consequence of their continual quarrels of late with the troops, had considerable contributions levied on them. In short, throughout the Valli Seriani, Camonica, and Trompia, which are the most excited parts, even the women are determined to take up arms against the Austrians.

I am sorry to state that a feeling of animosity exists among the lower classes in Milan against the English and French Consuls, whom they accuse of not keeping their respective Governments sufficiently well informed of the misery to which they are reduced, or these Governments, they say, would not leave them to be shot and starved by the Austrians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 558.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 17, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting what passed between the President of the Council of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and yourself with respect to the future intentions of the new Tuscan Administration, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the advice given by you to M. Montanelli; and I have to instruct you as long as the Tuscan Government continue to pursue the course announced to you by M. Montanelli, to continue on your part to afford them such countenance and support as you may be able to give without improperly interfering in the internal affairs of Tuscany, and without involving Her Majesty's Government in any responsibility in regard to those affairs.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Mr. Peel to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 17.)

(Extract.)

Berne, November 13, 1848.

OF the two Federal Commissioners sent some time since to the frontiers of Tessin, with a view of enforcing that neutrality towards the Austrians in Italy which the Cantonal Government seemed of itself little disposed to favour, one, M. Munzinger of Soleure, has remained at Lugano, while the other, M. Escher of Zurich, came to Berne to assist at the inauguration of the new Constitution and to take his seat in the Conseil National, and was at the same time enabled to represent fully the extent to which the sympathies of the Tessinois are enlisted in behalf of Italy and her independence.

The Government of Tessin, but more particularly the inhabitants, had seen with much displeasure the arrival of Federal troops to aid the Commissioners in the object of their mission. Frequent squabbles arose between the new-comers and the military contingent of the canton, which had hitherto but most negligently (witness the measures of Radetzky and the continual disputes with the Austrian authorities on the Italian side as resulting therefrom) been charged with the frontier service, while the determination of the Commissioners to act fairly and honourably towards the Confederation, being under the influence of no such feelings as the Tessinois, and to fulfil their instructions in removing all refugees to the interior at least of the canton, met not only with much opposition, but has in the case of Mazzini given rise to very serious resistance.

It appears that Mazzini being in the neighbourhood of Lugano, M. Munzinger was naturally desirous of removing him also from the frontier districts, and consequently ordered his departure; Mazzini agreed to comply the following morning, but subsequently refused, while the people in his favour successfully opposed the troops with which M. Munzinger, whose life was threatened in the attempt, endeavoured to enforce obedience.

The Vorort upon receiving yesterday morning intelligence of such proceedings, summoned the Council of War, which immediately ordered 2000 Federal troops to march to the assistance of the Commissioner. The military force comprises one battalion of Bernese infantry, one battalion of Argovian infantry, a Zurich battery of artillery, a company of riflemen of Thurgau, and half a company of Lucerne cavalry. M. Escher also left Berne to join his colleague at Lugano.

The Tessinois are not likely to resist this additional force, and order will probably be restored.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 10, 1848.

AFTER the receipt by messenger Waring of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd ultimo of this year's series, I took advantage of the first moment that his Excellency the Baron de Perron could spare from attendance in his place in the Chamber of Deputies upon the prolonged debate with reference to the policy of the Sardinian Cabinet, to execute the instructions which your Lordship had given me, and I did not fail to lay before the Baron de Perron the arguments by which you support the opinions and advice offered to the Sardinian Government with regard to the extreme impolicy of a renewal of hostilities on their part.

The observations I made to him by your Lordship's direction did not surprise him, for his Excellency had been accustomed to hear the same language used to him by me at nearly every interview I have had the honour to have with him since the clamour for a fresh appeal to arms had been pressing upon the Government.

On this occasion, however, the Baron de Perron spoke to me with more decision than he had hitherto done, a change which I attribute to the impression which he feels to have been made in favour of the Government by the communications given in the debate of the Chamber of Deputies upon the conduct of the Cabinet with regard to a renewal of the war, and to the expectation to

which this result has given rise, that the Ministers will come victoriously out of their present political struggle with the Opposition.

Your Lordship already knows from my former despatches that his Excellency the Baron de Perron has constantly given me the clearest assurances that he at least would use every endeavour in his power to preserve peace and to prevent the violent party from pushing this country to a renewal of hostilities against Austria; but he at the same time never concealed from me his apprehensions that such was the restlessness of the violent war faction, that the Government might eventually be driven to adopt a warlike policy.

The turn which the debate now going on has taken, has however in the opinion of the Baron de Perron materially lessened these fears, and he looks now with some degree of confidence to being able to ward off the chances of war until the month of February next.

Before that period arrives his Excellency the Baron de Perron is in hopes that through the exertions of the mediating Powers a satisfactory peace may have been obtained, or, if it should not have been actually concluded, at least that such an advance towards that end shall have been made as to afford a reasonable assurance that a definitive arrangement, such as Sardinia can with honour accept, may be speedily expected.

If the hopes thus entertained by the Baron de Perron should unfortunately be disappointed, his Excellency gave me to understand that the Sardinian Government would be prepared to renew hostilities, as they were making every exertion to enable the Sardinian army to take the field at that time in an effective and decisive manner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 561.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 18.)

(Extract.)

Turin, November 11, 1848.

THE fifth sitting of the Chamber of Deputies to discuss the policy of the present Sardinian Cabinet terminated at 1 o'clock this morning, by the adoption by a majority of 40 votes of the following proposition:

"The Chamber does not adopt the conclusions of the Committee, and, ordering the publication of this its deliberation, passes to the order of the day."

The conclusions above alluded to of the Committee nominated to receive in a secret sitting the explanations of the Ministers in defence of their policy, was to the following effect:

"The Committee of the Chamber having heard the confidential communications made to it by the present Administration declares that it does not approve the conduct and policy of the same."

In addition to the conclusions of a majority of the secret Committee, the report contains an intimation that a modification in the composition of the Cabinet is to be desired.

The vote to which the whole House came this morning has, as your Lordship will perceive, negatived the conclusions of the Committee, and the Government have now for a second time obtained the sanction of the Chamber to the policy which they have hitherto adopted.

No. 562.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Milan, November 12, 1848.

A PROCLAMATION from Field-Marshal Radetzky was published yesterday afternoon, the following translation of which I do myself the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

"From the moment that by the bravery of my troops I had restored these provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom to their legitimate Sovereign, my principal endeavour has been to re-establish public order in such a manner that, together with the security of persons and property, public confidence might be renewed, commerce revived, and families enjoy that tranquillity which the Government of His Majesty our Emperor and King has preserved and ensured for a great number of years.

"Nevertheless it is my duty to obtain indemnification for the grave public and private losses which have been sustained in consequence of revolution and war, losses caused by the most active promoters of the Revolution as well as by those individuals who by their acts and means have contributed to bring about these evils. And still more, it is my duty to obtain such indemnification, as many of these individuals, despising the pardon that His Majesty in his wonted clemency has deigned to grant to his rebellious subjects, persist in remaining abroad, employing there the resources of this country in the furtherance of other revolutionary plots, thus driving the manufacturing and agricultural classes in these provinces to destitution and misery, against which I am bound to guard them.

"Considering that humanity, right, and justice enjoin that the innocent should not suffer with the guilty, that the deceived should be more mildly treated than the deceiver, and above all that the honest tradesman, the peaceful artisan, the peasant and the day-labourer, who in general not following any spontaneous impulse, but rather yielding blindly to the force of circumstances, took part in the political troubles should be dealt with as leniently as possible,

"I have determined to subject to an extraordinary contribution—

"1st. The Members of the late Provisional Government;

"2nd. Those who took a leading part in the Committees;

"3rd. Those who had put themselves at the head of the Revolution, or had contributed thereto by their acts, and by pecuniary or intellectual means.

"The quota of the contribution will be specified in the respective warrants, which will be intimated to these individuals, either at the abode they have now or had on the 18th of March last. This contribution must be paid into the respective military chests within six weeks from the date of the said warrants.

"When this term is elapsed the properties of those in arrear of these contributions will be sequestered and placed under a guardian, in order that with the income of the said properties, or by their sale and net proceeds, the payment of the contribution may be obtained. Among these properties are reckoned also those that each individual (liable to the aforesaid contribution) possessed before the 18th of March last, without regard to transfers or obligations on the same, which may have taken place since that period.

"When these contributions are paid, the poor will be relieved in the manner and number to be decided on hereafter.

"*Milan, November 11, 1843.*

(Signed)

RADETZKY, *Field-Marshal.*"

No. 563.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 14, 1848.

ON the 11th of October an Austrian vessel of war captured nine fishing boats in the waters of the Piave belonging to the Venetian fishermen; on the 30th of the same month another fishing-boat was fired upon and captured by an Austrian man-of-war, and the crew made prisoners.

The Sardinian Admiral Albinì has written to the Austrian Admiral, complaining of these proceedings, contrary to all the ordinary usages of war, and claiming the restitution of the prisoners and of the property forcibly carried off.

Admiral Albinì at the same time gives it to be understood that unless his demands are complied with, and a stop put to these proceedings of the Austrian cruizers, it will be his duty to make reprisals, not with the intent of commencing

regular hostilities by sea against the forces of Austria, but only as a means of obtaining redress for the grievances of which he has to complain, and to secure the Venetian coasting marine from a repetition of such an attack.

Admiral Albini having referred this question to his Government, the Cabinet of Turin have determined to transmit orders to the Admiral instructing him to make reprisals from the Austrians in the event of his not being able to obtain from them by other means a satisfactory arrangement of the dispute; but the Admiral is enjoined, should he find himself obliged to adopt that system, to let it be carefully understood and made clear, that the Sardinian Government have no intention of interrupting the course of the general commerce of neutrals, nor of acting hostilely against individuals.

The Sardinian Government are preparing an official communication upon this subject to my French colleague and myself, and as soon as it reaches me I shall not fail to transmit it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 564.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 15, 1848.

COUNTS Casati and Borromeo called upon me this morning and placed in my hands the accompanying letter together with its five inclosures, relative to the decree of Field-Marshal Radetzky of the 11th instant.

The Consulta Lombarda have in their memorandum to the Sardinian Government so fully pointed out the principal features of their case against this arbitrary measure of the Austrian Commander-in-chief at Milan, that it is useless for me to repeat the arguments to your Lordship; and I confine myself to the single observation that your Lordship will find the arguments used by the Consulta Lombarda supported by references to the Capitulation of Milan, the Armistice of the 9th August, and the Manifesto of the Emperor of Austria dated 2nd September, 1848, all of which are transmitted herewith.

You Lordship will see how seriously this measure of the Marshal's effects the property of individuals; how comprehensive it is in its operation, and how carefully the decree has been worded to admit of the appropriation without control of the funds thus raised; and your Lordship will not be surprised that Counts Casati and Borromeo, when delivering to me these documents, earnestly entreated me to urge upon your Lordship the speedy and serious attention of Her Majesty's Government in behalf of Lombardy and of its interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 564.

The Consulta Lombarda to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

M. le Ministre,

Turin, ce 14 Novembre, 1848.

LA Consulte de la Lombardie a l'honneur de présenter à votre Excellence le mémorandum qu'elle adresse au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi Charles Albert et aux Hautes Puissances médiatrices, au sujet de la proclamation du Maréchal Radetzky du 11 de ce mois.

Elle se tient assurée par la bienveillance dont votre Excellence a donné tant de preuves à la cause Italienne, qu'elle s'empressera de l'envoyer aussitôt à son Gouvernement, et d'y ajouter les renseignements particuliers que votre Excellence est à même d'avoir sur la situation déplorable de la Lombardie, afin de mettre dans le plus grand jour tout ce qu'il y a d'inique, d'arbitraire, et de sauvage dans un procédé qui est inouï dans l'histoire des nations civilisées.

Elle compte aussi que votre Excellence voudra bien profiter de cette occasion pour insister près de son Gouvernement afin que les résultats de la médiation soient hâtés, si l'on veut que cette conception de haute sagesse et de haute politique, dont on espérait tirer tant de bienfaits, ne tourne au plus grand dommage de cette contrée, à laquelle les Hautes Puissances médiatrices ont voulu tendre une main secourable dans les jours de sa détresse.

La Consulte de la Lombardie a l'honneur, &c.

(Signé)

CASATI.

BORRAMEO.

A. MAURI, *Secrétaire.*

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Turin, November 14, 1848.

THE Consulta of Lombardy has the honour to present to your Excellency the memorandum which it addresses to the Government of His Majesty King Charles Albert and to the high mediating Powers on the subject of Marshal Radetzky's proclamation of the 11th instant.

On account of the goodwill towards the Italian cause, of which your Excellency has given so many proofs, it feels assured that you will hasten to transmit it forthwith to your Government, and to add to it the particular information which your Excellency has means of possessing as to the deplorable situation of Lombardy, in order to exhibit in the strongest light all that is iniquitous, arbitrary and savage in a proceeding unheard of in the history of civilized nations.

It reckons, moreover, that your Excellency will be disposed to avail yourself of this occasion to urge your Government that the results of the mediation may be accelerated, if it is desired that this offspring of exalted wisdom and policy from which so much advantage was expected, should not lead to the greater injury of that country to which the high mediating Powers have desired to extend the hand of succour in the days of its distress.

The Consulta of Lombardy has the honour, &c.

(Signed)

CASATI.

BORRAMEO.

A. MAURI, *Secretary.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 564.

Memorandum of the Consulta Lombarda.

MILANO venne occupata dall' esercito Austriaco sotto la fede di un' apposita capitolazione o convenzione portante la data del 5 Agosto corrente anno, della quale si unisce una copia segnata al No. 1.

All' Articolo II di quella convenzione fu stipulato che "per ciò che dipende da sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo, promette di avere per rapporto al passato tutti i riguardi che l'equità esige."

Così stipulava il Maresciallo non essendo in suo potere di accordare amnistia.

Nel successivo Articolo IV era poi detto, che "sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo accorda a tutti quelli che vogliano sortire dalla città la libera sortita per la strada di Magenta sino a domani sera alle otto."

Di questa facoltà si prevalse mezza la popolazione, come è ben noto.

Nel giorno 9 dello stesso mese di Agosto venne segnata una Convenzione d'Armistizio della quale pure si unisce una copia sotto il No. 2.

Con quell' Armistizio venne abbandonata alla occupazione militare Austriaca l'intera Lombardia, comprese le fortezze di Peschiera e Rocca d'Anfò. E si noti che questo abbandono colpì non solo la Provincia di Milano libera ancora per la metà; ma colpì pure le Provincie di Brescia, Bergamo, Como, e Sondrio, le quali erano intieramente libere e armate.

Ma nell' Articolo V è convenuto che "le persone e le proprietà dei luoghi su nominati sono posto sotto la protezione del Governo Imperiale."

Nel giorno 29 Settembre prossimo scorso Sua Maestà l'Imperatore d'Austria ordinava la pubblicazione di un' amnistia generale concepita ne' termini espressi nel Manifesto del quale si unisce una copia sotto il No. 3, nel quale manifesto si leggono le seguenti parole:

“Abbiamo già accordato a tutti gli abitanti del Regno Lombardo-Veneto indistintamente, pieno perdono per la parte che potessero aver preso negli avvenimenti politici del corrente anno, ordinando che non possa farsi luogo contro di loro ad alcuna inquisizione o punizione, salvo quei riguardi che si trovasse opportuno di avervi nella conferma di pubblici impieghi.”

Da queste premesse risulta che qualunque sia la posizione che voglia farsi dal Maresciallo ai Lombardi che hanno preso parte alla Rivoluzione, essi hanno diritto d'essere rispettati e protetti nelle persone e nelle proprietà.

O li considera come abitanti di un paese momentaneamente occupato dal nemico, ed essi sono sotto la fede della convenzione o capitolazione del cinque Agosto e dell' Armistizio del giorno nove successivo.

O li considera come sudditi Austriaci, ed essi sono sotto la fede delle parole Imperiali contenute nel Manifesto del 20 Settembre.

In entrambi i casi è quindi ingiusto e dettato soltanto dalla prepotenza militare il proclama che il Maresciallo pubblicava in Milano l'undici corrente Novembre, copia del quale si unisce sotto il No. 4.

Con questo proclama il Maresciallo sottopone a contribuzione straordinaria, delle quale non indica nè i limiti, nè il riparto le seguenti tre classi di persone:—

1. I membri dei cessati Governi Provvisori.
2. Quelli che ebbero parte precipua nei varj Comitati.
3. Coloro che si sono posti alla testa della Rivoluzione o vi hanno concorso colla loro opera o coi loro mezzi materiali o intellettuali.

Queste tre classi contengono l'intera popolazione, perchè l'intera popolazione concorse coi sangue, coll' oro, e coll' intelletto ad una rivoluzione che era nel cuore di tutti e grandi e piccoli; nè le categorie personali che il Maresciallo farà potranno essere altro che il frutto del più incredibile arbitrio, e saranno compilate dall' odio e della vendetta.

Ma v' ha dippiù; calpestando il Maresciallo ogni ragione e giustizia, annulla per suo solo volere non solo quanto fu fatto dai privati in perfettissima buona fede all' appoggio della naturale libertà dei contratti e della legge comune, ma annulla perfino quei contratti che furono fatti sulla fede delle convenzioni militari firmate da lui, e sul dato anche più solenne dell' amnistia concessa dell' Imperatore.

Vendite di mobili e stabili, assunzione di mutui, e mille altre transazioni di questo genere furono fatte in paese e fuori da moltissimi cittadini Lombardi dal 18 Marzo in poi; passaggi di proprietà, per eredità, permuta, &c., sono avvenuti e dovevano pure avvenire a migliaia negli ora scorsi otto mesi di tempo, e non è possibile supporre altrimenti trattandosi di un paese nel quale proprietà mobili e stabili passano rapidissimamente da mano a mano. Venditori, compratori, mutuantì e mutuatarj e successori nella proprietà a qualunque titolo non potevano prevedere che a un tempo dato doveva piacere al Maresciallo Radetzky di trascorrere a così assurde misure. Se queste dovessero avere la minacciata esecuzione, i sequestri e le spropriazioni caderebbero in centinaia di case a carico dei possessori o dei mutuantì di buona fede; e perfino di quelli che hanno comperato e sovvenuto sulla parola del Maresciallo e su quella dell' Imperatore.

Fedele il Maresciallo ai dettami della politica della quale l'Austria ha già cominciato a raccogliere amari frutti, ha cercato di dare un sostegno all' iniquità della legge tentando di seminare divisioni fra il ricco ed il povero.

Basta leggere i preamboli del proclama, in cui non tanto si proclamano massime di Comunismo, quanto s'insinua odio a chi possiede e a chi pensa, per convincersi che egli conta sulle più perverse passioni. Tristissima condizione dell' Impero che da varj anni non ha nè può avere altro fondamento che questo!

Dopo tutto ciò la Consulta Lombarda che non ha mai cessato dal far presente al Governo del Rè ed alle Potenze mediatrici la situazione del paese che rappresenta, resa intollerabile oramai sotto il rapporto politico, civile, finanziario, e morale, non avendo altra forza che quella di protestare rammentando de leggi eterne dell' onesto e del giusto, le rammenta al Governo del Rè, le rammenta alle Potenze mediatrici, affinchè il Maresciallo non possa consegnare alla storia ch'egli ha fatto la sua volontà in onta alla sua parola, in onta agli

ordini del suo Sovrano, in onta alle convenzioni militari, in onta alla mediazione d'Inghilterra e di Francia.

Torino, 14 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato)

Casati, *Presidente.*

Giulini.

Borromeo.

Moroni.

Strigelli.

Turroni.

Rezzonico.

Durini.

Dossi.

A. Mauri, *Segretario.*

(Translation.)

MILAN was taken possession of by the Austrian army under the faith of a regular capitulation or convention bearing date the 5th of August of the present year, a copy of which is annexed, marked No. 1.

In Article II of that Convention it was stipulated that "so far as depends upon himself, his Excellency the Marshal promises with regard to the past to have every consideration which justice demands."

The Marshal made this stipulation because it was not in his power to grant an amnesty.

In Article IV, which follows, it is stated "that to all persons who wish to quit the city his Excellency allows the right to depart freely by the Strada di Magenta until the hour of 8 to-morrow evening."

Half the population availed themselves of this permission, as is well known.

On the 9th day of the same month of August an armistice was signed, a copy of which is also annexed under No. 2.

By this armistice the whole of Lombardy, including the forts of Peschiera and of Rocca d'Anfo, was given up to military occupation. And it is to be observed that this occupation included not only the Province of Milan, one half of which had been as yet free, but also the Provinces of Brescia, Bergamo, Como, and Sondrio, which were wholly free and armed.

But in Article V it is covenanted that "persons of property in the places above named are under the protection of the Imperial Government."

On the 29th day of September last His Majesty the Emperor of Austria ordered the publication of a general amnesty conceived in the terms of the manifesto, a copy of which is annexed under No. 3, and which manifesto contains the following words:—

"We have already granted to all the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, without distinction, full pardon for the part they may have taken in the political events of the present year, commanding that no measure of inquisition or punishment should be taken against them, with exception of the considerations which it may be proper to maintain in the confirmation of public functions."

It results from these premises that whatever may be the position which the Marshal may desire to take in respect to the Lombards who have taken part in the Revolution, they have a right to be respected and protected in their persons and properties.

Either he considers them as inhabitants of a country temporarily occupied by the enemy, in which case they are under the faith of the Convention or Capitulation of the 5th day of August and of the Armistice of the 9th day following.

Or else he considers them as Austrian subjects, in which case they are under the faith of the Imperial promise contained in the Manifesto of the 20th September.

In both these cases the proclamation published by the Marshal in Milan on the 11th day of November instant, a copy of which is annexed under No. 4, is unjust and dictated only by an overbearing military spirit.

By this proclamation the Marshal lays the three following classes of persons under extraordinary contributions, the limits and duration of which he does not specify:

1. The members of the late Provisional Governments.
2. Those who took a principal part in the several Comitati.

3. Those who put themselves at the head of the Revolution, or who have aided it by their acts, or with their physical or intellectual means.

These three classes comprise the whole population, because the whole population, with their blood, their gold, or their intellect, aided a revolution which was in the hearts of every one, great and small; nor can the personal classification which the Marshal shall make be other than the result of the most incredible despotism, and made up by hatred and revenge.

But more than this, the Marshal, in contempt of all reason and justice, by his sole will annuls not only what has been done by individuals in the most perfect good faith, in accordance with natural freedom, with contracts, and with common law, but he even annuls those contracts which were made on the faith of the military conventions signed by himself, and of the still more solemn fact of an amnesty granted by the Emperor.

Sales of goods and lands, grants of loans, and a thousand other acts of a similar kind, have been effected at home and abroad by very many Lombard citizens since the 18th day of March; transfers of property by succession, by exchange, &c., have taken place and must have taken place by thousands in the period of eight months now past; and it is not possible to suppose otherwise in a country where goods and landed property pass very rapidly from hand to hand. Sellers and buyers, lenders and borrowers, and those who succeed to property by any title whatever, could not foresee that at a given time it would please Marshal Radetzky to have recourse to such absurd measures. If the threatened executions of such measures be carried into effect, sequestrations and confiscations will fall on hundreds of houses, to the injury of *bonâ fide* owners and occupiers, even of those who have bought and lent money, relying on the word of the Marshal and on that of the Emperor.

The Marshal, faithful to the dictates of a policy of which Austria has already begun to gather bitter fruits, has endeavoured to give support to the iniquity of the law by attempting to sow division between the rich and the poor.

It is sufficient to read the preamble of the proclamation (in which he has not so much promulgated maxims of Communism as insinuated hatred against the man of property and the man who thinks) to be convinced that he is calculating on the most evil passions. Unhappy condition of the empire, which for several years has had and can have no other foundation than this!

After all this the Consulta Lombarda, which has never ceased to represent to the King's Government and to the mediating Powers the situation of the country which it represents, now rendered unbearable in its political, civil, financial, and moral condition, having no other power than that of protesting by a reference to the eternal laws of honour and justice, recalls those laws to the King's Government and to the mediating Powers, in order that the Marshal may not consign it to history that he has had his will, to the shame of his own word, of his Sovereign's commands, of military conventions, and of the mediation of England and France.

Turin, November 14, 1848.

(Signed)

Casati, *President.*

Giulini.

Borromeo.

Moroni.

Strigelli.

Turroni.

Rezzonico.

Durini.

Dossi.

A. Mauri, Secretary.

Inclosure 3 in No. 564.

1.—Convention for the Capitulation of Milan.

LA Congregazione Municipale della città di Milano fa conoscere la Convenzione stipulata fra Sua Maestà Sarda e sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo Radetzky.

I. La città sarà risparmiata.

II. Per ciò che dipende da' sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo, promette d'avere per rapporto al passato tutti i riguardi che l'equità esige.

III. Il movimento dell' armata Sarda si farà in due giorni di tappa, com' era già convenuto coi Generali Sardi.*

IV. Sua Eccellenza accorda a tutti quelli che vogliono sortire dalla città la libera sortita per la Strada di Magenta fino a domani sera alle otto.†

V. All' incontro il Maresciallo da sua parte domanda l'occupazione militare di Porta Romana alle otto del mattino, l'entrata dell' armata e occupazione della città a mezzogiorno.

VI. Il trasporto degli ammalati et feriti si farà nei due giorni di tappa.

VII. Tutte queste condizioni hanno bisogno di essere accettate dalla parte di Sua Maestà il Rè di Sardegna.

VIII. Sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo domanda la liberazione immediata di tutti i Generali ed ufficiali ed impiegati Austriaci che si trovano a Milan.

San Donato, il 5 Agosto, 1848.

(Firmato)

HESS,

Tenente-Maresciallo, Quartier-Maestro dell' Armata.

PAOLO BASSI,

Podestà di Milano.

Il Luogotenente-Generale,

CONTE SALASCO,

Capo dello Stato Maggiore Generale.

(Translation.)

THE Municipal Body of the city of Milan publishes the Convention concluded between His Sardinian Majesty and his Excellency the Marshal Radetzky.

I. The city shall be spared.

II. So far as depends upon himself, his Excellency the Marshal promises with regard to the past to have every consideration which justice demands.

III. The movement of the Sardinian army shall be effected in two days' march, as was before agreed upon with the Sardinian Generals.*

IV. To all persons who quit the city his Excellency allows the right of departing freely by the Strada di Magenta until the hour of 8 to-morrow evening.†

V. On the other side, the Marshal requires on his part the military occupation of the Porta Romana at 8 o'clock in the morning, and the entrance of the army and occupation of the city at midday.

VI. The transport of the sick and wounded shall be effected in the two days' march.

VII. All these conditions must be accepted on the part of His Majesty the King of Sardinia.

VIII. His Excellency the Marshal demands the immediate liberation of all the Austrian Generals and officers and functionaries who are in Milan.

San Donato, August 5, 1848.

(Signed)

HESS,

Lieutenant-Marshal, Quarter-Master of the Army.

PAOLI BASSI,

Podestà of Milan.

The Lieutenant-General

COUNT SALASCO,

Chief of the General Staff.

* Si allude alla precedente Convenzione che non fu ratificata.

† Sua Maestà, visto il paragrafo 4to della Convenzione 5 Agosto, 1848, garantisce di condurre scortati dalla sua truppa e bene rispettati tutti quelli signori Lombardi, Veneti, emigrati d'ogni specie, e pur quelli che avessero preso parte nel servizio Italiano sino al luogo che credessero più opportuno ne' suoi Stati.

Il Capo dello Stato Maggiore,

(Segnato)

SALASCO.

(Translation.)

* Alluding to the preceding Convention, which was not ratified.

† His Majesty, on view of the fourth paragraph of the Convention of August 5, 1848, guarantees the safe-conduct of his troops and the good treatment of all the Lombard and Venetian gentlemen and emigrants of every sort, even of those who may have taken part in the Italian service, as far as the place they may think fit in his States.

The Chief of the Staff,

(Signed)

SALASCO.

Inclosure 4 in No. 564.

2.—*Convention between the Sardinian and Austrian Armies.*

Convention et Armistice entre les Armées Sarde et Autrichienne comme prélude des négociations pour un traité de paix.

Art. I. La ligne de démarcation entre les deux armées sera la frontière même des Etats respectifs.

II. Les forteresses de Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo et Osopo seront évacuées par les troupes Sardes et alliées et remises à celles de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale; la remise de chacune de ces places aura lieu trois jours après la notification de la présente Convention.

Dans ces places tout le matériel de dotation appartenant à l'Autriche sera rendu. Les troupes sortantes amèneront avec elles tout leur matériel, armes, munitions et effets d'habillement introduits, et rentreront par étapes régulières et le chemin le plus court dans les Etats de Sa Majesté Sarde.

III. Les Etats de Modène, de Parme, et la ville de Plaisance avec le rayon de territoire qui lui est assigné comme place de guerre, seront évacués par les troupes de Sa Majesté le Roi trois jours après notification de la présente.

IV. Cette Convention s'étendra également à la ville de Venise et à la terre ferme Vénitienne; les forces militaires de terre et de mer Sardes quitteront la ville, les forts, et les ports de cette place pour rentrer dans les Etats Sardes. Les troupes de terre pourront effectuer leur retraite par terre et par étapes sur une route à convenir.

V. Les personnes et les propriétés dans les lieux précités sont mises sous la protection du Gouvernement Impérial.

VI. Cet Armistice durera pendant six semaines pour donner cours aux négociations de paix, et ce terme expiré, sera ou prolongé de commun accord, ou dénoncé huit jours avant la reprise des hostilités.

VII. Des Commissaires seront nommés respectivement pour l'exécution plus facile et amiable des articles ci-dessus.

Quartier-Général, Milan, 9 Août, 1848.

(Signé)

SALASCO.

HESS.

(Translation.)

Convention for an Armistice between the Sardinian and Austrian Armies, to serve as prelude to negotiations for a treaty of peace.

Art. I. The line of demarcation between the two armies shall be the frontier line of the respective countries.

II. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo, shall be evacuated by the Sardinian troops and their allies, and made over to the troops of His Imperial Majesty; the surrender of each of these places shall take place three days after this Convention shall be made known.

In those places all the *matériel de dotation* belonging to Austria shall be delivered up; the evacuating troops shall carry away with them all their *matériel*, arms, munitions, and clothes which they may have brought thither, and shall re-enter the States of His Sardinian Majesty by regular stages and the shortest route.

III. The States of Modena, Parma, and the city of Piacenza, with the portion of territory assigned to it as a *place de guerre*, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, three days after this Convention shall be made known.

IV. This Convention shall be equally applicable to the city of Venice and its continental territory; the Sardinian land and sea forces shall quit the city, forts and ports thereof, in order to return to the Sardinian territory. The land forces shall be at liberty to effect their retreat by land and by stages on a route hereafter to be agreed on.

V. Persons and properties in the above-mentioned places shall be placed under the protection of the Imperial Government.

VI. This Armistice shall last for six weeks, so as to afford time for the negotiations for peace, and when that term shall have expired, it shall be pro-

longed by common agreement, or notice of its expiration given eight days before the resumption of hostilities.

VII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective Parties to provide for the most easy and amicable execution of the Articles above stated.

Head-Quarters, Milan, August 9, 1848.

(Signed) SALASCO. HESS.

Inclosure 5 in No. 564.

3.—*Imperial Manifesto of September 20, to the Lombards.*

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 432.]

Inclosure 6 in No. 564.

4.—*Proclamation of Marshal Radetzky.*

DACCHE col valore della mie truppe ho rese queste provincie del Regno Lombardo-Veneto al legittimo loro Sovrano, fu mia cura principale di ristabilire l'ordine in modo, che colla sicurezza delle persone e delle proprietà avesse a ripristinarsi la pubblica confidenza, fosse riattivato il commercio, e le famiglie godessero di quella quiete che ha sempre mantenuta e assicurata il Governo di Sua Maestà il nostro Imperatore e Rè per tanta serie d'anni.

Non meno però è mio dovere di ottenere l'indennizzazione dei gravi danni pubblici e privati sofferti a cagione della Rivoluzione e della guerra, delle quali furono cause i più attivi promotori della prima, non che coloro che colla loro opera e mezzi vi hanno contribuito, tanto più che molti di loro non curandosi del perdono che Sua Maestà nella mai mancabile sua clemenza si è degnata di concedere ai rebelli suoi sudditi, perseverano a rimanere all'estero, impiegando colà i prodotti di questo paese ad altre mene rivoluzionarie, e spingendo le classi degli operj e giornalieri di queste provincie a languore ed alla misera, per la quale deve essere pur mia cura di provvedere.

Avuto riflesso che i dettami dell'umanità, del diritto e dell'equità portano che l'innocente non abbia soffrire insieme al colpevole, che il sedotto abbia trattamento più mite del seduttore, ed in ispecie che l'onesto commerciante, il pacifico artiziano, il contadino e il giornaliero, i quali generalmente, non per spontaneo impulso, ma piuttosto cedendo accamente alla forza delle circostanze, presero parte nei torbidi politici, abbiano ad essere trattati con ogni possibile riguardo;

Ho determinato che debbono essere sottoposti a contribuzione straordinaria:

1. I membri dei cessati Governi Provvisorj;
2. Quelli che ebbero parte precipua nei varj così detti Comitati;
3. Coloro che si sono posti alla testa della Rivoluzione, o vi hanno concorso colla loro opera o coi loro mezzi materiali o intellettuali.

La quota della contribuzione verrà indicata nella rispettiva diffidazione che sarà intimata a ciascuno degli individui ed al loro domicilio ordinario che hanno, o che avevano al 18 Marzo prossimo passato, e dovrà essere pagata alla rispettiva cassa di guerra nel termine di sei settimane decorribili dall'intimazione di detta diffida.

Trascorso questo termine, le sostanze del tassato verranno sottoposte a sequestrazione ed a curatore col mezzo il più opportuno, onde coi redditi delle sostanze, e colla vendita e ricevo di quest'ultime ottenere il pagamento della tassa inflitta, e tali sostenze si ritengono anche quelle che ciascun contribuente aveva sotto l'epoca 18 Marzo prossimo passato, senza alcun riguardo ad alienazioni ad obblighi alle stesse, e che fossero avvenuti d'allora in poi.

Colle contribuzioni verrà, seguitone il pagamento, provveduto al soccorso dei bisognosi nel modo e nella quantità che verranno in seguito determinati.

Milano, 11 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato) RADEZKY, *Feld-Maresciallo.*

(Translation.)

SINCE by the valour of my soldiers I have restored these provinces of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom to their legitimate Sovereign, it has been my chief care to establish order, so that by the security of person and property public confidence should be resumed, trade should be revived, and families should be in the enjoyment of that tranquillity which the Government of His Majesty our Emperor and King has always maintained and secured in so long a course of years.

But it is not less my duty to obtain an indemnification for the serious public and private injuries resulting from the revolution and war, which were caused by the most active promoters of the former, as well as by those who by their aid and means have contributed to the same; and so much the more as many of them, paying no attention to the pardon which His Majesty in his inexhaustible clemency has vouchsafed to grant to his rebellious subjects, continue to remain abroad, employing there the productions of this country in other revolutionary acts, and bringing the class of workmen and labourers of these provinces to distress and misery, against which it must be my care to provide.

Having reflected that the dictates of humanity, justice, and equity demand that the innocent shall not suffer with the guilty, that the deceived shall be treated with greater mildness than the deceiver, and particularly that the honest trader, the peaceful artizan, the countryman, and the labourer, who generally, not of their own impulse but by a blind concession to the force of circumstances, bore a part in the political disturbances, should be treated with every possible consideration;

I have resolved that extraordinary contributions shall be demanded from

1. The members of the late Provisional Governments;
2. Those who took a principal part in the several so-called Comitati;
3. Those who have placed themselves at the head of the Revolution, or who have aided in it by their acts or with their material or intellectual means.

The amount of contribution shall be stated in the respective calls which shall be intimated to each of the individuals at their usual dwelling where they now reside or did reside on the 18th day of March last, and shall be paid to the respective military chest within the term of six weeks reckoning from the delivery of the said summons.

At the expiration of the above term the goods of the party called upon shall be placed under sequestration and guardianship in the most ready way, in order that from the profits of the goods and the sale and produce of the same, payment may be made of the amount assessed; and those goods also shall be seized which each contributor possessed on the 18th day of March last, without regard to any alienation of or claim to the same which may date after that period.

From these contributions, when paid, succour shall be given to those in need, in the mode and to the amount which shall be hereafter determined.

Milan, November 11, 1848.

(Signed)

RADETZKY, *Field-Marshal.*

No. 565. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 20, 1848.

I LOSE not a day in transmitting to your Excellency copies of a despatch* and its inclosures which I have this morning received from Mr. Abercromby, and I have to instruct you immediately to communicate the whole of these papers to the Austrian Government, and to draw their most serious and earnest attention to them. You will represent to the Austrian Government that if Marshal Radetzky had been bound and restrained by no engagements and had been perfectly free to resort to such measures as those announced in his proclamation, yet the moral feeling of mankind, and every

* See No. 564.

sentiment of generosity and justice, would have revolted against a proceeding conceived in the spirit of the most odious oppression, and enunciated by doctrines which belong only to the disciples of Communism, and which are subversive of the very foundations of social order; and it would have been impossible even in that case to suppose that the Austrian Government, when it became acquainted with this proclamation, would have delayed for a single hour to send to Marshal Radetzky the most peremptory orders to cancel an announcement so utterly at variance with the principles upon which the acts of the Government of a great European country ought to be founded.

But the Austrian Government cannot have forgotten, though Marshal Radetzky appears to have done so, the solemn and public engagements entered into in the name and on behalf of the Emperor of Austria by the Capitulation of Milan, by the Armistice between Marshal Radetzky and the Sardinian General, and by the proclamation issued by the Emperor himself, copies of all which documents are annexed to Mr. Abercromby's despatch. I should feel that I was wanting in due respect for the Imperial Government if I was to instruct your Excellency to enter into any argument to prove that the proclamation of Marshal Radetzky is a flagrant and a palpable violation of the engagements contained in those three instruments, because the bare perusal of them and of his proclamation are amply sufficient to prove and establish that fact. I have therefore only to instruct your Excellency to read these four documents to the Austrian Minister, and earnestly to conjure him by his regard for the high character of his country, and for the honour of the Imperial Crown, to lose no time in taking the necessary steps to prevent Marshal Radetzky from carrying his iniquitous intentions into execution.

Your Excellency will say that I cannot doubt that the Austrian Government will receive a similar communication from the French Government as the other mediating Power, but I felt the case to be so urgent and the matter itself to be of such serious moment that I would not delay for the purpose of previous communication with the French Government, the sending you these instructions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 566.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 21.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 20, 1848.

M. RIOCI called on me this morning to state his apprehension that the recent decree of Marshal Radetzky against the property of the Milanese engaged in the late Lombard Revolution would cause the greatest excitement in Piedmont and increase the violence of the war party; many of the persons on whom confiscation is inflicted being at this moment members of the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies.

It does seem most strange that Marshal Radetzky should, by M. Ricci's account, have taken upon himself to annul, as illegal, all private contracts for transfer of property which had been executed since March last, when these purely administrative acts were performed under the sanction of that which Baron Wessenberg himself acknowledged as a Government *de facto*, when he addressed its President, Count Casati, on the part of the Imperial Government, and offered to treat with him on the basis of the independence of Lombardy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 567.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmertson.—(Received November 21.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 20, 1848.

I HAVE just seen M. Bastide on his return from the country, and have only time before the departure of the courier to add that he had just received a telegraphic message saying that M. Rossi, the President of the Council at Rome,

had been stabbed in the neck. The telegraphic message did not give any details either as to the danger of the wound or the character of the attempt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 568. ~~X~~

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Buchanan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 21, 1848.

WITH reference to your conversation with Count Nesselrode, reported in your despatch of the 31st ultimo, I inclose for your information copies of several despatches from the British Vice-Consul at Milan,* giving an account of the feeling as regards connexion with Austria, which is manifested throughout Lombardy; and a copy of a despatch† which I have addressed to Viscount Ponsonby, directing him to point out to the Austrian Cabinet the hopelessness under such a state of things, of Lombardy becoming either a secure or useful possession of the Austrian Crown.

In the further despatch of Mr. Vice-Consul Campbell, of which a copy is inclosed,‡ you will find a translation of a proclamation issued by Marshal Radetzky on the 11th instant, directing extraordinary contributions to be levied on certain classes of persons implicated in the late transactions in Lombardy; and I also inclose a copy of a despatch§ which I have received from Mr. Abercromby on the same subject.

With reference to this proclamation by Marshal Radetzky, I transmit to you a despatch|| which I received about ten days ago from Viscount Ponsonby, intimating an opinion that the Austrian Government might have recourse to some measure of confiscation affecting the landed property of absent persons; and a copy of a despatch¶ which I addressed to his Excellency in reply.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 569. ~~X~~

Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir

Foreign Office, November 21, 1848.

I HAVE to instruct you to take an opportunity of representing to the persons who prepared and published the proclamation of which a copy was inclosed in your despatch of the 2nd instant, that their cause must be much injured in the public opinion of Europe by these exhortations to the inhabitants of the mainland to have recourse to poison and other similarly cowardly means to get rid of the Austrians.

Such practices, even if ever deemed allowable in any barbarous age, which may well be doubted, are now repudiated and considered abominable by the whole civilized world; and although it is probable that the natural and innate good feeling of the people to whom these proclamations are addressed would prevent them from acting upon these recommendations, yet the discredit of having advised such measures will still weigh heavily against the persons now in authority at Venice.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 570. ~~X~~

Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 21, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th of October last, stating that the Venetian Government had published a decree for the formation of an

* No. 487, 506, 535. † No. 548. ‡ No. 562. § No. 564. || No. 547. ¶ No. 555.

Hungarian legion; and I have to instruct you to use your endeavours to dissuade the Venetian Government from proceedings of this kind, which can tend only to irritate unnecessarily the Government of Austria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 571. X

Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 21, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th ultimo, reporting the result of the sally which the Venetian Government had sent against the Austrian troops which occupied Cavallino and Mestre on the mainland; and I have to instruct you strongly to urge the Provisional Government of Venice to abstain from any such attacks upon the Austrians; as such proceedings can only tend to draw down upon Venice a formidable assault which the Venetians will be unable to resist; and such proceedings moreover on the part of Venice are a flagrant breach of the Armistice, and as that Armistice was the only ground upon which the mediating Powers could be entitled to urge the Austrian Government to abstain from assaulting the city of Venice, Her Majesty's Government could not make any representation at Vienna against an attack upon Venice, which might be provoked by previous attacks made by the Venetians upon the Austrian troops.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 572.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 21.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 15, 1848.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions of the 25th ultimo, I communicated to Baron Wessenberg "Instructions aux Lombards." His Excellency expressed his opinion that they ought to be made public, not knowing I presume that they had been caused by General Welden to be translated into German and distributed to the Austrian troops in Italy, accompanied with the remark "that they would see what sort of enemies they had, and would act accordingly."

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 573.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

My Lord,

Admiralty, November 22, 1848.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send your Lordship herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter dated the 4th instant, from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, and of its inclosures, relative to a charge made by the Neapolitan Government of arms and gunpowder having been landed from Her Majesty's ships at Naples.

My Lords are sure that Lord Palmerston will join with them in an entire concurrence with the views and proceedings of Sir William Parker in this matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 573.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Hibernia," Naples, November 4, 1848.

I BEG you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the accompanying copies of communications which I have received from Lord Napier, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, and my reply thereto, on the subject of a representation made by his Excellency the Prince of Cariati, tending to implicate Her Majesty's squadron in a charge of landing arms and gunpowder at Naples about a month ago.

2. It is unnecessary for me to assure their Lordships that there does not appear to be the shadow of a complaint as regards Her Majesty's ships, and I do not believe that any supplies of the nature described in Prince Cariati's note have been landed from the merchant-vessels of any country.

3. I did hear, as a mere report, two or three weeks ago, that a few pounds of gunpowder, which was pretended to be English, had been landed from some ship in the bay about that time; but I incline to the belief that if any was so sent ashore, it was smuggled from some of the Neapolitan vessels of war on their return from the Sicilian expedition.

4. The whole story as affecting Her Majesty's squadron is altogether groundless, and I can only consider it as an artful fabrication emanating from an angry feeling.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 573.

Lord Napier to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

Sir,

Naples, November 2, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Excellency's information, copy of a note which I have received from his Excellency the Prince of Cariati, stating that arms were landed at the Mergellina about a month ago from foreign vessels anchored on the roads of Naples.

His Excellency asserts moreover that those arms were conveyed to the Legations of Great Britain and France in closed carriages, which afterwards left the same carrying officers inside and taking an unknown direction.

Repeated disembarkations of arms it is related subsequently took place at the same spot, and his Excellency adds a tale about a cask of English powder.

It is not directly alleged that the boats employed on the business were those of Her Majesty's squadron, but the mention of officers, of English gunpowder, the invocation of your authority, and the fact that no other foreign vessels save ships of war are in the habit of anchoring in the roads, sufficiently indicate the quarter to which the insinuations of the Neapolitan Minister are meant to point.

I have also the honour to impart to your Excellency herewith the reply which I have addressed to the Prince of Cariati.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 573.

Prince Cariati to Lord Napier.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 1, 1848.

IT appears from information received at the office of the Minister of the Interior, that about a month ago arms were landed at the Mergellina from foreign ships anchored in these roads, and were afterwards carried to the English and French Legations in closed carriages, which came out shortly

afterwards with officers inside and took an unknown direction. Other arms were also landed at the Mergellina by the boats of the same ships, where repeatedly and always at about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening a carriage has arrived containing four persons in the dress of sportsmen who received them.

From the same ships also, by means of fishing-boats, a cantar of English powder was landed and introduced into this capital.

The Undersigned is perfectly convinced that these facts are unknown to Lord Napier as well as to the Admiral commanding the fleet of his nation, but in the interest of order and public tranquillity it is his duty to beg the Chargé d'Affaires and the Admiral to take the most energetic measures to prevent their recurrence.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PRINCE OF CARIATI.

Inclosure 4 in No. 573.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati.

Naples, November 2, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from his Excellency the Prince of Cariati, &c., under date of the 1st instant.

In that communication the Prince of Cariati has acquainted the Undersigned that the Neapolitan Government have received intelligence to the following effect.

About a month ago arms were disembarked at the Mergellina from boats belonging to foreign vessels anchored in the roads of Naples; those arms were transported to the British and French Legations in closed carriages, which shortly afterwards left the above-mentioned Legations with officers inside and took an unknown direction.

On several occasions subsequently the disembarkation of arms was renewed from boats belonging to the same vessels, and those arms were received by four persons in the dress of sportsmen, who repaired to the spot repeatedly between 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening in a carriage.

From the same ship a barrel of English gunpowder has been landed by fishing-boats and carried into the city.

Finally, the Undersigned and the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces are requested to take measures to prevent the recurrence of such acts in the interest of public tranquillity.

The Undersigned having made the proper inquiries has the satisfaction of acquainting his Excellency the Prince of Cariati that he has every reason to believe the information brought to the Neapolitan Government on this subject is as far as concerns Her Majesty's Legation totally unfounded.

No arms, the Undersigned is assured, have at any time been introduced into the residence of Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy, and none have been carried away from it by officers or any other persons whatever; Prince Cariati may consequently calm his apprehensions in regard to the past, and no additional precautions it is be hoped will prove necessary on the part of the Undersigned, as there is not the slightest ground of alarm for the future.

The Undersigned will hasten to impart the allegations of the Neapolitan Government to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, who will in all probability be enabled to dispel the impressions of the Neapolitan authorities as to any share which may be ascribed to the force under his command in these mysterious transactions.

The Undersigned would now gladly dismiss the subject as an idle rumour or a malignant invention unworthy of notice, circulated to the prejudice of Her Britannic Majesty's Legation by interested parties; but the official form in which Prince Cariati has thought fit to clothe this communication renders it imperative on the Undersigned to request from his Excellency a more particular disclosure of the sources from which such reports have proceeded. The state-

ment contained in Prince Cariati's note in its present shape would not impose upon the simplest credulity.

About a month ago arms were disembarked and carried to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation by night. Who was the spectator of the occurrence? Did he inform the authorities at the time and in the vicinity? Why was not the carriage stopped and the cargo seized, and why is not the fact reported to the Undersigned until a month has elapsed?

But arms were repeatedly landed and received at the same hour by the same persons at the same spot. Were those persons arrested? If not, what are the police authorities about? If so, and if there be reason to believe the British squadron or British subjects implicated in such a breach of the laws, why does Her Britannic Majesty's Legation now hear of it for the first time.

Such a long indulgence of unlawful acts or such inexplicable delay in imparting them to Her Majesty's Legation is certainly calculated to discredit deeply the statement which has been sanctioned by the signature of his Excellency the Prince of Cariati, unless that statement can be reproduced in a far more authenticated manner.

Again there was a barrel of English powder. Was that powder captured? In whose possession was it found? From whence did he bring it, and for whom was it designed? When was that seizure effected, and why are not these details furnished to the Undersigned in support of imputations so dark and unprecedented? Prince Cariati has of course declared that the Undersigned was entirely ignorant of the plot of which it seems intended to make this house the centre, but the Undersigned must point out to his Excellency that the reputation of Her Britannic Majesty's Legation is still deeply involved by his assertion. The honour of the locality, that of the subordinate members of the Mission and of the household is at stake. Those assertions must consequently either be verified by the exhibition of the minutest evidence which may enable the Undersigned to discover the guilty parties, or they must be frankly disclaimed by the Neapolitan Government, and the authors of the slander must be brought to punishment.

Her Britannic Majesty's Legation is stated to have been the resort of conspirators and a place for the unlawful deposit and distribution of arms. A charge so disgraceful cannot surely have been ventured by a friendly Government without a deep conviction of its truth, founded on a patient consideration of proofs of a most specious character, though the Undersigned cannot for a moment doubt that on a closer scrutiny they will prove to be artful and fallacious.

The Undersigned will therefore beg his Excellency the Prince of Cariati to transmit to him for the better elucidation of this affair and for the information of his Government, copies of the depositions which have been made to the police authorities or elsewhere regarding the alleged events, with a specification of the names and quality of the informants, and the dates of the occurrences related by them, and generally of all the documents and indications upon which his Excellency's note has been based.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure 5 in No. 573.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to Lord Napier.

My Lord,

"*Hibernia*," Naples, November 3, 1848.

I HAVE received with a degree of surprise which I can scarcely express your Lordship's letter of yesterday, inclosing the copy of a note from the Prince Cariati, implicating Her Majesty's squadron under my command in a suspicion at least of having been concerned in landing arms and gunpowder at Mergellina about a month ago. Her Majesty's ships have never been supplied with more arms or gunpowder than are absolutely necessary for their own defence, consequently they have had none to spare even if they had been disposed to act the

discreditable part of which they are suspected; and I cannot but feel indignant that the Neapolitan Government could for a moment believe it possible that any officer in the British squadron could be capable of participating in a clandestine transaction so contrary to the views of their own Government and the neutral position which Her Majesty's naval forces have throughout honourably observed.

Your Lordship has so ably remarked on the extraordinary delay in the communication made by the Prince Cariati and the whole nature of the allegations transmitted by his Excellency, that it is unnecessary for me to add a single observation thereon.

The whole proceeding, as narrated in the inclosures to your Lordship's letter, bears so strongly the stamp of improbability and fallacy as to deserve only the flattest contradiction, which on the part of the British squadron I shall not hesitate here to bestow on it; but I must join your Lordship in the urgent request that proof may be without delay afforded for sifting this strange charge to the bottom.

If a single officer in the British squadron of high or low degree can by possibility have committed himself by an act of the nature described by the Prince Cariati, it must either be in direct violation of the existing orders for the conduct of Her Majesty's officers and men, or in the commission of a positive fraud and embezzlement of the Queen's stores, which would make me equally desirous of convicting such offenders under the severest penalties which our naval code would subject them to.

I therefore intreat, if it be possible, that some of the officers of the navy may be favoured with a sight of the barrel which contained the gunpowder supposed to have been conveyed on shore, of which a glance would at once satisfy an experienced eye whether it had ever belonged to the Queen's stores.

Her Majesty's squadron does not require darkness to cover its deeds, whatever line it may adopt will be openly and candidly avowed.

I have caused an inspection to be made of all the arms on each ship, and find none missing from the number which they had on board when they left Malta, and assuredly they have received none since from any quarter; I should therefore blush to issue an order for the prevention of unlawful transactions which I feel certain has never been attempted, and against which the high honour and discipline of the officers which I have the honour to command is the best security.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. PARKER.

No. 574.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a list of the names of such of the individuals as have as yet received notice of the amount of the fine imposed upon each of them by the decree recently promulgated at Milan by Field-Marshal Radetzky on the 11th instant.

This list gives also the sum for which each individual has been fined, and your Lordship will see that already nearly seven millions and a half of Austrian livres have been required to be paid into the Austrian military chest at Milan on or before the 23rd December of this year, under penalty of sequestration or confiscation of the property and estates of the individuals, as the Marshal may decide.

The list of sufferers as herein transmitted does not I am afraid comprise the whole number of those who will be brought within the action of this arbitrary decree, and I shall not fail to forward the names of the remainder of the fined, together with the amount of their fines, as I may be able to procure them.

Your Lordship will perceive by the accompanying list that neither minors

nor females are exempted from the operation of this political vengeance of Field-Marshal Radetzky.

I likewise inclose herewith copy and translation of the form of notice served upon these political sufferers by the Austrian authorities, intimating the amount of the fine to be levied upon each, and your Lordship will no doubt remark that in this document the fines are designated under the title of "war taxes."

It is however to be observed that the declaration made in these notices, that in the event of non-payment of the fines imposed, the penalties awarded by Field-Marshal Radetzky's decree of the 11th instant will be carried into effect, completely does away with the pretension to consider these exactions as "war taxes," and brings them, notwithstanding the general and comprehensive act of the Emperor of Austria, granting "full pardon to all the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom without distinction, for the part they may have taken in the political events of the current year," within the operation of the measure of political punishment decreed by the Austrian Commander-in-chief at Milan.

It is also worthy of remark that these fines are not said to be levied under the provisions of any existing law regulating the classes or proportions in which such classes are to be taxed, but the selection of the individuals to be fined and the amount of their fines is arbitrarily made by the Marshal and the Austrian authorities at Milan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 574.

List of persons fined by Marshal Radetzky.

NOTA dei Tassati a termini del Proclama 11 Novembre, 1848, del Maresciallo Radetzky, noti al Municipio fino al 15 dello stesso mese:

	Austriache L.		Austriache L.
Litta, Duca Antonio -	800,000	Cusani, Botta Adorno M.	
Litta, Conte Giulio -	800,000	Clementina (moglie) -	100,000
Borromeo, Conte Vitaliano -	400,000	Greppi, Conte Antonio -	80,000
Borromeo, Conte Renato -	200,000	Greppi, Marco -	80,000
Borromeo, Conte Federico -	200,000	Greppi, Giuseppe -	80,000
Visconti, Duca -	800,000	Greppi, Paolo (minore) -	80,000
Ali Ponzzone, Marchese -	800,000	Mellerio Eredità -	400,000
Poldi, Pezzoli -	600,000	Tealdo -	80,000
Casati, Conte -	300,000	Principe Pio -	200,000
Manara -	120,000	Isimbardi famiglia -	500,000
Kramer, Berra -	40,000	Perego -	100,000
Traversi, Avvocato -	500,000		
Cusani, Marchese Francesco	100,000		
			Austriache L. 7,440,000

(Translation.)

STATEMENT of Persons fined under the terms of Marshal Radetzky's Proclamation of November 11, 1848, as known to the Municipality up to the 15th of that month.

(Names as above.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 574.

Form of Notice served on parties to be fined.

Al Signor _____

Milano, 11 Novembre, 1848.

FRA i tassati per l'imposta di guerra ella è compresa per la somma di L. Austriache _____

Le viene ingiunto di eseguire il pagamento della somma medesima nel termine fissato dal Proclama 11 Novembre, 1848, di sua Eccellenza il Comandante in capo Feld-Maresciallo Conte Radetzky, sotto le comminatorie ivi espresse, il quale termine comincia col giorno che viene comunicato il presente ordine al di lei domicilio ordinario, intimazione per la quale si presterà fede al commesso delegato ad eseguirla.

Il pagamento deve eseguirsi alla cassa di guerra in Milano, Contrada di Brera, I. R. Comando Militare.

L' I. R. Gov. Militare della città di Milano,
(Firmato) WIMPFEN.

Intimato il giorno _____ Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato) Il Commesso Delegato,
VERONA CURSORE.

(Translation.)

To _____

Milan, November 11, 1848.

YOU are included in the list of those that are to contribute to the war tax for the sum of _____ Austrian livres.

You will pay the above sum within the term fixed by the Proclamation published on the 11th November, 1848, by his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, Commander-in-chief, under the penalties expressed therein; the above term begins on the day of the communication to you of the present order at your ordinary residence, and the intimation will be certified to the delegate charged with its execution.

Payment to be made into the military chest at Milan, Contrada di Brera, at the Imperial and Royal Commander-in-chief's office.

The Imperial and Royal Military Governor of Milan,
(Signed) WIMPFEN.

Intimated on the _____ day of November, 1848.

(Signed) The Deputy Delegate,
VERONA CURSORE.

No. 575.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 9, 1848.

THE French war-steamer "Asmodée," commanded by M. de Ricaudy, returned here from Trieste and the Mediterranean on the 6th instant.

The Sardinian squadron under Admiral Albini still remains here. The steamers and smaller vessels whose draught of water admits of it have come into the harbour, the others remain outside.

The news of the occupation of Vienna by the troops under Prince Windischgrätz has greatly damped the spirits of the Venetians.

The Provisional Government here contemplates a further issue of paper money to the amount of 12,000,000 livres (about 400,000*l.*), as security for which it is intended to impose an additional tax upon all the houses in Venice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 576.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, that Admiral Albini with the frigates and corvettes of his

squadron got under weigh yesterday, with the intention it is said of returning to Ancona. The steamers and the brig belonging to the Sardinian squadron are still in this port.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 577.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 23.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, November 17, 1848.

I HAD the honour to acquaint your Lordship with my having sent Mr. Samuel to Olmütz with instructions for making in my name a communication to his Excellency the Baron Wessenberg, and I have now the honour to inclose Mr. Samuel's reports to me of his execution of my instructions and of the reply made by Baron Wessenberg.

Inclosure 1 in No. 577.

Mr. Samuel to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Olmütz, November 9, 1848.

IN accordance with your Excellency's instructions, I acquainted Baron Wessenberg that Viscount Palmerston regretted the return of the Sardinian squadron to Venice, and also that Viscount Palmerston considered all acts of hostility by any Power as in contradiction to the spirit of the mediation.

His Excellency replied that Austria had not in any way broken faith with the mediating Powers or with Sardinia, but that Sardinia by every act proved her hostility to Austria and her want of good faith.

His Excellency said that he had this morning received letters from Field-Marshal Radetzky from Milan, informing him that the Sardinian Government refused the conditions offered to Field-Marshal Radetzky through the British and French Ministers at Turin, and on the fulfilment of which the Marshal agreed to restore all the remaining artillery and *matériel de guerre* which he had taken at Peschiera. The conditions were the recall of the Sardinian fleet from Venice and its return to a Sardinian port. Baron Wessenberg continued, "We are desirous to make peace, but the Sardinians do not appear to be so. It seems as if the Sardinian Government were endeavouring to compromise France, and by commencing hostilities to force that Power to come to their aid. What course is left to Austria, should Sardinia break the Armistice?"

I replied that I had no opinion to give on that subject, save that I thought that Austria might trust to the mediating Powers, and that her armies having been elsewhere victorious, no other motive than her wish for peace, and for a speedy settlement of the Italian question could be attributed to her.

His Excellency said, "We wish to settle the question, but Sardinia will not name a Plenipotentiary for that purpose."

I then mentioned to his Excellency the objections entertained by Viscount Palmerston to a congress for the settlement of the affairs of Italy, and especially on account of the desire of the Central Power of Germany to form a part of it, but that if the other Powers considered a general conference would contribute to a satisfactory settlement of the questions now pending, and the maintenance of peace in Europe, Her Majesty's Government would willingly concur in the arrangements necessary for convening such a conference.

Baron Wessenberg said Austria had not expressed any wish for a congress for the settlement of the Italian affairs; and that he saw no immediate objection to the convening a general conference for that purpose.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE SAMUEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 577.

Mr. Samuel to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Olmütz, November 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that in conformity with your Excellency's instructions I showed to Baron Wessenberg this morning the hand-bill addressed to the Lombards, sent to your Excellency in despatch of the 25th October last, and likewise the extracts from the despatches of the British Vice-Consul at Milan to Viscount Palmerston in despatches of the 9th ultimo. Baron Wessenberg said that the hand-bill to the Lombards ought to be published, in order that the world might know with how treacherous a people the Austrians had to deal.

That as regarded the extracts from the British Vice-Consul's despatches, although the accounts received by his Excellency did not agree with them, it was still probable that some of the circumstances alluded to in them were true, but that if they were, they must be regarded as the consequence of the present unsettled state of affairs in Lombardy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE SAMUEL.

No. 578.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a continuation of the list of persons taxed under Field-Marshal Radetzky's decree of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 578.

Further list of persons fined by Marshal Radetzky.

CONTINUAZIONE della nota dei Tassati a termini del Proclama 11 Novembre, 1848, del Maresciallo Radetzky.

	Austriache L.		Austriache L.
Visconti Arese - - -	300,000	Stampa, Soucino - - -	300,000
Verri Borromeo - - -	80,000	Piccinini, Rossari Luigi - - -	80,000
Falcò, Principe Numiares - - -	200,000	Litta, Conte Pompeo - - -	50,000
Belgiojoso, Pompeo - - -	50,000	Principessa Belgiojoso - - -	800,000
Rescalli, Marchese Paolo - - -	800,000	Rocca Saporiti - - -	80,000
Sormani, Conte Alessandro - - -	300,000	Sanseverino, Conte Faustino - - -	50,000
Guicciardi - - -	100,000	Raimondi - - -	600,000
Archinto, Conte - - -	800,000	Guerrieri, Anselmo - - -	100,000
Busca Serbelloni - - -	300,000	Trotti, Conte Antonio - - -	200,000
Camozzi - - -	300,000	Visconti Aimi - - -	200,000
Decio, Consigliere Angelo - - -	300,000	Scotti, Filippo - - -	60,000
Duchessa Litta - - -	60,000	Arnaboldi - - -	500,000
Manara, Carmelita - - -	20,000	Tasca - - -	150,000
Verri, Fulvia Jacopetti - - -	20,000	Darini, Giuseppe - - -	60,000
Beretta, Antonio - - -	50,000	Bertoglio, Bazzetta - - -	60,000
Eredità, Dugnani - - -	200,000	Berra figlio - - -	50,000
Conte Annoni - - -	500,000	Berra madre - - -	20 000
Eredita Fagnani - - -	300,000		

Austriache L. - - - 8,040,000

Amount of first list - - - 7,440,000

Total - - - 15,480,000

(Translation.)

CONTINUATION of the Statement of Persons fined under the terms of Marshal Radetsky's Proclamation of November 11, 1848.

(Names as above.)

No. 597.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 24.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a continuation of the list of persons taxed under Marshal Radetzky's Decree of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 579.

Further list of persons fined.

CONTINUAZIONE della nota dei Tassati a termini del Proclama 11 Novembre, 1848, del Maresciallo Radetzky.

	Austriache L.		Austriache L.
Stampa, Soucino Conte Carlo	100,000	Frapolli - - -	20,000
Vimercati, Cavaliere - -	200,000	Ospitale di Milano - -	400,000
Ercole Durini - - -	20,000	Mauri, Assessore - -	40,000
Taccioli - - -	100,000	Gargantini - - -	200,000
Poggi, Paolo - - -	100,000	Trivulzio, Marchese - -	300,000
Besana, Giuseppe - -	40,000	Ciani, Barone - - -	80,000
Porro, Conte Giulio - -	50,000	Battaglia, Paolo - -	50,000
Arconati, Conte - -	300,000	Gonzaga, Principe - -	100,000
Giulini, Conte - -	60,000	Besana, Felice - -	50,000

Austriache L. 2,210,000

Amount of two former lists 15,480,000

Total - - - 17,690,000

(Translation.)

CONTINUATION of the Statement of Persons fined under the terms of Marshal Radetsky's Proclamation of November 11, 1848.

(Names as above.)

No. 580.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 24.)

My Lord,

Milan, November 17, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a public notice was issued yesterday, calling on these born in the years 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828, for the conscription. They are required to present themselves at the Municipality of this city in the beginning of December next.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 581.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 24.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith in original and translation, a circular which has been addressed by the Tuscan Ministry to the Representatives of Tuscany at the Italian Courts, relative to the necessity of organising a Constituent Assembly for establishing the independence and nationality of Italy.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 581.

Circular of the Tuscan Government to its Representatives at other Italian Courts.

1°. PRIMA della insurrezione Lombarda i Governi Italiani, comechè riformatori e costituzionali, erano sempre informati dal principio del Diritto Divino, e avevano la base della loro legittimità nel Trattato di Vienna.

2°. La insurrezione Lombarda proclamò col fatto il principio della sovranità nazionale, e i Governi Italiani lo accettarono partecipando alla guerra della indipendenza.

3°. Il Governo Piemontese fece di più. Proposta l'aggregazione delle provincie insorte al Piemonte, desiderò che la decisione dipendesse dal voto del popolo, e si aprirono note in cui ciascuno senza eccezione fu chiamato ad emettere la sua opinione. Oltre il principio della sovranità nazionale, fu dunque sanzionato quello dello esercizio di questa sovranità mediante il suffragio universale.

4°. Questi due principii sono per la potente adesione del Principe Sabauda acquistati irrevocabilmente al diritto pubblico Italiano.

5°. La Costituente è l'applicazione degli stessi principii alla edificazione della nationalità. Dobbiamo essere coerenti se vogliamo esser forti, e accettati i benefizj della insurrezione, subirne le conseguenze.

6°. La sola Costituente può dar forza ai Governi, e difenderli contro la esorbitanza delle fazioni.

7°. Una federazione di Stati che non fosse statuita da una vera e propria Costituente nazionale, sarebbe insufficiente. Abbandonato il principio del Diritto Divino che rendeva intangibile la personalità di ciascuno Stato Italiano, qualunque ordinamento si voglia dare alla nazione per acquistare legittimità, ha bisogno

d'essere consentito dalla nazione. Altrimenti il partito Democratico avrebbe il diritto di rifiutargli la propria adesione, e i Governi non potrebbero logicamente pretenderla, senza tentare, con grave pericolo di loro stessi, il ritorno agli antichi principii.

8°. Perchè le conclusioni della Costituente sieno tali che nessun partito comunque contrariato nelle sue intenzioni, possa negar loro l'assentimento, è necessario che la elezione dei Deputati sia fatta in modo da escludere qualunque dubbio intorno alla loro competenza a rappresentare la nazione. Ciò avverrebbe

a. Se fossero eletti solamente dai Principi;

b. Se fossero eletti dai Parlamenti.

9°. Di un Congresso nominato soltanto dai Principi, diranno che sin dalla sua origine non fu ordinato nell'interesse dei popoli.

10°. Un Congresso uscito dai Parlamenti legislativi avrebbe due inconvenienti:

1. I Parlamenti eccederebbero il loro mandato, ordinati, come sono, a far leggi per ciascuno Stato, e non a creare i poteri costituenti della nazione.

2. Il partito Democratico, che dichiara incompleta la Rappresentanza degli Stati come non fondata sul voto universale, tanto più troverebbe questo vizio nella Rappresentanza della nazione.

11°. Il suffragio universale, come fu praticato in Francia, è il solo modo di avere una Costituente nella quale la nazione si senta rappresentata. Questo sistema ha i suoi pericoli, ma sono molto maggiori quelli dell'adottare ogni altro sistema di convocazione.

12°. La Costituente Italiana avrà due stadii: il primo anteriore, il secondo posteriore alla cacciata dello straniero. Tutte le questioni di ordinamento interno della nazione non si dovranno agitare se non che nel suo secondo stadio, poichè alla loro risoluzione è richiesto il voto di tutto il popolo Italiano, gran parte del quale non potrà eleggere i suoi Rappresentanti finchè geme nel dolore della servitù straniera. La Costituente del primo stadio deve occuparsi di tutti i problemi che si riferiscono o direttamente o indirettamente all'acquisto della indipendenza. Essa impedirà quello sparpagliamento di forze che fu la causa principale dell'esito infelice dell'ultima guerra. A tale effetto la Costituente potrà cominciare le sue operazioni appene due Stati Italiani si sieno intesi per iniziarla.

13°. Il Governo del Granduca invita i Governi Italiani a spiegare le loro intenzioni su questi tre punti:

1. Se convengono iniziare la Costituente Italiana per provvedere frattanto ai bisogni della guerra della indipendenza.

2. Se credono che i Deputati debbano essere scelti dal suffragio universale come la Toscana si propone di fare.

3. Se vanno d'accordo che le questioni d'ordinamento interno s'aggior-
nino tutte fino alla cacciata dello straniero senza che alla Costituente iniziatrix
sia vietato preparare gli elementi per la loro più facile soluzione.

Appena avremo ricevuto qualche adesione, procederemo immediatamente alla elezione dei Deputati sulle basi accennate.

14°. Pubblichiamo questa circolare perchè in cose di tanto momento non è permesso conservare il segreto. Se la nostra proposta risponde, come siamo convinti, al bisogno della nazione, conviene che la nazione sappia onde muovono gl'incitamenti, onde gli ostacoli per eseguirla. Noi non l'affidiamo alle armi, ma alla opinione pubblica, e speriamo che quella stessa forza morale la quale spinse i Governi Italiani prima alle Riforme, poi alle Costituzioni, poi alla guerra d'indipendenza, gli spingerà ancora ad una Costituente, solo rimedio contro la guerra civile da cui siamo minacciati.

15°. Ella, Signor Ministro, adopri tutto il suo zelo affinchè questi intendimenti del Governo Toscano sieno accolti favorevolmente dal Governo presso il quale lo rappresenta.

Firenze, li 7 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmati)

G. MONTANELLI.
F. D. GUERRAZZI.
M. D'AYALA.
F. FRANCHINI.
G. MAZZONI.
P. A. ADAMI.

(Translation.)

1. **PRIOR** to the insurrection of Lombardy the Italian Governments, though reformed and constitutional, were always guided by the principle of Divine Right, and the basis of their legitimacy was comprised in the Treaty of Vienna.

2. The insurrection of Lombardy proclaimed in effect the principle of national sovereignty, and the Italian Governments recognized it by taking part in the war of independence.

3. The Piedmontese Government went still farther. When the aggregation of the insurrectionary provinces was proposed to Piedmont, it desired that the decision should depend on the voice of the people, and papers were drawn out in which every man without exception was called on to express his opinion. Besides the principle of national sovereignty, that of the exercise of this sovereignty by means of universal suffrage was thus sanctioned.

4. These two principles are by the powerful adhesion of the Prince of Savoy irrevocably acquired as the basis of national law in Italy.

5. The Constituent is the application of these principles to the formation of nationality. We must be united if we wish to be powerful, and having accepted the benefits of the insurrection we must submit to its consequences.

6. The Constituent alone can give strength to Governments and defend them from the extravagance of parties.

7. A Confederation of States not established by a real and proper national Constituent would be insufficient. Having abandoned the principle of Divine Right which made the personality of each individual Italian State intangible, whatever institution it is desired to give to the nation requires to be approved by the nation, otherwise the Democratical party would have the right to refuse to consent to it, and Governments could not logically exact it without attempting with great danger to themselves a return to the old principles.

8. In order that the decisions of the Constituent be such that no party, however disappointed in its wishes may refuse its assent to them, it is requisite that the election of the Deputies be made in such a manner as to exclude all and whatever doubt respecting their competency to represent the nation. This would be the case—

a. If they were elected by the Princes only;

b. If they were elected by the Parliaments.

9. Of a Congress named by Princes only it will be said that it was not from its very beginning instituted in the interests of the people.

10. A Congress proceeding from Legislative Parliaments would have two inconveniences—

1. The Parliaments would exceed their mandate; appointed as they are to enact laws for each State and not to create the constituent powers of the nation.

2. The Democratical party which declares the representation of the States defective, because not founded on universal suffrage, would feel this defect still more in the representation of the nation.

11. Universal suffrage, as was exercised in France, is the only way to form a Constituent in which the nation can feel itself represented. This system has its dangers; but the danger of adopting any other system of assembly is far greater.

12. The Italian Constituent will be divided into periods; the first prior to, and the second after the expulsion of the enemy. All questions regarding the internal settlement of the nation are only to be discussed in its second period, because for the solution of these the suffrage of all the Italian people is required, great part of whom cannot elect their representatives so long as they groan under the weight of foreign bondage. The Constituent of the first period is to attend to all questions which refer directly or indirectly to the acquisition of independence. It will prevent that dissipation of strength which was the principle cause of the unfortunate issue of the last war. Therefore the Constituent may commence its operations as soon as two Italian States have agreed upon its institution.

13. The Grand Duke's Government invites the other Italian Governments to express their sentiments upon the three following articles:

1. If they agree to initiate the Italian Constituent, to provide in the mean-
time for the exigencies of the war of independence?

2. If they think that the Deputies ought to be chosen by universal suffrage,
as Tuscany proposes to do?

3. If they agree that all questions regarding internal settlement be
adjourned till the expulsion of the enemy, without preventing the Consti-
tuent from preparing elements for the easier development of such questions?

As soon as we shall have received some adhesions we shall immedi-
ately proceed to the election of the Deputies on the above-mentioned basis.

14. We publish this circular because in affairs of so great importance we
are not authorized to maintain secrecy. If our proposition is snited, as we are
convinced it will be, to the wants of the nation, it is but just that the nation know
from whence the impulses have their source, and from whence arise the impe-
diments to its execution. We do not entrust it to arms, but to public
opinion, and we hope that the same moral force which urged the Italian
Governments first to Reforms and then to Constitutions, and last of all
to the war of independence, will urge them also to a Constituent, the only
remedy against the civil war with which we are threatened.

15. You, Signor Minister, will use all your zeal in order that these pro-
posals of the Tuscan Government may be favourably received by the Govern-
ment to which you are its representative.

Florence, November 7, 1848.

(Signed)

G. MONTANELLI.
F. D. GUERRAZZI.
M. D'AYALA.
F. FRANCHINI.
G. MAZZONI.
P. ADAMI.

No. 582.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 24.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 10, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Professor Carlo Pigli
has been appointed Governor of Leghorn.

This nomination has produced much dissatisfaction, as M. Pigli is a
declared Socialist, and on the evening before his nomination he made a most
violent speech against the aristocracy of birth and wealth, which he said must
be sacrificed on the altar of the country.

The political clubs have been re-opened at Florence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 583.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 25.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a note I have
this morning received from his Excellency the Baron de Perron, together
copy of the answer I have returned to it.

I have thought it best to confine my observations on the contents of his
Excellency's note to the fact that if the endeavours of my French colleague and
myself to obtain from Field-Marshal Count Radetzky the restitution of the

portion of Sardinian ordnance and stores still kept at Peschiera have failed, it is owing entirely to the circumstance of the return of the Sardinian naval squadron to Venice, which the Sardinian Ministers had in the interval ordered.

As the other points mentioned in the inclosed Sardinian note are therein submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, I have not considered myself as being called upon to reply to them, and I therefore wait to receive your Lordship's instructions with regard to them.

I take this opportunity however to mention to you that the communication made by the Sardinian Government to that established at Venice when announcing to them that orders had been sent to Admiral Albini to return to Venice, was most clear and explicit upon the point of any renewal of acts of hostility against the Austrian troops by the Venetian Government, declaring positively that as the Sardinian naval squadron was destined only to support the complete execution of the Armistice of the 9th of August, the Sardinian Admiral would at once retire if the Venetians violated that engagement.

I have likewise to add that his Excellency the Baron de Perron informed me that the Sardinian Admiral had been directed to act upon his instructions with regard to making reprisals for the fishing-boats captured from the Venetians by the Austrian squadron only upon an understanding being entered into by the Venetian Government that they were willing to adopt and faithfully execute the Armistice signed at Milan on the 9th of August of this year.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 583.

The Baron de Perron to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, le 14 Novembre, 1848.

DEPUIS la conclusion du déplorable Armistice du 9 Août dernier le Gouvernement du Roi s'est vu obligé de recourir à diverses reprises aux bienveillans offices de Messieurs les Ministres Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre et de France, afin d'obtenir des autorités Autrichiennes l'accomplissement des conditions du dit Armistice, que ces autorités ont toujours cherché à violer et à éluder sous des prétextes spécieux ou évidemment injustes.

Le refus prolongé de restituer le parc de Peschiera ;

L'engagement pris et méconnu bientôt après, de rendre moins dures les exactions dont sont frappés les Duchés de Parme et de Plaisance ;

Ces faits ont assez démontré que les Autrichiens mettent à ne pas accomplir les clauses de l'Armistice autant d'obstination et de mauvaise volonté que de notre part nous avons mis de loyauté à les exécuter.

En effet aucune satisfaction ne nous a été donnée.

Une partie de notre parc de siège est encore à Peschiera, et les autorités Impériales continuent à exercer toutes sortes d'exactions tant à Parme qu'à Plaisance et à Modène.

Aussi ce malheureux pays est dans l'impossibilité de supporter la charge des impôts dont on l'accable.

Et les populations de la partie de ces duchés occupée par les troupes Autrichiennes sont livrées au caprice d'un Gouvernement militaire, oppressif et illégal ; vrai système tyrannique, soit en raison des dépenses intolérables dont il frappe le pays, soit en raison du pouvoir arbitraire qu'il y exerce.

C'est par un devoir d'humanité, par un sentiment de justice, et par le droit que lui assure l'Armistice du 9 Août, que le Gouvernement du Roi proteste de la manière la plus formelle contre cet abus énorme de la force, qui est en violation manifeste avec les stipulations du dit Armistice.

Mais là ne se bornent pas les griefs des autorités Autrichiennes.

Une capitulation formelle à laquelle a été subordonnée l'évacuation de Milan a garanti la vie et les propriétés des habitans de cette ville.

Depuis, par décret du 20 Septembre, publié à Milan le 9 Octobre, Sa

Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche a accordé une amnistie à ceux qui avaient pris part aux événemens de la Lombardie.

Malgré ces garanties, malgré la parole de l'Empereur, le Maréchal Radetzky, foulant aux pieds les traités conclus avec nous, violant les droits des gens les plus sacrés, sans égard à ceux acquis par les ventes et les achats, sans respect pour l'acte souverain du Gouvernement Impérial publié dans toute l'Europe, frappe en masse de spoliation et de confiscation rétroactive (qu'il déguise sous le nom de contribution extraordinaire), toute personne compromise en Mars dernier, ne fût-ce que d'une manière intellectuelle.

Dans ce décret stupidement despotique, dont l'injustice et la déraison égalent l'immoralité dans le choix des moyens, M. le Maréchal, empruntant au Socialisme le plus démagogique de ses procédés, excite les prolétaires à la haine contre les personnes aisées.

Une telle conduite de la part d'un Feld-Maréchal, qui déjà avait fait exécuter des sentences de mort rendue sur des indices sans que le Cabinet de Vienne, que nous sachions, y ait trouvé à redire, ne peut être regardé que comme l'expression des sentimens du Gouvernement Impérial, s'il ne s'empresse d'arrêter l'exécution de telles iniquités et de désavouer hautement la conduite immorale et inqualifiable de son Général-en-chef en Italie.

La raison se refuse d'admettre que le Gouvernement Impérial peu de jours après avoir accordé publiquement une amnistie, veuille, parjurant sa parole, assumer sur lui la responsabilité des assassinats juridiques qui ensanglantent la Lombardie, et des mesures subversives qui viennent d'y être ordonnées.

Quoiqu'il en soit, il est du devoir du Gouvernement du Roi de protester de toutes ses forces contre les actes et la conduite du Maréchal Radetzky en Italie, conduite qui viole la foi donnée, le droit des gens, et celui de la justice, actes dont il serait difficile de trouver des exemples dans les fastes des peuples civilisés.

Le Gouvernement du Roi doit encore protester contre l'inouïe manière d'agir de la flotte Autrichienne dans l'Adriatique; la Marine Impériale ne cessant encore aujourd'hui, malgré les représentations des Puissances médiatrices et la présence de notre flotte à Venise, de commettre à chaque instant des actes d'hostilité inutiles et brutaux contre les pauvres et inoffensifs pêcheurs Vénitiens.

Aussi nous nous sommes vus obligés à notre grand regret d'ordonner à la flotte royale d'user de représailles, pour mettre un terme à ces agressions sans but, assurer l'exécution de l'Armistice, et fournir aux moyens de dédommager les victimes de ces déprédations journalières.

Du reste le Gouvernement du Roi a recommandé à M. l'Amiral Albini d'avoir dans l'emploi des mesures qu'il sera dans le cas de prendre, tous les ménagemens convenables pour entraver le moins possible le commerce maritime, et de se borner aux moyens coercitifs strictement nécessaires pour contraindre la flotte Autrichienne à restituer les bateaux injustement capturés et empêcher les hostilités, c'est-à-dire, maintenir l'Armistice dans toute sa vigueur envers Venise.

Les lenteurs calculées du Gouvernement Impérial au sujet de la médiation et les actes des commandans de ses forces de terre et de mer en Italie, prouvent malheureusement son intention arrêtée de se jouer de la médiation; et sa manière d'agir démontre trop évidemment qu'il veut nous forcer à faire la guerre.

Trop craintif pour rompre l'Armistice lui-même, il nous y excite par les moyens les plus odieux, les plus contraires au droit des gens.

En Lombardie, je ne saurais trop le répéter, il ruine le pays, il torture et démoralise la population, il dépouille les riches, et fait ses efforts pour exciter l'esprit de bouleversement et de socialisme.

A Venise, ne pouvant saisir sa proie, il assouvit sa haine sur de malheureux pêcheurs qu'il voue à la misère et à la mort en les privant des moyens d'existence, et cela en présence de nos forces navales.

Depuis trois mois le Gouvernement du Roi dans un but de modération et d'humanité, par déférence aux conseils des Puissances médiatrices, et dans l'intérêt du repos de l'Europe, voue tous ses efforts au maintien de la paix; il attend avec confiance le résultat des négociations entamées à ce sujet; mais malheureusement la conduite de l'Autriche lui laisse bien peu d'espoir d'obtenir une paix honorable sans reprendre les hostilités.

Si l'Autriche veut la guerre, la guerre aura lieu; le Gouvernement du Roi ne la craint ni ne la redoute; il la fera avec vigueur et acharnement, s'il le faut.

mais il rejette sur l'aveuglement et l'obstination de son ennemi les conséquences qui en pourront résulter pour l'Allemagne et pour l'Europe.

Quant à la guerre maritime le Gouvernement du Roi croit devoir déclarer dès aujourd'hui aux Hautes Puissances médiatrices, que si elle a lieu il renoncera à la modération dont il a fait preuve jusqu'à ce jour, étant fermement décidé à se servir de tous les moyens qui seront en son pouvoir pour détruire autant qu'il dépendra de lui la marine et le commerce maritime Autrichien.

Le Soussigné, Président du Conseil, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, prie M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique de vouloir bien porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement les circonstances qu'il vient d'exposer ainsi que les protestations et les mesures qu'elles ont dû provoquer de la part du Gouvernement du Roi.

Il compte avec une extrême confiance sur la continuation des bons offices du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, et il espère qu'il approuvera les mesures qu'il prend à regret, mais qui lui sont commandées par le soin qu'il doit prendre de sa propre conservation, de sa dignité, et dans l'intérêt de la cause Italienne.

Le Gouvernement du Roi, en renouvelant ici l'expression de sa vive reconnaissance pour la bienveillante entremise des Hautes Puissances médiatrices, a l'espoir qu'elles accéléreront autant que possible la marche des négociations pour le rétablissement de la paix.

La situation actuelle devenant chaque jour de plus en plus intolérable il est de son devoir de faire connaître à l'Angleterre qu'il lui sera excessivement difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de maintenir le *statu quo* au-delà de quelques semaines.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

BE. DE PERRON.

(Translation.)

Turin, November 14, 1848.

SINCE the conclusion of the deplorable Armistice of the 9th of August last, the King's Government has frequently been compelled to have recourse to the friendly offices of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of England and France, with a view of obtaining from the Austrian authorities the fulfilment of the conditions of the said Armistice, which those authorities have constantly endeavoured to violate and elude under pretexts which are either specious or clearly unjust.

The continued refusal to restore the artillery of Peschiera;

The engagement entered into and soon after neglected, of lightening the exactions with which the Duchies of Parma and of Piacenza are visited;

These facts have sufficiently demonstrated that the Austrians exhibit in the non-fulfilment of the clauses of the Armistice as much obstinacy and unwillingness, as we on our side have shown good faith in the observance of them.

Indeed no satisfaction has been given to us.

A part of our siege-artillery is still at Peschiera, and the Imperial authorities continue to practise all sorts of exactions as well at Parma, as at Piacenza and at Modena.

That unfortunate country, therefore, is utterly incapable of supporting the burthen of the taxes by which it is crushed.

And the inhabitants of the portion of those duchies occupied by the Austrian troops are exposed to the caprice of an oppressive and illegal military government; a really tyrannical system both on account of the intolerable expenses with which it saddles the country, and on account of the arbitrary power which it exercises there.

From regard for the duties of humanity, from a feeling of justice, and in virtue of the right secured to it by the Armistice of the 9th of August, the King's Government protests in the most formal manner against this enormous abuse of power, which is in manifest violation of the stipulations of the said Armistice.

But the grievances against the Austrian authorities are not confined to these.

A formal capitulation, in consequence of which Milan was evacuated, guaranteed the lives and properties of the inhabitants of that city.

Since then, by a decree of the 28th September, published at Milan on the 9th of October, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria granted an amnesty to those who had taken part in the events of Lombardy.

In spite of these guarantees, in spite of the Emperor's word, Marshal Radetzky, trampling under foot the treaties concluded with us, violating the most sacred rights of nations, without respecting rights acquired by sale and purchase, without regard for the sovereign act of the Imperial Government published throughout the whole of Europe, punishes by wholesale with spoliation and retro-active confiscation (which it disguises under the name of extraordinary contribution), all persons compromised in March last, even though it were only in an intellectual sense.

In this stupidly-despotic decree, the injustice and bad reasoning of which equal its immorality in the choice of means, the Marshal, borrowing from Socialism the most demagogic of its notions, excites the workmen against those who are well off.

Such conduct on the part of a Field-Marshal who had already caused the carrying into execution of sentences of death passed upon informations, without, as far as we know, the Cabinet of Vienna having remonstrated against it, can only be regarded as the expression of the feelings of the Imperial Government, unless it hastens to put a stop to the practice of such iniquities, and strongly disavows the immoral and unjustifiable conduct of its Commander-in-chief in Italy.

Reason refuses to admit that the Imperial Government, a few days after having publicly granted an amnesty, should wish, in despite of its word, to take upon itself the responsibility of the judicial assassinations which are staining Lombardy with blood, and of the subversive measures which have just been ordered there.

However this may be, it is the duty of the King's Government to protest with all its might against the acts and conduct of Marshal Radetzky in Italy, a conduct which violates plighted faith, the rights of nations, and the rights of justice; acts of which it would be difficult to find examples in the annals of civilized nations.

The King's Government must also protest against the unprecedented proceedings of the Austrian fleet in the Adriatic, the Imperial navy still continuing at this moment, in spite of the representations of the mediating Powers and the presence of our fleet at Venice, to commit upon all occasions useless and brutal acts of hostility against the poor inoffensive Venetian fishermen.

We are therefore compelled, to our great regret, to direct the Royal fleet to make reprisals, in order to put a stop to those useless attacks, to ensure the observance of the Armistice, and to provide means for compensating the victims of these daily depredations.

However, the King's Government has enjoined Admiral Albini, in the employment of the means which he may find it necessary to use, to pay all suitable attention, so that maritime commerce may be harassed as little as possible, and to confine himself to the coercive measures which may be strictly necessary for compelling the Austrian fleet to restore the boats unjustly captured, and to prevent hostilities; that is to say, to maintain the Armistice in all its force as regards Venice.

The concerted delays of the Imperial Government with respect to the mediation, and the acts of the commanders of its land and sea forces in Italy, unfortunately prove its settled intention to make a mock of the mediation; and its manner of proceeding shows too clearly that it wants to force us to make war.

Too much afraid to break the Armistice itself, it excites us to do so by means the most odious and most opposed to the right of nations.

In Lombardy—I cannot too often repeat it—it ruins the country, tortures and demoralises the population, despoils the rich, and tries all its efforts to excite a spirit of revolution and socialism.

At Venice, not being able to seize upon its prey, it vents its hatred upon unfortunate fishermen, whom it devotes to misery and death by depriving them of the means of existence, and that too in presence of our naval forces.

For the last three months the King's Government, in a spirit of moderation

and humanity, out of deference to the counsels of the mediating Powers, and in the interest of the repose of Europe, devotes all its efforts to the maintenance of peace; it awaits with confidence the result of the negotiations set on foot upon this subject; but unfortunately the conduct of Austria leaves it little hope of obtaining an honourable peace without resuming hostilities.

If Austria wants war, war shall take place; the King's Government neither fears it nor doubts its result; it will wage it with vigour and determination, if necessary, but it throws upon the blindness and the obstinacy of its enemy the consequences which may ensue from it to Germany and to Europe.

As for the maritime war, the King's Government think it right now to declare to the high mediating Powers, that if it should take place, they will renounce the moderation which they have evinced up to the present time, being firmly resolved to employ all the means which they shall have in their power to destroy, as much as depends on them to do so, the Austrian navy and maritime trade.

The Undersigned, President of the Council, Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, begs the Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty to be good enough to bring under the notice of his Government the circumstances which he has just stated, as well as the protests and measures which they have necessarily called forth on the part of the King's Government.

He relies with full confidence upon the continuance of the good offices of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and he hopes that it will approve of the measures which it adopts with regret, but which are required by the care which it ought to take for its own preservation and for its dignity, and in the interest of the Italian cause.

The King's Government, while now repeating the expression of its lively gratitude for the friendly interposition of the high mediating Powers, entertains a hope that they will accelerate as much as possible the progress of the negotiations for the re-establishment of peace.

The present situation of things becoming every day more and more intolerable, it is the duty of the King's Government to let England know that it will be very difficult, not to say impossible, for them to maintain the *statu quo* beyond a few weeks.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) BE. DE PERRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 583.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to the Baron de Perron.

Turin, November 19, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has had the honour to receive only this morning the note which his Excellency the Baron de Perron, &c., has addressed to him under date of the 14th instant. The Undersigned therefore begs that his Excellency the Baron de Perron will be good enough to accept of this explanation for the appearance of delay on his part in complying with his Excellency's request which a reference to the dates might otherwise give rise to.

The Undersigned will lose no time in transmitting to his Government copy of the above-mentioned note from his Excellency the Baron de Perron containing the enumeration of a series of complaints against the conduct and acts of the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and the Adriatic, entering the protest of the Government of His Sardinian Majesty against these proceedings, as being contrary to engagements formally agreed to, and notifying to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty the measures which the Cabinet of Turin have in consequence deemed it expedient to adopt.

The Undersigned can have no hesitation in assuring his Excellency the Baron de Perron that Her Majesty's Government will not fail to take into their mature consideration the contents of his note of the 14th instant, but the Undersigned begs upon this occasion at once to observe to his Excellency, that through the united efforts of the Representatives of the mediating Powers, Great Britain and France, at Turin, employed at the request of the Sardinian Government, Field-Marshal Count Radetzky had been induced to give a written

declaration that the just demands of the Sardinian Government for the restitution of the remaining portion of ordnance stores retained at Peschiera should, upon certain assurances being given, be complied with, but that the Government of His Sardinian Majesty had by ordering in the meanwhile the return of the Sardinian naval squadron to Venice, rendered fruitless the endeavours of the Ministers of the mediating Powers to obtain a fulfilment upon this point of the desires of the Cabinet of Turin.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 584.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 19, 1848.

A FURTHER issue of paper-money to the amount of 12,000,000 of livres (about 400,000*l.*) is contemplated by the Provisional Government, who are in great want of funds. In order to offer some security for this sum, it is intended to levy an additional tax upon all the houses in Venice, which it is supposed will amount to an increase of about 25 per cent. upon the house-tax already in existence, and in proportion as this additional tax is paid in to destroy a corresponding amount of the new paper issue. The details of this measure are not yet promulgated, but I understand the outline of the plan is what I have above stated.

In the meantime the Provisional Government have issued a decree, dated the 15th instant, calling for another forced loan of 1,000,000 livres (50,000*l.*), for their more immediate wants until the issue of the 12,000,000 shall be arranged. This loan of 1,000,000 is to be divided among 150 mercantile and other houses of second-rate importance who have hitherto been either not at all or only slightly called upon to contribute to the public wants.

In proportion as the Government is thus obliged to call upon those classes who are less able to contribute, the ill-humour and distress are more apparent. The paper-money is now at from 2 to 2½ per cent. discount, and as the supplies for the town, which for the most part came from the Romagna, must be paid for in hard cash, specie is daily becoming more rare and of greater value.

Hitherto the Government being fully aware of the necessity of keeping the lower classes in good humour, has made every effort to give them employment, while the number of troops, the greater part of whose pay is spent among the poorer classes, has also caused a considerable circulation of money among the populace. I fear however that much misery is in store for the winter, unless some change takes place in the present state of things.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 585.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)

(Extract.)

Venice, November 19, 1848.

NOTHING more has been seen of the Austrian blockading squadron, and the Venetians have taken the advantage of this to seize and bring into Venice on the 17th instant four Austrian coasting vessels laden with salt. These vessels were captured off the mouths of the Po, which river they were about to ascend for the purpose of delivering their cargoes to the Austrians in Lombardy, where the want of salt, which has hitherto been supplied by Venice, is very much felt; the

The French war-steamers "Solon" and "Brasier" are in this port; the "Asmodée" is at Trieste.

A considerable number of peasants have escaped into Venice from the mainland, in order to avoid conscription, which is being enforced by the Austrians. These men are being formed into regiments by the Venetian Government.

No. 586.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency a copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Turin, relative to the capture of certain Venetian fishing-boats by an Austrian vessel of war, and the instructions which had in consequence been issued to Admiral Albini by the Sardinian Government, and I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate the same to the Austrian Government, and to point out that these proceedings of the Austrian cruizers are not only a breach of the Armistice, but are also at variance even with the usual manner of carrying on actual hostilities, and that consequently it is immaterial whether they preceded or followed the attack made by the Venetians on the Austrian outposts.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 587.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1848.

WITH reference to Mr. Samuel's despatch to your Excellency of the 9th instant, reporting what passed between him and Baron Wessenberg on the subject of the return of the Sardinian squadron to Venice, I have to instruct your Excellency to point out to Baron Wessenberg that in this dispute between Field-Marshal Radetzky and the Piedmontese Government about the restitution of the stores at Peschiera and the return of the Sardinian squadron to Venice, the first breach of engagement lies at the door of Field-Marshal Radetzky, and the first step of reparation ought therefore to be made by him. It was but a short time ago that the Sardinian ships had left Venice, and still Field-Marshal Radetzky continued upon flimsy pretexts to withhold the cannon, and thereupon the Sardinian ships returned to Venice. It therefore now depends only on Marshal Radetzky to put an end to this unbecoming state of things, and if he will restore the cannon the Sardinian ships will immediately leave Venice.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 588.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)

(Extract.)

Paris, November 26, 1848.

I HAVE just seen M. Bastide who has announced to me that the news he has received from Rome is of extreme gravity; that after the assassination of M. Rossi, the Pope had been assaulted in the Quirinal by an armed mob joined by troops and civic guards; that he had been defended only by a few Swiss; that a prelate had been killed in the palace, and a Ministry forced by name upon the Pope.

M. d'Harcourt was authorized by His Holiness to ask either for a refuge in France, or at any rate for such assistance as should enable him to restore order amongst his subjects. M. Bastide said he did not know how it was possible to refuse such a request, and that I might inform your Lordship that if such a step were to be taken, such was the whole object of the expedition, and that the Pope's authority restored, the troops would be immediately withdrawn.

I could under these circumstances merely say that I would repeat what he had stated to your Lordship, the nature of which I deeply regret, as foreseeing many complications from this which the French Government evidently consider as an imperious necessity.

* See No. 563.

No. 589.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 18, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a despatch which I have received from Mr. Petre at Rome, dated the 16th instant, which gives the melancholy account of the assassination of Count Rossi, Minister of the Interior.

A subsequent notice from Mr. Petre, written later in the evening, informs me that the troops had mutinied, and were then at the Palace.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 589.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, November 16, 1848.

IT is with deep grief that I have to announce to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that Count Rossi, Minister of the Interior, was murdered yesterday whilst ascending the stairs of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, in which the Deputies hold their sittings. It was the first day of their reassembling after the adjournment. M. Rossi was pushed and surrounded by several persons, stabbed in the neck, and fell dead. From all accounts there must have been numbers privy to the design.

Soon after dark a band of from 150 to 200 paraded the streets with flags and torches, shouting out, "Italian independence! Death to the Cardinals! Death to the Roman Princes! Blessed be the hand that struck him!" and going round to various quarters of the military and of the police, demanded and obtained the liberation of those in confinement. All discipline, command, and authority seemed to have ceased,—no resistance, no remonstrance by the officers; and several of the men, with many civic guards in uniform, joined the procession, which terminated without any further breach of tranquillity, and dispersed on reaching the Circolo Popolare, where the flags were deposited.

It is disgusting to read the cold-blooded accounts of the events of yesterday in the "Epoca" and "Contemporaneo" journals of this morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 590.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 19, 1848.

I HAVE the honour this day to receive your Lordship's instructions dated November 9th. I have already reported the last answer made by Baron Wessenberg to my application made by your Lordship's directions for the restoration of the residue of the artillery taken at Peschiera, and which is still in the hands of Marshal Radetzky. The reply was to the effect that the Piedmontese refused the terms offered by Marshal Radetzky, which I have communicated to your Lordship.

I can also repeat my belief that the Imperial Government will continue to avoid the exertion of military force for the subjection of Venice, and that the Government acts in that particular mainly in deference to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France, for I know that the Austrians are of opinion it would not be difficult for them to make themselves masters of that city by a properly directed attack from the mainland.

The last accounts from Venice which reached the commercial people here mention the opinion that the city will submit in a few weeks, in consequence of the wishes of a large part of the inhabitants and the distress of all. I have myself no knowledge on that subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 591. X

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)*My Lord, Vienna, November 23, 1848.

I RECEIVED your Lordship's instructions of the 14th instant on the day before yesterday, and I shall bring before his Excellency the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the despatch of the 28th of October last, from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin, containing a note from his Excellency the Baron de Perron, dated the 24th of October, treating of the detention at Peschiera of the Sardinian artillery.

I have, &c.
(Signed) **PONSONBY.**

No. 592. X

*Viscount Palmerston to Consul-General Dawkins.*Sir, Foreign Office, November 28, 1848.

HER Majesty's Government regret to perceive by your despatch of the 9th instant, that the Provisional Government at Venice contemplates a further issue of paper-money, and proposes in consequence to levy additional taxes; and I have to instruct you to represent in a friendly manner to all who may have a share in the direction of these affairs, how unwise and improvident it is to impose upon the city of Venice these heavy burthens for temporary purposes, seeing that these weighty sacrifices cannot influence final arrangements; and you will request them to consider how much better it would be for the city of Venice to come without delay to an amicable arrangement with the Austrian Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) **PALMERSTON.**

No. 593. X

*Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.*Sir, Foreign Office, November 28, 1848.

WITH reference your despatch of the 19th instant, transmitting a copy of a note which you had received from the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the course pursued by the Austrian authorities as regards the Armistice of the 9th of August last, I have to instruct you to inform the Baron de Perron that Her Majesty's Government have received this note and will give due attention to its contents; but in the meantime they cannot too strongly impress upon the Sardinian Government that where, as in the present instance, two contending parties have both placed themselves in the wrong by acting in opposition to engagements reciprocally taken, that party will prove itself the wisest which is the first to replace itself entirely in the right.

I am, &c.
(Signed) **PALMERSTON.**

No. 594. X

*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.*My Lord, Foreign Office, November 28, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information copy of despatch* which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Turin inclosing a note from the Sardinian Minister on the subject of the proceedings of the

* See No. 583.

Austrian authorities with regard to the Armistice, together with a copy of my reply; and I have to instruct your Excellency to send officially to the Austrian Government a copy of the Sardinian note, saying that the Cabinet of Vienna will no doubt make the proper and necessary allowances for the strong, indeed in some respects needlessly strong manner in which the Sardinian Government, when speaking of the conduct of the Austrian officers in Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and the territory of Venice, has given vent to feelings which it was natural for that Government to entertain, and which the Austrian Government must not suppose to be shared by none but the members of the Cabinet of Turin.

But Her Majesty's Government would earnestly intreat the Austrian Government to look to the substance rather than to the wording of the complaint, and to reflect how essential it is for the honour of the Austrian name that an immediate end should be put to proceedings which cast upon the Austrian Government the obloquy of a manifest violation of good faith.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 595.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Turin, November 22, 1848.

THE news of the assassination of Count Rossi at Rome, together with the events to which it had subsequently given rise in that capital have been received here.

The feeling of horror occasioned by the commission of so heinous a crime as the murder of Count Rossi, has been general, and the fears that this act was only the prelude to further scenes of violence and confusion have been unfortunately too fully realized.

The Sardinian Government have this morning received further information from Rome, by which it appears that His Holiness the Pope having convoked together the members of the Diplomatic Body at Rome, formally declared to them that he did not recognize the Ministry that had sprung out of the late revolutionary movement, nor the acts which they might publish, adding that nothing should ever induce him to acknowledge a layman as Secretary of State Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At the date upon which the Sardinian Minister at Rome, the Marquis Pareto, wrote to his Government (the 18th instant), the above-mentioned declaration of His Holiness to the Diplomatic Body was not generally known. It could not however long be concealed from the public; and when the fact shall have been communicated, there remains I fear but little chance of avoiding a further explosion of popular feeling and the probable adoption of extreme measures.

The Abbé Rosmini and some others of the newly-designated Ministers, but which I cannot with safety affirm, have declined to take office; but these refusals have not prevented the remainder of the new Roman Ministry from assuming the direction of affairs; and they were to declare their future policy to the Chambers upon the following day.

The decision come to by His Holiness to recognize neither the Government nor their acts, will lead it is to be presumed to a conflict between the Sovereign and the administrative authorities of the country. The result of such a conflict under circumstances such as those which attend the present case can hardly be doubtful, for by the accounts which reach us here from Rome, it would appear that His Holiness, abandoned by every constituted body except the Swiss guard, which was about to be disbanded as a recompense for its fidelity to its Sovereign, was left without support or resource of any kind.

The formation of a Provisional Government, independent of the will of the Pope, or the declaration of a Republic, seem to be the almost inevitable consequences of these disastrous scenes at Rome.

If such should be the turn which affairs are about to take in the capital of the States of the Church, there is but little chance that the Roman provinces

on the eastern side of the Apennines will escape contagion, and a revolutionary movement, perhaps even of an independent character, may be the consequence.

The dangers to which Central Italy becomes exposed by these deplorable events at Rome have made me anxious to learn how the Government of His Sardinian Majesty regarded them and what was likely to be the position which they would take.

I was on the point of going to his Excellency the Baron de Perron to speak to him upon this matter when he entered my room.

I found his Excellency deeply impressed with the gravity of the present state of affairs in Italy, foreseeing clearly the dangers that menace Italian Governments on all sides, and the difficulties daily increasing of preserving order and tranquillity and of maintaining peace.

His Excellency stated to me that it was the firm intention of the Sardinian Government, at the same time that they were willing to co-operate with all Italian Governments with regard to questions involving the general and legitimate interests of Italy and the Italian cause, and that they abstained from interfering in the internal concerns of such countries, to uphold and defend the principles of Constitutional Monarchy in Piedmont, and vigorously to repress all attempts of an anarchical or revolutionary character, whether the result of internal or external intrigue.

Every event tending to throw Italy into additional confusion must I fear be regarded as contributing so much the more to the chances of war, and consequently as rendering more and more difficult the position of Piedmont with whose forces and resources such war must inevitably be made if once resumed.

The Government of His Sardinian Majesty intend, I firmly believe, honestly to act upon the assurances which they have given, to avoid the renewal of hostilities to the last moment; and the adoption of such a course is not only pointed out to them by reason and sound policy, but it is also impressed upon them by knowledge that the longer they can refrain from war and gain time for completing their military arrangements and organization, the better condition they will be in to resume active operations when forced upon them.

But it is also to be remembered, that however great and sincere the desire of the Sardinian Government may be to conform strictly to the principles which they have declared, circumstances may occur, resulting from the violence of other Governments, over the actions of which the Sardinian Cabinet have but a limited control, which may so seriously compromise the cause of Italy, to the support of which Sardinia is deeply committed, that it will be impossible for her not to come forward, however much she may deplore and regret the necessity under which she will be forced to act.

This observation I have deemed it but just to make to your Lordship, in fairness to Sardinia, and it is also a reason for taking into mature and earnest consideration the possibility of devising measures competent, in the face of the present increasing complication of affairs, to effect the objects which the mediating Powers have in view, namely, the settlement of the affairs of Italy, and the preservation of the peace of Europe.

No. 596.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Naples, Naples 3, 1848.

YOUR Lordship will learn by the inclosed communications, to what degree the Neapolitan Government are the victims of designing informers and of their own credulity.

Prince Cariati has ventured to assert in an official note that arms landed by night at the suburb of Mergellina have been brought to the English and French Legations in carriages which afterwards drove off in an unknown direction carrying officers inside. Repeated disembarkations of arms, and on one occasion of gunpowder, are stated to have subsequently taken place at the same hour and locality, and the boats employed for this unlawful traffic or conspiracy, were the boats of foreign vessels anchored in the roads, an assertion which involves the honour of Her Majesty's flag, for the only vessels which cast

anchor outside the port are the ships of war of the English and French squadrons, while the officers in connexion with the alleged transaction, and the invocation of Sir William Parker's authority, plainly indicate the quarter for which Prince Cariati's imputations are intended.

It is unnecessary for me to comment upon a statement which does not contain a single date or name or any particular or indication which could excuse even a momentary belief.

On receiving Prince Cariati's communication I called on M. de Rayneval, and found that a note had been transmitted to him in the same terms, but which by some negligence had not been signed by the Minister. Availing himself of this omission, and anxious to avoid a vexatious correspondence, the French Envoy had addressed a private letter to Prince Cariati, returning the note and advising him to reconsider the subject before affixing his name to a charge which if persisted in must be seriously taken up.

Being equally animated by a desire to spare the Neapolitan Government the humiliation of that apology and retraction in which the discussion of their assertions must probably terminate, I proceeded to Prince Cariati's residence and acquainted his Excellency that if he thought fit to withdraw the note which had been addressed to myself, it was at his disposal; and I pointed out to him at length the foolish and insulting nature of such a communication, and I asked the Prince how he could personally attach the slightest faith to the forgeries of an unprincipled police. His Excellency answered that he did not accuse me of any participation in what had passed, that he was merely the channel and agent of the Minister of the Interior in this affair, and that whether he believed in them or not, the conduct of the British officers and vessels of war in Sicily had certainly given countenance to such allegations. I replied in the most measured language that I regretted to observe he condescended to be the obedient instrument and mouth-piece of the police, that I should have thought his position at the head of the Cabinet would have empowered him to control the folly and malevolence of subordinate agents and the imprudence of his colleagues, and I most pointedly denied that the officers of Her Majesty's Navy had on any occasion offered the slightest assistance to the Sicilians. Prince Cariati then burst out into invective against the English nation and their Government, and I took my leave.

I have the honour to submit to your Lordship herewith a reply which I have addressed to Prince Cariati.

I have questioned the persons left in charge of the house of Her Majesty's Envoy in which I have not lately resided, because it has been for several months in course of repair, and I can affirm that nothing has ever occurred to countenance in the slightest degree the assertions of the Neapolitan Government.

The house is inhabited by a trustworthy person who is at the head of Mr. Temple's establishment. The gate, which is in charge of an old servant of Her Majesty's Envoy, and the staircase, belong exclusively to his apartment, and the upper story, which has a separate entrance, is occupied by the Duke of Serra Capriola, who holds a high office in the Royal service. The situation is the most open and public in the whole city, and the gentlemen attached to Her Majesty's Legation have frequently occasion until a late hour to go to the Chancery, which has never been removed. There is a serjeant and post of soldiers in a lodge at sixty paces distance, opposite and in full view, and a sentinel is placed at the gate of the public gardens obliquely across the street, 100 yards from the door, and also within sight, and they remain at their stations during the whole night.

It would be superfluous to defend the officers of Her Majesty's Navy from any participation in the practices which are alleged to have occurred. The character and discipline of the service render such a supposition perfectly incredible.

I am well aware that there are spies attached to Her Majesty's Legation. They are arranged opposite the entrance on a stone parapet during the day, and their place is taken at night by an individual who sells drams to the peasants driving at dawn to market, and falsehoods to the Government of His Sicilian Majesty.

It has been my object to avoid all society or familiarity with persons, however innocent, who are obnoxious to Government. I scarcely possess even a superficial acquaintance with any member of the Opposition in Parliament, however

respectable; and I doubt not the imputations now advanced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs are the result of the vexation and despair of spies who are forced to invent for their salary when they cannot earn it by legitimate denunciations.

Inclosure 1 in No. 596.

Prince Cariati to Lord Napier.

Napoli, 1 Novembre, 1848.

DA informazioni pervenute al Ministero dell Interno si rileva, che circa un mese fa da navigli stranieri ancorati in questa rada vennero sbarcate delle armi in Mergellina, e che furono poscia trasportate ne' palazzi delle Legazioni Inglese e Francese in carrozze chiuse, che indi a poco ne uscirono con entro degli ufiziali ignorandosi la direzione che presero.

Altre armi vennero ugualmente sbarcate da lance de legni medisimi anche a Mergellina, ove si è recata iteratamente sempre alle ore otto o nove all' incirca della sera una vettura con quattro persone vestite da cacciatori che le recevettero.

Dagli stessi bastimenti è disceso benanco per mezzo di barche pescarecce un cantajo di polvere nitrata Inglese ed è stata introdotta nella capitale.

Il Sottoscritto, &c., è ben convinto che tali fatti sono del tutto ignoti a Lord Napier, &c., non che all' Ammiraglio comandante la flotta della sua nazione, ma nello interesse dell' ordine e della quiete pubblica, egli è nel dovere di pregare il Signor Incaricato di Affari ed il Signor Ammiraglio di voler adottare i più energici provvedimenti perchè non abbiano a rinnovarsi.

Profitta, &c.

(Firmato)

PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 1, 1848.

IT appears from information received at the office of the Minister of the Interior, that about a month ago arms were disembarked at the Mergellina from the foreign ships anchored in these roads, and were subsequently carried to the English and French Legations in closed carriages, which left the above-mentioned Legations shortly afterwards with officers inside and took an unknown direction.

Other arms were also disembarked at the Mergellina by the boats of the same ships, where frequently and always at about 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening a carriage has proceeded containing four persons in the dress of sportsmen, who received them.

From the same ships also a cantar of English gunpowder was landed by fishing-boats and introduced into the capital.

The Undersigned, &c., is fully convinced that these facts are entirely unknown to Lord Napier, &c., as well as to the Admiral commanding the fleet of his nation, but it is his duty in the interest of order and public tranquillity to beg the Chargé d'Affaires and the Admiral to take the most energetic measures to prevent their recurrence.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PRINCE OF CARIATI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 596.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati

(See Inclosure 4 in No. 573.)

No. 597.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Naples, November 13, 1848.

ABOUT two months ago a company of scene-painters of the St. Carlo repaired to a tavern on the road to Portici with some women of the town and indulged themselves too freely in a supper. It would seem that political toasts were uttered and overheard. Some person, stated to have been a Swiss spy, ran for the police, who would not interfere, but he succeeded in bringing to the spot a party of cavalry soldiers from the adjoining barracks. These troopers immediately fell upon the artists, cutting down some and throwing some out of the window. All were wounded and two subsequently died. The opening of the Opera-house was delayed in consequence, and the displeasure of the public greatly roused. The soldiers remained unpunished, and the attention of the capital was shortly afterwards diverted by the death of the Queen Dowager and her magnificent obsequies.

The Court party asserted that the painters were assembled on the road to kill the King on his return from Portici, but the Liberals remarked that His Majesty went and came back in a steam-vessel according to his usual habit.

Many subsequent examples of the violence of the troops might be adduced, but an instance occurred last Wednesday which has excited a general sentiment of indignation.

Not far from the King's Palace M. Faccioli, a Deputy of the Opposition, was living in lodgings with a son who is insane. This unfortunate lad having got out on the balcony addressed some insulting language to a party of infantry passing the street. After some altercation they ran up stairs, broke open the door, and wounded with their sabres both the father and son, in spite of the protestations of the former and his wife, that the young man was mad. M. Faccioli was then dragged with the latter through the streets and carried into the Palace. I met them covered with blood, with disordered dresses and faltering steps, hurried along by the soldiers brandishing their swords and striking at the spectators who pressed with astonishment to witness this strange procession to the gates of their Sovereign. Among the bystanders who were beaten and insulted was an Englishman by name Mr. Hemans.

On a previous day the carriage and servants of Mr. Maclean, a British subject, were attacked by a cavalry patrol, and himself and his niece and wife exposed to some risk from the reckless violence of their assailants.

I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the inclosed memorials from the gentlemen named above, and copy of two letters addressed in consequence to the Prince of Cariati.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 597.
Mr. Maclean to Lord Napier.

My Lord,

Naples, November 6, 1848.

I DEEM it necessary to bring under your Lordship's notice the following circumstance which occurred this afternoon in the Strada Toledo, about 4 o'clock, Piazza St. Ferdinando.

My carriage was proceeding quietly through the streets, where it enters the Piazza St. Ferdinando, when my coachman and servants were attacked in the most brutal and ferocious manner by three Neapolitan soldiers *à cheval*, who were I presume on guard at that place. My attention was first attracted by the attack of one of the soldiers on the coachman with his drawn sabre, the others subsequently assisting him and striking the man and the servant by his side. The blows were repeated so fast that it is remarkable they should have done so little mischief as they have done, and they were continued after the coachman cried out for mercy to the soldiers; his arm is wounded and his

dress pierced in several parts, and one of the blows passed between myself and my wife in the carriage, and it is only by the providence of God that she is now alive, the sabre passing within a few inches of her face.

I am not in the slightest degree aware of the reason for this outrage; the carriage was proceeding at a very slow pace, and the horse of one of the soldiers backing on the pole, the rider was unseated from his saddle, but it was not the fault of the coachman, and even if it had been, nothing would have been easier than to have taken him into custody. The soldiers preferred the mode of action I have described to your Lordship. The coachman who is in my service is a Frenchman and has sought redress at the hands of his Ambassador. The escape of the man by moving his position was altogether miraculous.

I should certainly not have troubled your Lordship with these particulars, if the conduct of the soldiers had not been such as no man could witness without the strongest indignation. I would have hoped that the presence of emales would have prevented the use of weapons, but it was not so; had we been armed the attack could scarcely be more in earnest.

I am, &c.
(Signed) D. MACLEAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 597.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati.

Excellency,

Naples, November 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Excellency's information copy of a memorial presented to me by Mr. Maclean a British subject, descriptive of an unprovoked outrage by a cavalry patrol, of which himself and his family and servants were the objects about 4 o'clock last afternoon at the Piazza St. Ferdinando. Mr. Maclean was accompanied by his wife and niece, and the conduct of the soldiers in using their arms in so brutal a manner in the presence of women and against defenceless persons, will doubtless meet with the condemnation of your Excellency and draw upon them the severest punishment from the competent authority.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 597.

Mr. Hemans to Lord Napier.

My Lord,

*35, Largo del Castello nuovo, 3 P.M.
Naples, November 9, 1848.*

A STRANGER in Naples and a British subject, I find no means of obtaining redress for a gross insult than by application to your Excellency, under whose protection I beg to put myself in this emergency.

Yesterday (the 8th) I was passing before the Royal Palace about 4 in the afternoon, when my attention was arrested by an unusual gathering of people and the cries of "Viva il Rè!" raised by the soldiery who were assembling within the portico of the Palace, the tumult, as I afterwards learned, having been occasioned by the arrest of some persons who had given offence. I stopped as several others did to look on, when presently a soldier came up to me with a large stick in his hand, and in an insolent manner desired me to withdraw, which I immediately did, concluding the order to have been given generally and not to myself in person, but finding myself violently pushed by the soldier and seeing a stick raised against me by the man in question, I looked round naturally with an expression of surprise, perhaps anger, before withdrawing to a distance. Advancing towards the end of the Largo del Palazzo that opens on the Toledo, and perceiving that several persons were standing there without prohibition to observe what took place, I also took my station on the spot, when presently a corporal of the Royal Guard came up to me, and in a fierce manner asked "Perchè avete guardato quel soldato?" I

replied "Io non ho guardato nessun soldato," utterly ignorant to what the allusion was made, nor thinking it could be to the circumstance just occurred. The corporal raised his voice in language of the most insulting and gross vituperation, pushed me from the spot, and as I was withdrawing without the least resistance or any word of remonstrance, drew his sabre against me and with the flat of the blade violently struck me twice across the shoulders in a manner that made me stagger. Having not even a stick to defend myself with, I hastily retired towards the Toledo, and looking back for a moment saw the corporal following me brandishing his sabre and using ferocious language at the highest pitch of his voice. I turned into a side street and took refuge in a coffee-house, finding that I had become an object of general attention, thus singled out as the victim of insolence, and chased from the public piazza like a thief, without having given the slightest offence. Being myself the son of an officer in the army, and bearing a name distinguished in English literature, your Lordship will make allowances for the feeling of bitterness and desire to vindicate my insulted honour which this outrage has excited in me.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) C. J. HEMANS.

Inclosure 4 in No. 597.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati.

Excellency,

Naples, November 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Excellency's information copy of a letter addressed to me by Mr. Hemans, an English gentleman, stating that he was insulted and beaten at the gate of the King's Palace yesterday afternoon by a corporal of the Neapolitan Guard.

I have no doubt of the correctness of Mr. Hemans' statement, and I am the more convinced of his just cause of complaint because I was myself witness of similar occurrences near the same spot. After leaving your Excellency's house I had the misfortune to meet, opposite the theatre of St. Carlo, two persons dragged along, both bleeding, one whom I have since been informed is a member of Parliament, while the soldiers who arrested them struck with their sabres at the bystanders on every side in a turbulent and reckless manner.

This is the second case I have had to bring under your Excellency's notice this week of the want of temper and discipline of the soldiers in dealing with British subjects; and I cannot avoid submitting to your Excellency that unless some means be taken for controlling their violence the safety of Her Britannic Majesty's subjects resorting to this capital may come to be endangered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 598.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Naples, November 14, 1848.

IN continuation of my despatch to your Lordship of the 3rd instant respecting the participation of the officers and boats of Her Majesty's Navy in a clandestine traffic of arms and gunpowder, which were also stated to be carried to the residence of Her Majesty's Envoy, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship copy of a letter addressed to me by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker on that subject.

Prince Cariati returned the accompanying reply to my first note exculpating the Vice-Admiral and myself of all participation in such transactions, but not recalling his previous allegation that they had taken place, and leaving us in the unenviable position of having been blind to the practice by our subordinates of actions so disgraceful, if true, to the squadron and Legation of a friendly Power.

I conveyed Sir William Parker's communication to Prince Cariati in the

note transmitted herewith, and received an answer covering a letter from the Minister of the Interior refusing to give up the names and evidence of the parties with whom those groundless aspersions had originated.

After consulting Sir W. Parker I have thought it right to call upon Prince Cariati in the inclosed note, to state explicitly that the Neapolitan Government do not now ascribe to any persons connected with the squadron or with this Mission any share in the alleged traffic in arms, nor believe that such were ever brought to Mr. Temple's residence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 598.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to Lord Napier.

[See Inclosure 5 in No. 573.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 598.

Prince Cariati to Lord Napier.

Napoli, li 3 Novembre, 1848.

RISCONTRANDO la nota di Lord Napier, &c., del 2 corrente, responsiva a quella del 1° dello stesso mese, relativa allo sbarco da' legni esteri ancorati nella rada di Napoli di alcune armi e munizioni, il Sottoscritto, &c., a l'onore di fare osservare che alla medesima diede origine uno ufizio di sua Eccellenza il Ministro dell' Interno, nelle di cui attribuzioni trovansi benanchè la polizia generale del regno.

Il Sottoscritto ebbe cura di dichiarare essere ben convinto che tali fatti sono del tutto ignoti al Signor Incaricato di Affari non che al Signor Vice-Ammiraglio Parker, e di ciò gli è piacevole rinnovare l'assicurazione.

Il Signor Incaricato di Affari converrà senza dubbio che nelle presenti circostanze del regno e dell' Italia, è indispensabile onde mantenere l'ordine e la tranquillità pubblica la più assidua vigilanza, ed il Sottoscritto avrebbe creduto mancare ad un suo preciso dovere tralasciando d'informare immediatamente Lord Napier de' ragguagli pervenuti a cognizione del suo collega Ministro dell' Interno, invocando nel tempo istesso il concorso dell' Inviato di una Potenza amica onde facilitare i mezzi di raggiungere l'importante scopo a cui sono rivolti indefessamente tutti gli sforzi del Real Governo.

Il Sottoscritto si è fatto una premura di rimettere al detto Ministro copia della nota di Lord Napier, pregandolo di somministrargli que schiarimenti che stimera possibili ed opportuni, e tosto che ne riceverà riscontro si affretterà di comunicarlo al Signor Incaricato di Affari.

Egli si vale, &c.

(Firmato) PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 3, 1848.

IN answer to the note of the 2nd instant addressed by Lord Napier, &c., in reply to the communication made to him on the 1st instant, that arms and ammunition had been landed from the foreign ships now anchored in the roads of Naples, the Undersigned, &c., has the honour to observe that the said communication originated in a letter from his Excellency the Minister of the Interior, under whose direction the general police of the kingdom is also placed.

The Undersigned was careful to declare himself fully convinced that such transactions were entirely unknown to the Chargé d'Affaires as well as to Vice-Admiral Parker, which assurance he is now happy to renew.

The Chargé d'Affaires will doubtless agree that in the present state of the kingdom and of Italy in general, the most assiduous watchfulness is indispens-

able in order to maintain public tranquillity, and the Undersigned would have considered it a positive dereliction from his duty had he neglected to bring immediately under the cognizance of Lord Napier the reports which had reached his colleague of the Interior, invoking at the same time the concurrence of the Representative of a friendly Power to facilitate the means of acquiring the important object to which all the efforts of the King's Government are directed.

The Undersigned has hastened to transmit a copy of Lord Napier's note to the Minister of the Interior, begging him to afford any explanations which he may deem possible and fitting, and as soon as he shall have received an answer he will hasten to communicate it to the Chargé d'Affaires.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PRINCE OF CARIATI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 598.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati.

Naples, November 4, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from his Excellency the Prince of Cariati, of yesterday's date, reiterating that his Excellency does not attribute to the Undersigned any participation in the late clandestine traffic in arms of which the boats of the British squadron are insinuated to have been the vehicles and the British Legation is asserted to have been a resort.

The Undersigned is thus acquainted for the second time that he is regarded by the Neapolitan Government not in the character of a conspirator, but in the harmless quality of a dupe.

The Undersigned will venture to submit to his Excellency the Prince of Cariati that it does not yet definitively appear on what party an imposition has been successfully practised.

The Undersigned has now the satisfaction to inclose for the information of Prince Cariati a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, commenting upon the imputations which have been obliquely cast upon the force which he has the honour to command.

Prince Cariati will observe that the Commander-in-chief is peculiarly anxious to obtain the production of a barrel which lately contained the English gunpowder, and which is of course preserved in the repository of the police; at the same time a view of some of the arms asserted to have been secreted in the residence of Her Majesty's Envoy would not be unacceptable to the Undersigned.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

NAPIER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 598.

Prince Cariati to Lord Napier.

Napoli, 8 November, 1848.

IN continuazione di quanto il Sottoscritto, &c., participo in data del 3 del corrente a Lord Napier, &c., intorno al sbarco di armi e munizioni da guerra dai legni esteri ancorati in questa rada, si affretta di rimetterle copia di un ufizio del Ministro della Interno, dal quale rileverà i motivi che diedero origine alla nota del 1° del corrente, e quelli che non permettono di appagare appieno i desiderî del Signor Incaricato di Affari.

Il Sottoscritto si augura che Lord Napier rimarrà convinto della loro ragionevolezza, e vorrà discacciare dall' animo suo ogni sospetto che il Real Governo abbia mai potuto pensare che avessero egli od il Vice-Ammiraglio Parker preso parte a siffatte clandestine machinazioni.

Profitta, &c.

(Firmato)

PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 8, 1848.

IN continuation of what the Undersigned, &c., communicated to Lord Napier, &c., in his note of the 3rd instant, respecting the disembarkation of arms and ammunition from the foreign ships of war anchored at this port, he hastens to transmit copy of an official letter from the Minister of the Interior, which will explain the motives which gave rise to the note of the 1st instant, and the reasons why the wishes of the Chargé d'Affaires cannot be entirely complied with.

The Undersigned trusts that Lord Napier will be convinced of the force of those reasons, and will expel from his mind any suspicion that the King's Government could ever have thought that he or the Vice-Admiral had taken part in such clandestine machinations.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PRINCE OF CARIATI.

Inclosure 5 in No. 598.

The Minister of the Interior to Prince Cariati.

Excellenza,

DI replica agli ufizi dell' Eccellenza vostra coi quali si compiacque rimettermi copia di una nota di Lord Napier e di un' altra del Signor di Rayneval, deggio farle osservare che nei tempi presenti non pochi sono gl' individui le di cui mire sono esclusivamente rivolte al sovvenimento dell' ordine pubblico, e che col fine di sventare i loro colpevoli progetti, è indispensabile prendere in considerazione quanto viene riferito; e ciò tanto maggiormente in quanto che di sovente avviene che da vaghe rivelazioni si viene a conoscenza d'importanti trame.

L'oggetto che mi proposi nel diriggermi all' Eccellenza vostra era quello di impegnare il Rappresentante d'una Potenza amica a cooperare per quanto da esso dipendeva al mantenimento dell' ordine pubblico, ne mai poteva cadermi in mente di supporlo partecipe di segrete machinazioni.

Deggio benanchè fare osservare all' Eccellenza vostra che non può la polizia palesare i nomi degli agenti dai quali attinge le sue informazioni, ne può in ogni incontro formare processi verbali forniti di documenti giustificativi, e dee per lo più avvalersi di relazioni, che a primo aspetto sembrar possono di poco valore, per giungere allo scoprimento di fatti di somma importanza.

Per i sopra esposti motivi mi trovo nella necessità di scusarmi dal soddisfare ai desiderj espressi nella nota dei Signori Incaricati d'Affari, ed essi sono talmente incontrastabili, che non dubito ch' eglino ne rimarranno appagati.

Prego quindi, &c.

(Firmato)

LONGOBARDI.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

IN reply to your Excellency's letter in which you did me the honour to transmit copy of a note from Lord Napier and from M. de Rayneval respectively, I beg you to observe that at the present moment not a few individuals exist whose exclusive aim is to overturn the existing order of things; and with the view of discovering their culpable designs, it is indispensable to take into consideration anything that may be reported, and the more so as it frequently happens that important plots are made public by vague informations.

My object in writing to your Excellency was to induce the Representative of a friendly Power to co-operate to the utmost of his ability in the maintenance of public order, and never could it have come into my head to consider him an accomplice in secret machinations.

I must also beg your Excellency to observe that the police cannot make public the names of its agents from whom it requires information, nor can it at every moment form a procès-verbal furnished with justificatory documents

but must make use of revelations which may at first sight appear of no moment, to arrive at discoveries of the highest importance.

For the above-mentioned reasons I find myself under the necessity of declining to comply with the request expressed in the note of the Chargé d'Affaires, and these reasons are so unanswerable that I have no doubt but that he will be perfectly satisfied with them.

I beg, &c.

(Signed)

R. LONGOBARDI.

Inclosure 6 in No. 598.

Lord Napier to Prince Cariati.

Naples, November 12, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from his Excellency Prince of Cariati, &c., under date of the 8th instant, inclosing a letter from his Excellency the Minister of the Interior with reference to the aspersions lately cast upon the officers of the British squadron and on the British Legation, by a statement implicating them in an alleged clandestine traffic of arms.

The Minister of the Interior in an apology for his refusal to give up the written deposition on which he founded that imputation and the names of those with whom it originated, has asserted: 1st, that the police cannot reveal the names of the agents from whom it derives information; and 2ndly, that in all cases it cannot cause formal charges to be compiled with justificatory documents, for the slightest indications may conduce to important discoveries.

On these arguments the Undersigned begs to offer the following remarks. By even publishing the names of the persons who gave such groundless intelligence, the Neapolitan Government would not deprive themselves of any useful sources of real information, and would only inflict a just punishment on those by whom it has been deceived; but the publication of their names is not demanded, it is merely asked that they should be imparted to Her Majesty's Legation with which they would of course be in safe keeping. The Undersigned cannot therefore see any inconvenience attached to his request on this score. With respect to the other he has only to observe that although the apprehension of the smallest particulars may sometimes lead to great disclosures and avert serious dangers, such subtle indications ought surely not to be hastily made the basis of official charges involving by their tenor the credit of a Foreign Envoy's residence and household, and wounding the honour of a friendly flag. His Excellency the Prince of Cariati might, in conformity with the wish of the Minister of the Interior, have privately and confidentially consulted the Undersigned, who could have dispelled his suspicions, if any were seriously entertained in respect to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, and have apprized Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, from whom the Neapolitan Government would have learned that the accusations touching the force under his command were necessarily without foundation.

The Undersigned is sensible that both his Excellency the Minister of the Interior and Prince Cariati have repeatedly manifested their persuasion that neither the Vice-Admiral nor the Undersigned had personally any knowledge of the alleged unlawful importation of arms and gunpowder; but after consulting Sir William Parker, the Undersigned is under the necessity of stating that this avowal is not considered by the Vice-Admiral nor by himself as conclusively satisfactory.

The most convincing proofs have been offered that no arms or stores of war whatever have been drawn from Her Britannic Majesty's ships since they left Malta, and the Undersigned has courted the fullest investigation of the charge that such arms were deposited at this Legation, without being able to elicit any proofs to that effect.

The Undersigned has therefore the honour to solicit from his Excellency the Prince Cariati a declaration that the Neapolitan Government do not now ascribe to the officers and boats of the British squadron, or to any person

connected with Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, any participation in the above-mentioned unlawful traffic of arms, nor believe that they were ever deposited at the residence of Her Majesty's Envoy.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

NAPIER.

No. 599.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, November 19, 1848.

THE effects of the catastrophe at Rome cannot yet be appreciated, but they must be very serious, and the consideration of them gives rise to great apprehensions. There can be no doubt however that the war cry will now be greatly increased in Rome. I see no hopes that it will be resisted by the new Roman Government.

Such a stimulus was not wanted to fan the flame here, and the Roman war party will be echoed in Tuscany.

From a conversation I had with M. Montanelli, who called upon me to discuss the events at Rome. I find the old sentiment revived with greater force than ever, that as long as an Austrian remains on this side of the Alps there can be no hope of repose or peace for Italy.

M. Montanelli anxiously inquired what were the feelings of Her Majesty's Government on this important subject, and seemed to doubt whether they were fully enough impressed with the conviction of this great necessity for Italy. I assured M. Montanelli that no Government could be better informed or more alive to the real position and wants of Italy than the British Government, but I expressed my opinion that if the Tuscan Government relied upon the assistance of Great Britain and France to expel the Austrians from Italy, they must be disappointed. He then replied, "Nothing remains, I fear, but the Italian sword, which must never be sheathed while a German soldier remained in Italy." I said I did not believe that the Italian sword alone would be able to effect that object.

I think it a most fortunate thing that the recent convulsion at Rome, which has caused a great agitation here, has found a Ministry in power, which, however extreme in their opinions, have the merit of keeping everything quiet and of satisfying the wishes of the people.

I reflect with dismay on what might have been the result here had the present crisis found Tuscany in the state of anarchy and agitation to which it had long been a prey before the formation of the Montanelli Ministry. Everything has passed off quietly, and the Grand Duke seems fully sensible of this fact, and seems daily to be more at ease at the prospects before him.

I hear that the Roman Minister of War, General Zucchi, is to be recalled immediately from Bologna, where by his energetic measures he had in a few days put down the gangs of robbers and assassins which for months past had infested the city under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Amat. He had seized immense quantity of arms and stolen goods for which he had instituted a search. By this means confidence was restored.

The list of the new Administration which has been forced upon the Pope is as follows :

The Abbé Rosmini	-	-	-	President of the Council.
Count Mamiani	-	-	-	Foreign Affairs.
Galletti	-	-	-	Interior and Police.
Sereni	-	-	-	Grace and Justice.
Sterbini	-	-	-	Commerce.
Campello	-	-	-	War.
Sunati	-	-	-	Finance.

No. 600.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, November 19, 1848.

I THINK I may assure your Lordship that the intentions of the present Ministers are good; that they are likely to benefit the country and invigorate the national institutions. The sweeping reforms that they find it necessary to make astonish the people and arouse the public servants from the lethargy in which they have hitherto been plunged.

Their reforms are not revolutionary, and I trust will continue to bear the same stamp of moderation that they do at present; and I firmly believe that if the Grand Duke had not adopted the course he has done, situated as Tuscany lately was, he would have been exposed to all the horrors of domestic war.

No. 601.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 21, 1848.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that an attempt was made to assassinate the Duke of Modena on the 16th instant in the neighbourhood of that city as he was returning from one of his villas. His Royal Highness was walking on the road accompanied by an aide-de-camp and followed by his carriage, when an individual named Giacomo Rizzati, who appeared to be digging in a field, let fall his spade, seized a double-barrelled gun and pointed it at the Duke. His Royal Highness escaped to the other side of the road, while his aide-de-camp, Count Guerra, courageously rushed upon the assassin, who fled, but turning round he fired on Count Guerra and wounded him in the arm. The Count nevertheless pursued the man, having seized the spade with which he was digging, and with the assistance of the Duke's suite took him prisoner and conveyed him to Modena. A "Te Deum" has been chaunted at Modena for the Duke's preservation.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 602.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 29.)

(Extract.)

Florence, November 21, 1848.

I HAVE received information to-day from Bologna that the news of Count Rossi's assassination has been received there with delight.

That city is ready for rebellion, and the town of Comachio has already declared against the Pope.

The Swiss guard at Rome have been disarmed and dispersed.

No. 603.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord,

Turin, November 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note which I have received from the Consulta of Lombardy, requesting me to forward to Her Majesty's Government the inclosed memorandum which they have addressed to the Government of His Sardinian Majesty relative to Marshal Radetzky's decree of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 603.

The Consulta of Lombardy to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Excellence,

Turin, le 23 Novembre, 1848.

LA Consulte de la Lombardie a l'honneur de présenter à votre Excellence un nouveau memorandum qu'elle adresse à la suite de celui du 14 Novembre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi Charles Albert et aux Puissances médiatrices, au sujet de la proclamation du Maréchal Radetzky du 11 de ce mois.

Elle y démontre que l'application pratique de la contribution imposée par le Maréchal en rehausse l'iniquité, qu'elle est si arbitraire qu'elle touche à la folie, et qu'elle amènerait, si on lui laissait le loisir de l'exécuter, non seulement le dépouillement complet des familles taxées, mais la ruine totale du pays, en y tarissant les sources de toute prospérité agricole et commerciale.

La Consulte, qui doit bien des remerciemens à votre Excellence pour l'empressement qu'elle a eu de transmettre à Lord Palmerston son memorandum du 14 de ce mois, se tient assurée qu'elle voudra de même avoir la complaisance de soumettre au plus tôt à la considération du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ce nouveau document, qui met au plus grand jour la situation que le Maréchal Radetzky fait aux provinces envahies, en se jouant tout à la fois de la médiation des Hautes Puissances et des principes éternels du droit et de l'humanité.

La Consulte, &c.

(Signé)

CASATI.
DURINI.A. MAURI, *Secrétaire.*

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Turin, November 23, 1848.

THE Consulta of Lombardy has the honour to present to your Excellency a fresh memorandum which it addresses, in continuation of that of the 14th of November, to the Government of His Majesty King Charles Albert and to the mediating Powers, on the subject of Marshal Radetzky's proclamation of the 11th instant.

It proves therein that the practical application of the contribution imposed by the Marshal increases the injustice of it, that it is so arbitrary as to border on insanity, and that it would occasion, if he were allowed leisure to execute it, not only the complete spoliation of the families taxed, but the entire ruin of the country, by exhausting the sources of all agricultural and commercial prosperity within it.

The Consulta, which owes many thanks to your Excellency for the readiness with which you forwarded to Lord Palmerston its memorandum of the 14th instant, is certain that you will likewise have the kindness as soon as possible to submit to the consideration of Her Britannic Majesty's Government this fresh document, which places in the strongest light the situation into which Marshal Radetzky throws the invaded provinces, setting at nought at once the mediation of the High Powers and the eternal principles of right and of humanity.

The Consulta, &c.

(Signed)

CASATI.
DURINI.A. MAURI, *Secretary.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 603.

Memorandum from the Consulta of Lombardy.

COLLA memoria 14 Novembre la Consulta Lombarda denunziava al Governo del Rè ed alle Potenze mediatrici il proclama pubblicato del Maresciallo Radetzky in Milano nel precedente giorno 11 col quale sottoponeva a contribuzione straordinaria le persone comprese nelle tre categorie nel proclama stesso indicate; dichiarava che colle sostanze di ogni tassato sarebbesi procurato l'incasso della

rispettiva contribuzione ; diffidava finalmente che le sostanze apprendibili ritenevansi quelle che ciascun tassato possedeva al 18 Marzo corrente anno.

Con quella memoria la Consulta Lombarda provava come questa disposizione era contraria alle convenzioni militari del 5 e del 9 Agosto, contraria ai principii eterni di diritto che regolano qualunque civile consorzio, contraria allo spirito ed al concetto della proposta mediazione.

Ma la Consulta Lombarda era ben lontana dal supporre che l'ingiustizia della misura eccezionale del Maresciallo dovesse spingersi fino alla follia nella pratica applicazione, giacchè non poteva prevedere le somme enormi che avrebbero figurato nell'esazione, somme che nel loro complesso rappresenterebbero centinaia di milioni, se la proporzione finora adottata dovesse essere seguita nelle contribuzioni che verranno di mano in mano intimate ad ogni famiglia tassata, e se tutte le famiglie o tutti gli individui compresi nelle indicate categorie dovessero esser colpiti.

E un fatto evidente, irrecusabile, che raccogliendo tutto il numerario che non solo la Lombardia potesse possedere, ma il numerario pur anche di varie provincie pari in industria e pari in fertilità, non si verrebbe a porre insieme quanto occorre a saziare l'ingordigia del Maresciallo.

E quindi un fatto evidente ed irrecusabile, l'assoluta impossibilità nella quale si troveranno tutti i tassati di soddisfare la contribuzione, quando pure il volessero. Che se poi si pone mente alla circostanza essenziale che l'imposto di tutte le contribuzioni deve essere versato in sei settimane, in allora l'assurdità della ingiunta esazione si palesa da sè stessa così limpida, così trionfante da soggiogare ogni mente senza bisogno di prove ulteriori.

Nè vale in dire che se la tassa è d'impossibile realizzazione per mancanza di numerario, non potrebbe in fin del conto essere realmente estorta al paese. Basta il tentarne la riscossione coi mezzi minacciati dal Maresciallo per rovinare qualunque tassato ; giacchè dovendo egli essere espropriato del suo patrimonio quando non versi la contribuzione intimatagli, ne verrebbe la conseguenza ch'egli sarebbe obbligato a cederlo per quel minimo presso che fosse offerto, o cederlo per intero senz'altre pratiche all'amministrazione militare, quando non trovasse aspirante all'aquisto.

E realmente questi aspiranti non vi saranno quando si vogliano veri, seri ed onesti, giacchè manca il numerario per saldare l'aquisto, e manca la confidenza intrinseca dell'aquisto per l'evidente illegalità dello spoglio comminato da una misura così folle, così tirannica.

Noti il Governo del Rè, notino le Potenze mediatrici, che le tasse che finora son conosciute corrono dalle ventimila lire al milione e più per ogni famiglia, e notino che l'arbitrio dei relativi riparti e così fatto che in alcuni casi la tassa raggiunge il terzo, in altri la metà della rispettiva sostanza. Notino che non mancano i casi nei quali la tassa raggiunge il valore venale dell'intera sostanza, e perfino la superi, tanto arbitrio e tanta vendetta han presieduto alla formazione dei relativi riparti. Quando poi si volesse por mente all'immensa deprezzazione delle proprietà dipendenti dalle circostanze presenti dal gitto in commercio di così enormi valori, è facile prevedere che la proporzione della tassa può riuscire duplicata, quadruplicata, decuplicata rispetto al danno finale che ne risentirà la famiglia espropriata.

Immenso riuscirà quindi lo spostamento violento e contemporaneo delle proprietà ; immenso il danno che ne risentirà l'agricoltura per l'incertezza dei nuovi acquisti, per l'amministrazione fiscale, per la ruba, pel sacco, per le depredazioni, pei guasti d'ogni maniera dai quali sarà seguita ; immenso il danno d'ogni industria d'ogni commercio, per la scomparsa totale del numerario, in un paese siccome il nostro nel quale ogni transazione è fatta a danaro contante.

Così in pochi mesi d'armistizio e sulla fede della mediazione delle due prime Potenze del mondo sarà lecito ad un soldato di vendicare l'onta di una prima isfatta sopra un popolo generoso spargendone il sangue a capriccio, disonorandolo nelle sue famiglie, e rovinando economicamente e moralmente un intero paese più che nol sarebbe un secolo intiero di schiavitù !

Torino, 22 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato)

Casati, <i>Presidente.</i>	Rezzonico.
Borromeo.	Giulini.
Durini.	Turroni.
Moroni.	Dossi.
Strigelli.	Beretta.

A. Mauri, *Segretario.*

(Translation.)

THE Consulta Lombarda, in their memorial of the 14th November, denounced to the King's Government and to the mediating Powers the proclamation issued in Milan by Marshal Radetzky on the 11th of the month, by which he imposed extraordinary contributions on the persons included in the three classes mentioned in the proclamation, declared that the amount of the respective contributions would be levied upon the goods of the parties assessed, and finally determined that the property liable to seizure comprised that which was in possession of each assessed person on the 18th day of March of the present year.

The Consulta Lombarda proved in their memorial that the above regulation was contrary to the military conventions of the 5th and 9th of August, to the eternal principals of right which govern all civil society, and opposed to the spirit and intention of the proposed mediation.

But the Consulta Lombarda was very far from imagining that the injustice of the Marshal's exceptional measure would in its practical application be carried to such extremes, for it could not foresee the enormous sums which were to appear in the assessment; sums which in their amount would represent hundreds of millions, if the rate hitherto adopted should be followed out in the contributions which may be successively called for from each family assessed, and if all the families or all the individuals comprised in the classes named be called upon to pay.

It is an obvious and undeniable fact that the whole of the specie in the possession not only of Lombardy but also of many provinces equal to it in industry and fertility, would not, taken altogether, be sufficient to satisfy the demands made upon it. It is consequently an evident and undeniable fact that it is absolutely impossible for all the parties assessed to pay the contribution, if even they were desirous of doing it. If then attention be directed to the essential circumstance that the payment of all the contributions must be made in six weeks, the absurdity of the unjust demand will appear of itself so clearly and triumphantly as to convince every man's judgment without need of further proofs.

Nor should it be said that if it is impossible to realize the assessment for want of specie it cannot after all be really extorted from the country. An attempt to levy the amount through the measures which the Marshal threatens to employ will be sufficient to ruin every person assessed; because the penalty of not paying the contribution demanded, being deprivation of patrimony, the consequence would be that each party would be compelled to sell his property for the very trifling amount that would be offered, or to give it up altogether without further measures to the military administration in case of not meeting with a purchaser.

And in reality such purchasers, however they may wish it, cannot be real, serious, and honourable, because money does not exist to pay the purchase, nor can there be any genuine confidence in the transaction in consequence of its evident illegality.

The King's Government and the mediating Powers are requested to observe that the assessments already made known are to the extent of from twenty thousand to a million lire, and still more, for each family; and that the respective allotments are so arbitrarily drawn, that in some cases the assessment equals the third part, in others the half of the respective properties; that instances are not wanting in which it reaches the sale price of the whole property, and even exceeds it; such is the arbitrary and vindictive feeling which has presided over the formation of the relative assessments. If moreover the immense depreciation of the value of property be considered, owing to existing circumstances and the bringing to market such enormous estates, it is easy to foresee that the rate of assessment may be doubled and quadrupled relative to the final injury suffered by the deprived family.

Immense then will be the compulsory and simultaneous displacement of property, immense will be the injury to agriculture by the uncertainty of the new acquisitions, by the fiscal administration, by theft, by plunder, by the depredations and waste of every sort which must ensue; immense will be the injury to trade of every kind by the total disappearance of specie in a country like ours where every transaction is made in ready money.

Thus in a few months of truce, and on the faith of the mediation of the two first Powers of the world, a soldier will be permitted to avenge the shame of a first defeat upon a generous people, shedding their blood at his caprice, dishonouring them in their families, and economically and morally ruining a whole country more than would have been done by an entire age of slavery.

Turin, November 28, 1848.

(Signed)

Casati, *President.*

Rezzonico.

Borromeo.

Giulini.

Durini.

Turroni.

Moroni.

Dossi.

Strigelli.

Beretta.

A. Mauri, *Secretary.*

No. 604.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 29.)

(Extract.)

Paris, November 28, 1848.

GENERAL CAVAIGNAC has, in answer to a question of M. Bixio, just read to the Assembly the instructions to M. de Courcelles.

No. 605.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 29.)

Lord,

Paris, November 28, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of M. Bastide's instructions to M. de Courcelles, which, since writing my other despatch of this day's date, I have procured from the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NORMANBY.

Inclosure in No. 605.

M. Bastide to M. de Courcelles.

Monsieur et cher collègue,

Paris, le 27 Novembre, 1848.

VOUS connaissez les déplorables événements qui se sont passés dans la ville de Rome et qui ont réduit le Saint Père à une sorte de captivité. En présence de ces événements le Gouvernement de la République vient de décider que quatre frégates à vapeur portant à leur bord une brigade de 3,500 hommes seraient dirigées sur Civita Vecchia.

Il a décidé également que vous vous rendiez à Rome en qualité d'Envoyé Extraordinaire. Votre mission a pour but d'intervenir au nom de la République Française pour faire rendre à Sa Sainteté sa liberté personnelle, si elle en a été privée; si même il entrerait dans son intention, vû les circonstances actuelles, de se retirer momentanément sur le territoire de la République, vous assurerez autant qu'il sera en vous la réalisation de ce vœu, et vous assurerez le Pape qu'il trouvera au sein de la nation Française un accueil digne d'elle et digne aussi des vertus dont il a donné tant de preuves.

Vous n'êtes autorisé à intervenir dans aucune des questions politiques qui s'agitent à Rome. Il appartient à l'Assemblée Nationale seule de déterminer la part qu'elle voudra faire prendre à la République dans les mesures qui devront concourir au rétablissement d'une situation régulière dans les Etats de l'Eglise; pour le moment vous avez au nom du Gouvernement qui vous envoie, et qui en cela reste dans la limite des pouvoirs qui lui ont été confiés, à assurer la liberté et le respect de la personne du Pape.

A votre arrivée devant Civita Vecchia vous débarquerez de votre personne pour vous rendre auprès de M. d'Harcourt, avec lequel vous aurez à vous entendre pour agir ensuite conjointement dans la ligne qui vous est tracée par le Gou-

vernement. Vous ne ferez débarquer les troupes mises à votre disposition que dans le cas où, soit à Civita Vecchia même, soit dans un rayon extérieur proportionné à leur effectif, elles pourraient concourir à amener le succès de votre mission. Des mesures sont prises pour renforcer cette brigade, si cela devenait nécessaire, et vous recevrez sans doute des instructions ultérieures plus développées, si l'Assemblée Nationale l'a jugé convenable.

Je ne saurais trop insister pour vous faire bien comprendre que votre mission n'a et ne peut avoir pour le moment d'autre but que d'assurer la sécurité personnelle du Saint Père et dans un cas extrême sa retraite momentanée sur le territoire de la République. Vous aurez soin de proclamer hautement que vous n'avez à intervenir à aucun titre dans les dissentimens qui séparent aujourd'hui le Saint Père du peuple qu'il gouverne. La République, mue par un sentiment qui est une vieille tradition pour la nation Française, se porte au secours de la personne du Pape. Elle ne pense pas à autre chose. Votre mission est délicate; elle exige une grande sûreté de vue et d'appréciation; le Gouvernement de la République a pleine confiance dans les sentimens qui vont vous diriger.

Je dois insister aussi sur l'emploi que vous pourrez avoir à faire des troupes qui sont confiées à votre direction supérieure; leur débarquement ne doit être opéré qu'autant que dans le rayon très court où il leur sera possible d'agir, elles pourraient concourir au seul résultat que vous ayez à atteindre, la sûreté du Pape.

Il est possible que les événemens vous paraissent faire ressortir des nécessités que je ne prévois pas ici; dans ce cas vous auriez à prendre sans délai les ordres du Gouvernement de la République, qui, suivant les cas et les propositions que vous aurez à lui faire, se décidera, soit par son initiative, soit après avoir pris les ordres de l'Assemblée.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) J. BASTIDE.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Paris, November 27, 1848.

YOU are aware of the lamentable events which have occurred in the city of Rome, and which have reduced the Holy Father to a species of captivity. In consequence of these events the Government of the Republic has decided that four steam-frigates, having on board a brigade of 3,500 men, should proceed to Civita Vecchia.

It has likewise decided that you should proceed to Rome in the character of Envoy Extraordinary. The object of your mission is to interpose in the name of the French Republic, in order to restore to His Holiness his personal liberty if he has been deprived of it. If it should even enter into his intention, under existing circumstances, to withdraw for a while into the territory of the Republic, you will ensure as much as shall be in your power the realisation of this desire, and you will assure the Pope that he will meet in the bosom of the French nation with a reception worthy of that nation, and worthy also of the virtues whereof he has given such proofs.

You are not authorized to interfere in any of the political questions which are in discussion at Rome. It appertains to the National Assembly alone to determine on the part which it shall desire the Republic to take in the measures which shall contribute to re-establish a regular state of affairs in the territories of the Church; for the present you have, in the name of the Government which sends you, and which in so doing confines itself within the limits of the powers entrusted to it, to ensure the liberty of the Pope and respect for his person.

On your arrival before Civita Vecchia you will disembark in order to join M. d'Harcourt, with whom you will have to come to an understanding, for the purpose of acting conjointly in the line laid down for you by the Government. You will cause the troops placed at your disposal to be disembarked only in the event of their being able, either at Civita Vecchia itself, or within a space outside of it proportioned to their means of acting effectively, to co-operate in bringing about the success of your mission. Measures are being taken to reinforce this brigade, if it should become necessary to do so, and you will doubtless receive further and more detailed instructions if the National Assembly should so determine.

I cannot insist too much upon your understanding that your mission has not and cannot have for the moment any other object than that of ensuring the personal security of the Holy Father, and in an extreme case his temporary withdrawal into the territory of the Republic. You will be careful loudly to proclaim that you have in no way to interfere under any pretence in the dissensions which at present separate the Holy Father from the people whom he governs. The Republic, influenced by a sentiment which is an ancient tradition of the French nation, advances to the succour of the person of the Pope. It meditates nothing else. Your mission is a delicate one; it requires great certainty in seeing and appreciating; the Government of the Republic has full confidence in the sentiments which will direct you.

I must also dwell upon the manner in which you may have occasion to employ the troops entrusted to your superior direction; their disembarkation is not to take place unless, within the very narrow limits in which it will be possible for them to act, they may contribute to the single result at which you have to aim, the security of the Pope.

It is possible that events may appear to you to render necessary measures which I do not here anticipate; in that case you will have to take without delay the orders of the Government of the Republic, which, according to the cases and the propositions that you will have to lay before it, will decide either of itself, or after having taken the orders of the Assembly.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) J. BASTIDE.

No. 606.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 30, 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 19th instant, reporting the opinion expressed to you by M. Montanelli, that as long as an Austrian remains on the Italian side of the Alps, there can be no peace for Italy, I have to instruct you to say to M. Montanelli, if he speaks to you again on the necessity of driving the Austrians out of Italy, that if the Italians could accomplish this purpose by their own means, nobody could justly object to their doing so, and nobody can doubt that such an emancipation would greatly contribute to the welfare and happiness of Italy; but the Italians are manifestly unable to accomplish such a result by the force of their own arms; and it would be highly unreasonable for them to expect that England and France should draw the sword to do for Italy in this respect what Italy cannot do for itself. Under these circumstances the best thing which the Italians can do is to lie by and wait with patience till the course of events may present an opportunity favourable to their views; and they should not by premature endeavours bring upon themselves certain defeat and a worse condition than their present one.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 607.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 30.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 25, 1848.

IN obedience to your directions I communicated your Lordship's instructions of the 11th instant to his Excellency the Baron de Wessenberg, and I have now the honour to lay before you the reply made by his Excellency to Mr. Samuel, whom I employed to show your instructions to him. I fully instructed Mr. Samuel what he was to say to the Baron, and also to take down in writing without delay the answers he should receive. Mr. Samuel on his return here stated to me all that had passed at his interview, and made me the report of it in writing which I inclose.

Your Lordship will see that your instructions above mentioned were read and a copy of them given to Baron Wessenberg, and also that the extracts from

Mr. Vice-Consul Campbell's reports to your Lordship were read to his Excellency. The Baron said that he could not give an immediate reply to so elaborate and well written a despatch as that of your Lordship, and he would then only observe that the Lombards and more particularly the Milanese have been at all times dissatisfied, and that they had conducted themselves towards the French just as they had since done towards the Austrians.

Next morning Mr. Samuel waited on his Excellency, who gave him a letter for me. They entered again into conversation: and in reply to observations made by Mr. Samuel in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, urging the Imperial Government to accept the terms proposed by England and France for the basis of the joint mediation, his Excellency said that he now repeated what he had before answered to similar propositions, that the Austrians had named their Plenipotentiary, and he therefore would ask, "Why does not Sardinia, if desirous of peace, do the same? Sardinia," he said, "has been prevented by France and is so still;—had it not been for France, the Austrians would have marched to Turin, and there dictated peace to Charles Albert."

Mr. Samuel made observations in vindication of the conduct of France, and added that a march on Turin would have brought on a general war. The Baron said, "Yes; but we are in a state of war all over Europe, a social war—and it is a question whether it were not better to have a regular war. Austria would not be the weakest even then." Mr. Samuel observed the question was this,—the right of Austria to keep Lombardy was not disputed, but the difficulties and dangers to which Austria might be exposed by so doing were the objects of your Lordship's anxiety. You wished that the Austrian Government would adopt the measures recommended, and by so doing prevent a war growing out of a question into which entered no dispute of Austrian right, but which might seriously compromise Austrian interests.

Baron Wessenberg then said that a mediation would not suffice for the object; and when Mr. Samuel again spoke of the danger of war breaking out in the spring, his Excellency said "My letters from Paris are not encouraging. The election of a President may lead to war, but Austria is not so weak as to be unable to resist her enemies. If Austria should give up Lombardy, the French would say they had made us do so, and we must consult our honour, our interests, our *amour-propre*, and the spirit of the army."

Mr. Samuel asked his Excellency what he thought of the decree of the Central Government that all the forces of Germany were at its disposal; his Excellency said, "Do you think that the Central Power will order our army to march against us?"

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 607.

Mr. Samuel to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Olmütz, November 19, 1848.

IN obedience to your instructions I informed his Excellency Baron Wessenberg that Viscount Palmerston recommends Brussels as the place where the conferences about the mediation between Austria and Sardinia should be held; Baron Wessenberg merely observed in reply, that the distance of Brussels from Italy was a great objection to the choice of that city for the purpose mentioned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE SAMUEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 607.

Mr. Samuel to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Olmütz, November 19, 1848.

I CALLED on Baron Wessenberg this morning, and in conformity with your Excellency's instructions I read to Baron Wessenberg Viscount Palmerston's despatch of the 11th instant addressed to you, and gave his Excellency a copy of the same. I likewise read to the Baron the extracts of Lieutenant Campbell's reports which are referred to by Viscount Palmerston.

The Baron told me that he could not give an immediate reply to so elaborate and well written a despatch as that of the 11th instant, but that he would merely observe that the Lombards and the Milanese particularly had always been noted for their dissatisfaction with the ruling powers, whatever they might be; that the feeling did not apply to Austria alone; that the Lombards had been equally impatient of and dissatisfied with the rule of the French, and under their government had resorted to the same means they now employed against Austria, to show their discontent. Under the government of the French all the noble families either withdrew from Milan or closed their palaces, and would in no way associate with the French, and that money to the amount of eight millions sterling was during the period of the French rule in Lombardy invested by the Lombards in the English funds. The giving up of Lombardy by Austria was a question full of difficulty and perhaps of danger for her, it was a question which involved her honour, her self-love, her interests, and the feeling of the army. I observed to his Excellency that as regarded the interests of Austria it seemed that they might now be reconciled (supposing it was the interest of Austria to cede Lombardy) both with her honour and with the feeling of the army. His Excellency said "Why were not the terms I offered in July accepted by the Sardinians and Lombards? Now our position is entirely changed."

I admitted that change of things, but observed to his Excellency that what he would have yielded in July last would probably have carried with it the idea of the necessity in which Austria was placed to make the offer; whereas now the position and power of Austria were so different that she could grant of her own accord such terms to Lombardy as would prove that her concessions were made from a desire to maintain peace in Europe. "But," asked the Baron, "what is to be done with Lombardy, and who can guarantee the maintenance of peace?" I replied I was unable to answer either question, but that I was instructed to tell his Excellency confidentially, and to press it on his serious attention, that in the event of no arrangement being now made about Lombardy, there was every chance of war breaking out in the spring. His Excellency said, "It may be so, and if it be, Austria will not be found the weakest Power in Europe." His Excellency then requested me to call on him to-morrow.

(Signed) GEORGE SAMUEL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 607.

Mr. Samuel to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Olmütz, November 20, 1848.

I CALLED on Baron Wessenberg to-day. His Excellency told me that Prince Felix Schwarzenberg would be Minister of Foreign Affairs to-morrow, and that he (Baron Wessenberg) would not in all probability have any office in the new Ministry. I said, "am I to understand from this intention, that it is not from your Excellency that I am to receive the reply to the despatch of Viscount Palmerston which I had the honour to give you yesterday, urging your Excellency once more to accept the terms proposed by England and France for the basis of the joint mediation." The Baron gave me the old answer, "We have named our Plenipotentiary, why does not Sardinia, if she wishes for peace, do the same? France is preventing her from so doing." I replied, if it were so I was not aware of it. His Excellency continued, "Yes she is, and she has done so from the commencement of the war; but for France our army would have marched to Turin, and there dictated a peace to Charles Albert." I observed that what his Excellency stated might probably have occurred, but that it must not be forgotten that France was not in her normal state; that what she then did was imposed upon her by her position, and that the march on Turin would in all probability have brought on a general war. "Yes," said the Baron, "but we are in a state of war now all over Europe,—a state of social war; and it is a question whether it were not better to have in its stead a regular war. Austria would not be the weakest Power, even then; for all will depend on the fidelity of the different armies." I replied that I hoped war might be avoided; that I thought the position of Austria as regarded Lombardy was this: her right to keep Lombardy, and her

policy and interests in so doing. That as regarded her right to retain Lombardy, it was perfectly clear from the tone of Lord Palmerston's despatch, that that right was not questioned; but the difficulties and dangers to which Austria by so doing might be exposed from the inimical feelings of the Lombards towards her Government, and from the sympathies entertained by other nations for the Italian cause, were pointed out and most earnestly pressed on his Excellency's attention, in order that a war might not grow out of a question in which Austria's right was not disputed, but in the maintenance of which her interests and policy might be gravely compromised. His Excellency replied, a revision of treaties would then be necessary, and a mediation would not suffice for that. I again pressed on his Excellency the danger of an European war breaking out in the spring. "True," said his Excellency, "war may come; my letters from Paris are not cheering. The election of a President may lead to a war; but I repeat, Austria is not so weak as to be unable to resist her enemies. If we give up Lombardy, France will say she made us do so, and we must consult our honour, our interests, our *amour-propre*, and the spirit of the army."

I asked his Excellency what he thought of the decree of the Central Power that all the forces of Germany were at its disposal. He said "Do you think the Central Power will order our army to march against us?" I replied the Central Power might consider itself competent to give such an order, but I doubted if it would be obeyed? "Probably not," replied his Excellency. Baron Wessenberg then gave me a despatch and a letter addressed to your Excellency, and I took my leave.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE SAMUEL.

No. 608.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 30.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, November 25, 1848.

THE attack upon the party of Kossuth in Hungary will take place immediately. The Austrians will employ in it more than 100,000 men. They probably will succeed against a fraction of the Magyars, and if so they will have the addition of all the resources of Hungary to add to their power. The finances are pressed upon, but in no danger of being ruined, and on this point I speak from the best information.

Late events have established in this country a strong Government.

No. 609.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 30, 1848.

I HAVE to instruct you to urge the Sardinian Government to agree to Brussels as the place of meeting of the Conference of Mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy, and to name a Plenipotentiary to that Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 610.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1848.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that I have instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna and Her Majesty's Minister at Turin to urge the Austrian and Sardinian Governments to agree to Brussels as the place of meeting for the Conference of Mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy, and to name Plenipotentiaries to that Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 611.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

(Extract.)

Paris, December 1, 1848.

M. BASTIDE upon his return home found a telegraphic message announcing the flight of the Pope from Rome, which I inclose.

Inclosure in No. 611.

M. Bastide to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Paris, 1 Décembre, 1848.

J'AI l'honneur de vous adresser copie d'une dépêche télégraphique que je reçois à l'instant :

“ *Civita Vecchia, le 26, 3 h. du soir.*

“ A M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

“ Le Pape est parti furtivement de Rome le 24 à 5 h. du soir.

“ Rome est calme.”

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

(Signé)

JULES BASTIDE.

(Translation.)

Paris, December 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to forward to you a copy of a telegraphic despatch which I have this instant received :

Civita Vecchia, 26, 3 P.M.

“ To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

“ The Pope departed secretly from Rome on the 24th at 5 in the evening.

“ Rome is quiet.”

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JULES BASTIDE.

No. 612.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

My Lord,

Naples, November 21, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th instant, relative to the alleged participation of Her Majesty's squadron and Her Majesty's Mission in a clandestine traffic of arms, I have now the honour to submit to your Lordship a communication from the Prince of Cariati, in which his Excellency refuses to make the avowal requested from him in my note of the 12th instant, namely, that the Neapolitan Government do not now ascribe to any persons connected either with the squadron or the Legation any share in the supposed transaction, nor believe that arms were ever unlawfully conveyed to the residence of Her Majesty's Envoy. The Neapolitan Minister has also stated his intention to bring the matter under your Lordship's consideration in London.

It may be right to acquaint your Lordship that in the beginning of this correspondence, and after the first denial of Sir William Parker that the officers of Her Majesty Navy could by any possibility be implicated in proceedings so disgraceful, a person appeared on board the flag-ship and applied to Captain Wise for arms and ammunition, stating that he was an agent from Modena employed to negotiate a purchase of those articles.

There can be little doubt that he was a spy of the Neapolitan police.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NAPIER.

Inclosure in No. 612.

Prince Cariatì to Lord Napier.

Napoli, 15 Novembre, 1848.

IL Sottoscritto, &c., ha ricevuto la nota di Lord Napier, &c., in data del 12 del corrente, relativa al traffico clandestino di alcune armi e munizioni, e con sommo rincrescimento ha dovuto convincersi che non ostante le spiegazione partecipate per iscritto e verbalmente in varie conferenze, non è riuscita a soddisfare interamente i desiderj del Signor Incaricato di Affari e del Signor Vice-Ammiraglio Parker. Il Sottoscritto intanto nulla può aggiungere alle precedenti comunicazioni sull' oggetto, ed essendosi noto che la corrispondenza che ha avuto luogo per quest' oggetto è stata trasmessa al Primo Segretario di Stata per gli Affari Esteri della Gran Bretagna, ne spedirà ugualmente copia al Regio Inviato in Londra, affinchè informato dell' accaduto dia le possibili convenienti spiegazioni a Lord Palmerston.

Profitta, &c.

(Firmato)

PCE. DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 15, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note of the 12th instant from Lord Napier, &c., respecting the clandestine traffic in certain arms and ammunitions, and is much grieved to find that notwithstanding the explanations which have been given both in writing and verbally in various conferences, he has not succeeded in entirely satisfying the Chargé d'Affaires and Vice-Admiral Parker. The Undersigned however has nothing more to add to his previous communication upon this subject, and as he is aware that the correspondence which has passed has been transmitted to the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, he will also send copies to the King's Envoy in London, so that having been made acquainted with what has taken place he may be enabled to explain the matter to Lord Palmerston.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PCE. OF CARIATI.

No. 613.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

(Extract.)

Naples, November 21, 1848.

THE elections for six vacancies in the representation of Naples have issued in the choice of three Radical candidates, and the three names next to them on the poll belong to the same party, but as they did not obtain more than one-third of the whole number of votes delivered, they are not returned, and the election for the three vacancies will have to be repeated.

It may be remarked that of the constituency of the city of Naples amounting upwards of 12,000 voters, only 1491 came to the poll.

The provincial elections in the vicinity of the capital are believed to have taken a Conservative turn, but the results are not yet definitively ascertained.

No. 614.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 2.)

My Lord,

Milan, November 24, 1848.

I DO myself the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information a list of those Milanese on whom notices have been served to pay the extraordinary contributions as set forth in the proclamation of his Excellency

Field-Marshal Radetzky of the 11th instant, together with the sum which each individual is fined, against his name. It was intended at one time to publish an official list, but that plan having been dropped, I consequently can only transmit to your Lordship such a list (which I trust is substantially correct) as I have been able to obtain from my own private resources. Not only the greater part of the noble and rich Milanese families are fined, but many also possessing small properties. The number of the individuals already fined is 209, and the sum total amounts to 20,060,000 Austrian livres, or 668,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, calculating the pound sterling at thirty Austrian livres.

I have not yet been able to ascertain whether the residents in the provinces have had notices served on them to pay the extraordinary contributions. When this takes place it will of course be my duty to acquaint your Lordship and to transmit a list containing the names of those fined and the amount each individual must pay.

I do myself the honour further to inclose for your Lordship's information a statement of the sums raised by order of his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky since the occupation of Milan by the Imperial troops, amounting as your Lordship will perceive to 31,836,000 Austrian livres, or upwards of 1,060,000*l.* sterling. It may be proper here to observe that the ordinary Predial Tax is about 3½ per cent. Since the return of the Austrians it has amounted from the imposition of extra taxes to about 8 per cent. This is independent of the Communal Tax, amounting generally to 2 per cent., which is applied for the support of public schools, the repair of roads, bridges, &c. I learn from undoubted authority that the extra taxes in the communes where soldiers are now quartered, amount to 20 per cent., which together with the ordinary Predial Tax makes in all 23½ per cent. on landed property. This does not include the large contributions which have been raised on the many insurgent districts as a punishment.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 614.

List of those Fined in consequence of the Proclamation of Marshal Radetzky of November 11, 1848, with the amount of the Fine of each individual.

	Austrian L.		Austrian L.
Duke Antonio Litta	800 000	Noble Guicciardi	100,000
Count Giulio Litta	400,000	Count Giuseppe Archinto	500,000
Count Vitaliano Borromeo	800,000	Marchioness Seibelloni Busca	300,000
Count Renato Borromeo	200,000	Noble Camozzi	300,000
Count Federico Borromeo	200,000	Count Cesare Stampa Soncino	100,000
Duke Uberto Visconti	800,000	Signor Angelo Decio	30,000
Marquis Filippo Ali Ponzzone	600,000	Duchess Litta	60,000
Noble Soldi Pezzoli	600,000	Signora Fulvia Verri Tacopetti	50,000
Count Gabrio Casati	300,000	Colonel Tacopetti	20,000
Signor Filippo Manara	20,000	Signor Antonio Beretta	50,000
Signor Achille Manara	40,000	The heirs of the property Dugnani	200,000
Signor Luciano Manara	60,000	Count Francesco Annoni	400,000
Signora Carmelita Manara Fè	20 000	The heirs of the property Fagnani	200,000
Signora Teresa Kramer Berra	40,000	Marquis Stampa Soncino	300,000
Advocate Traversi	500 000	Signor Luigi Piccinini Rossari	80,000
Marquis Francesco Cusani	100,000	Count Pompeo Litta	50,000
Marchioness Clementina Cusani	100,000	Princess Cristina Belgiojoso	800,000
Count Antonio Greppi	80,000	Marquis Rocca Saporiti	80,000
Count Marco Greppi	80,000	Count Faustino Sanseverino	50,000
Noble Giuseppe Greppi	40,000	Marquis Raimondi	600,000
Noble Paolo Greppi	40,000	Marquis Anselmo Guerrieri	100,000
Noble Paolo Greppi (minor)	40,000	Count Antonio Trotti	200 000
Signor Tealdo	80,000	Count Giuseppe Resta	60,000
Prince Pio	200,000	Marquis Visconti Ajmi	300,000
Marquis Isimbardi and brothers	500,000	Cavalier Filippo Scotti	70,000
Noble Gaetano Perego	100,000	Signor Arnaboldi	500,000
Count Arese	300,000	Count Giuseppe Durini	100,000
Countess Giustina Verri	80,000	Noble Giuseppe Bertoglio Barretta	60,000
Princess Lumiares Falcò Pio	200,000	Noble Francesco Berra	50,000
Count Pompeo Belgiojoso	50,000	Noble Signora Berra	20,000
Marquis Paolo Rescalli	100,000	Cavalier Giovanni Vimercati	200,000
Count Alessandro Sormani	300,000	Noble Ercole Durini	20,000

	Austrian L.		Austrian L.
Signori Taccioli brothers	100,000	Advocate Francesco Restelli	20,000
Signor Paolo Poggi	100,000	Signor Gennaro Viscontini	20,000
Signor Giuseppe Besana	40,000	Noble Giulia Venino Taverna	10,000
Count Giulio Porro	20,000	Count Lorenzo Taverna	40,000
Count Arconati	300,000	Count Filippo Taverna	40,000
Count Cesare Giulini	50,000	Doctor Antonio Peloso	20,000
Signora Carolina Frappolli Berra	20,000	Count Antonio Taverna	40,000
Signor Mauri, Municipal Assessor	40,000	Marchioness Maria Borromeo d'Adda	20,000
Signor Antonio Gargantini	200,000	Count Carlo Rassini	00,000
Marquis Giorgio Trivulzio	40,000	Noble Eugenio Venini	10,000
Baron Gaetano Ciani	20,000	Signor Giuseppe Prinetti	20,000
Noble Paolo Battaglia	50,000	Noble Cesare Porta	20,000
Prince Gonzaga	100,000	Doctor Carlo Simonetta	40,000
Signor Felice Besana	50,000	Countess Castiglioni Rasini	100,000
Count Pompeo Litta Biumi	60,000	The heirs of the property Azzimonti	30,000
Princess Soresina Vidoni	60,000	Noble Taverna (a madman)	30,000
Marquis Giuseppe Arconati	50,000	Prince Bartolomeo Soresina Vidoni	60,000
Marchioness Costanza Arconati	20,000	Count Giuseppe Belgiojoso	20,000
Signor Gaetano Besana	60,000	Noble Girolami Calvi	20,000
Marquis Uberto Pallavicini	50,000	Count Angelo Trivulzio Caccia	20,000
Princess Beatrice Orsini	30,000	Signor Carlo Torelli	60,000
Count Antonio Duvini	30,000	Count Francesco Pertusati	30,000
Count Vincenzo San Giovan Toffetti	50,000	Doctor Attilio Mozzoni	10,000
Signor Giulio Prinetti	50,000	Marquis Giuseppe Fassati	50,000
Count Girolamo Vimercati Sanseverino	40,000	Countess Antonietta Fassati (Somaglia)	20,000
Count Carlo Vimercati Sanseverino	50,000	Count Antonio San Giuliani	40,000
Advocate Carlo Camperio	20,000	Engineer Negroni Prato	100,000
Noble Alessandro Bossi Visconti	20,000	Marquis Rosales	80,000
Signor Ignazio Prinetti	40,000	Noble Gaetano Strigelli	50,000
Prince Porcia	50,000	Noble Luigi Strigelli	20,000
Signor Antonio Bisleri	40,000	Doctor Andrea Lissoni	40,000
Count Carlo Porro	30,000	Noble Giuseppe Franchetti	20,000
Baron Giuseppe Patroni	40,000	Noble Costantino Franchetti	20,000
Noble Giorgio Clerici	30,000	Noble Teresa Poldi	40,000
Noble Carlo Clerici	30,000	Marchioness Maria d'Adda (Doria)	20,000
Noble Pietro Clerici	30,000	Noble Giovanni d'Adda	20,000
Count Francesco Borgia	50,000	Signor Bonifacio del Pozzo	20,000
Signora Fanny Fumagalli Bonacina	20,000	Marchioness Cigalini Dal Verme	10,000
Marchioness Leopolda Wacher Incisa	20,000	Noble Anna Torelli	40,000
Noble Vitaliano Crivelli	30,000	Count Carlo Taverna	300,000
Count Carlo Delia Somaglia	20,000	Noble Carlo Vidiserti	50,000
General Teodoro Lechi	40,000	Engineer Ercole Viscontini	50,000
Noble Alessandro Litta Modigani	20,000	Baron Trecchi	40,000
Noble Girolamo Litta Modigani	10,000	Cavalier Antonio Re	40,000
Noble Alfonso Litta Modigani	20,000	Marchioness Giuseppina Cornaggia	10,000
Noble Giulio Litta Modigani	20,000	Doctor Venini	10,000
Noble Paolo Litta Modigani	20,000	Countess Antonietta Greppi	80,000
Countess Giovanna De Capitani	20,000	Noble Antonio Castiglioni	10,000
Countess Ottolini Visconti	30,000	Noble Innocente Pini	20,000
Noble Alessandro Manzoni	20,000	Noble Alessandro Brambilla	30,000
Countess Giuseppina Trivulzio Porro	20,000	Marchioness Antonietta Litta Castel- barco	300,000
Count Luigi Lambertengo Porro	20,000	Count Castelbarco	100,000
Noble Giovanni Mozzoni	10,000	Countess Porcia Sanseverino	20,000
Noble Achille Mozzoni	10,000	Signor Cesare Correnti	30,000
Noble Leopoldina d'Adda Passalacqua	20,000	Noble Giuseppina Franchetti Fidiserti	50,000
Signor Antonio Prinetti	20,000	Marchioness Leopolda Kerwenhülle d'Adda	100,000
Noble Massimiliano Magnoni	20,000	Count Scotti	60,000
Count Bernardo Tolomei	30,000	Countess Venino Taverna	20,000
Count Giovanni della Somaglio (Cavazzo)	50,000	Marquis Luigi Porro	20,000
Noble Alessandro Rezzonico della Torre	20,000	Count Giberto Porro	20,000
Signora Sofia Simonetta Prinetti	20,000	Countess Trivulzio Porro	20,000
Signor Luigi Simonetta	20,000	Professor Antonio Kramer	50,000
Signor Carlo Prinetti	20,000	Count Ambrogio Nava	80,000
Monsignor Pio Scotti	60,000	Colonel Giuseppe Cima	20,000
Count Pirro Visconti	30,000	Noble Carlo Dembosky	10,000
Signora Teresa Prinetti Besana	20,000	Doctor Marco Paletta	50,000
Noble Ferdinando De Herra	20,000	Marquis Trotti	400,000
Noble Ottavio Piola Daverio	20,000	Countess Gallarati Scotti	60,000
Noble Gabrio Piola Daverio	20,000	Countess Luigia Ferrari Borgia	30,000
Count Alessandro Salazar	20,000	Noble Luigia Vidiserti Bertoglio	60,000
Count Paolo Taverna	40,000		
Count Ludovico Taverna	40,000		
Noble Luigi Votta	20,000		
Noble Zanino Votta	20,000		
Noble Marino Torelli Vitali	40,000		
			20,060,000

Inclosure 2 in No. 614.

Statement of the Ordinary and Extraordinary Taxes raised by order of Marshal Radetzky since August 6, 1848.

1848.			Austrian L.
September 20.	Rate of ordinary tax in advance	..	1,200,000
"	Tax on tradesmen and merchants	..	175,000
October 5.	First rate of extra tax	..	493,000
" 26.	Second rate	..	550,000
November 7.	First rate of provincial extra tax	..	991,000
" 20.	State of predial tax paid in advance	..	1,100,000
	Remaining rate of provincial extra tax due 4th December, 1848	..	991,000
Total paid by the city of Milan			5,500,000
The ordinary predial tax for the whole province of Milan paid to the end of December, 1848			4,500,000
Loan from the city of Milan			2,836,000
Raised on mortgages guaranteed by the provincial congregation of Milan.. .. .			700,000
Total sum paid by the city and province of Milan			13,536,000
Paid by the province of Lodi and Crema, about			5,000,000
Paid by the province of Pavia,			2,000,000
Paid by the province of Brescia,			5,500,000
Paid by the province of Bergamo,			2,000,000
Paid by the province of Como,			2,000,000
Paid by the province of Sondrio			1,800,000
Total paid by these provinces			18,300,000
Total paid by the city and province of Milan and the above-mentioned provinces			31,836,600
Or pounds sterling			1,061,200

N.B.—The sums raised in the provinces of Mantua and Cremona are still unknown at the Chamber of Commerce here.

No. 615.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 25.)

My Lord,

Milan, November 24, 1848.

I DO myself the honour to submit to your Lordship the substance of a correspondence that took place between the Municipality of Milan and Field-Marshal Radetzky. Orders having been given that this correspondence should not be made public, I consequently have been unable to procure a sight of the original documents, in order that I might send a translation of them to your Lordship. I do myself the honour to transmit instead, such a version of them as was dictated to me by a person, on whose authority I can rely, who had repeatedly read the letters. This correspondence consists of a letter from the Municipality dated the 17th instant to Field-Marshal Radetzky, and the reply of the latter, which was returned the same day. The letter from the Municipality is couched in these terms:—

“For the good discipline of the troops commanded by his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, and the excellent system adopted by him, that no irregularities should happen on their part, the Municipal Body cannot be sufficiently grateful.

“The full amnesty granted by His Majesty the Emperor to his subjects, wherein it is stated that no investigation shall be instituted for the past, and the exertions made by the Municipal Body for the maintenance of the troops (exertions of which his Excellency has often spoken in the highest praise) had induced the Municipal Body to believe that his Excellency would not proceed to any severe measure against the subjects of these provinces, when the Proclamation of his Excellency of the 11th instant destroyed all their hopes. They therefore presume to supplicate his Excellency to be pleased to suspend the execution of the measure therein promulgated, a measure, they take liberty to remark, in open contradiction with the promise made by his

ency himself in the capitulation of the city of Milan, and with the amnesty accorded by His Majesty. The orders given relating to the extra-contribution by his Excellency have caused the utmost sorrow to this Municipal Body, and spread the greatest alarm among the population throughout Lombardy."

The Field-Marshal's answer was as follows:—

"I hasten to reply to the letter of this Municipal Body to say that I cannot at the present moment either withdraw or suspend the execution of the orders given, but I am ready to take into consideration the good conduct of those individuals actually in the city, and also to remodify such of the established conditions as may diminish their effects on and tranquillize those individuals for whom this Municipal Body has taken an interest."

This letter, instead of being sent through Count Montecucoli, the usual channel, was transmitted direct to the Municipal Body. Next day they waited on the Count, who assured them that the Marshal's intentions had been badly interpreted, it being meant that the measure of the extraordinary contribution should be carried into effect only on such as remained absent without regular passports, or those who being absent with regular passports, had conspired against the Government since the 6th of August last.

Some few copies of a circular had been issued yesterday by order of Field-Marshal Radetzky, when they were suddenly ordered to be withdrawn. With great difficulty I obtained a copy of which the following is a translation:—

"From the circumstance that in some places where the proclamation of his Excellency the Field-Marshal Radetzky was published, alarming and unfounded doubts have arisen as to the application of the relative determinations contained therein, I find it necessary in order to tranquillize the public, to make known the instructions I have received on the subject from his Excellency the Field-Marshal, which are precisely as follow:—

"An erroneous opinion being in circulation that the intention of my proclamation dated the 11th instant, was that individuals should be punished who have never removed from the Austrian States, or who having re-entered them on the publication of the declaration dated the 21st September last, have observed since then a behaviour void of political censure, or individuals who remain absent at present with legal documents, who do not take any part in the revolutionary plots, or in deeds hostile to the Austrian Government;

"It must be understood that such individuals remaining under the safeguard of the amnesty graciously granted by His Majesty for the faults committed previously, cannot be liable to any inquisition or penalty for the past; but nevertheless, to avoid any future doubt as to the true sense of my proclamation, I declare expressly that those subject to the contribution ordered by me shall be only:

"a. Those who in spite of the amnesty conceded by the sovereign clemency have persevered or shall persevere in taking a notorious part, whether in foreign States or in the bosom of the monarchy, in treasonable plots or in attempts against the security and tranquillity of the State.

"b. Those who by continuing to remain absent from the Imperial and Royal States, show thereby an intention of being far from repenting of their past misconduct, disregarding the pardon so graciously offered to them, oppose the beneficent views of His Majesty to the prejudice of their fellow-citizens and of the peace of their country, and who must therefore be considered as enemies of the Austrian Government."

"Milan, November 22, 1848.

"The Military Governor of Milan,

"(Signed) WIMPFEN."

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 616.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 3.)

My Lord,

Florence, November 24, 1848.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that some serious disturbances have taken place in Florence on the occasion of the elections for the new Chamber of Deputies.

PART 3.

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A mob, inconsiderable in number but violent in action, broke into the churches where the electoral urns were placed, destroyed the voting papers and insulted the candidates.

The mob then proceeded to the residence of M. Savagnoli, the editor of the "Patria," which they entered, after having broken the windows and destroyed his papers, and then went to the Marquis Ridolfi's palace, who had returned to Florence that day, and treated it in the same manner. Many other houses of Senators and Deputies of the moderate Liberal party shared the same fate.

The Government have issued proclamations against these excesses, and quiet is restored, and it is hoped that the elections which have been thus violently interrupted will now be proceeded with.

These public disorders took place under the cry of universal suffrage.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 617.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

(Extract.)

Naples, November 24, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship in reference to my previous despatch on this subject, dated the 21st instant, that the elections for the three remaining vacancies in the representation of Naples have terminated in the choice of three additional Deputies of Radical opinions.

General Pepe has earned the suffrages of his countrymen by his ancient services and sufferings in the cause of Representative institutions.

M. Tureo is a merchant of the quarter of the "Carmine," where he has a numerous clan of adherents. M. Settembrini, completes the number of metropolitan Deputies.

The decree for the prorogation of the Chambers till the 1st of February will be issued to-morrow.

No. 618.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

(Extract.)

Naples, November 24, 1848.

I AM not enabled to lay before your Lordship any data to form a very accurate estimate of the force at present under arms in this country.

Captain Robb states that there are 17,000 troops of all arms at and near Messina, and there cannot be less I think than 50,000 in the Kingdom of Naples in various stages of equipment. For the last four months there has been no relaxation in raising and organising troops on the most effective footing, and contracts have been taken for a supply of gunpowder and stores of every kind.

Should the Radicals attempt any rising they would meet with certain defeat, unless assisted from without; and if the Sicilians should reject the favourable conditions offered by the mediating Powers, and refer their cause to the issue of hostilities, I cannot but foresee the extreme probability of their defeat and the total extinction of their liberties.

No. 619.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Naples, November 25, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a decree published last night in the Government journal, by which the Chambers are prorogued until the 1st of February next.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NAP

Inclosure in No. 619.

Decree proroguing the Neapolitan Chambers to February 1, 1849.

Napoli, 24 Novembre, 1848.

SUA Maestà il Rè nostro Signor prorogate le Camere Legislative fino al 30 del corrente Novembre, convocava con Decreto de' 15 Ottobre i collegi elettorali per render compiuto il numero de' Deputati al Nazional Parlamento.

Ma mentre la Maestà Sua emanava questi atti tendenti ad un tempo al compimento di un dovere del potere esecutivo e de' voti dell' universale, complicazioni politiche sopravvenute, le ancor pendenti vertenze con la Sicilia, ed in ispecie sanguinose recentissime rivolture tanto più pericolose quanto che avvenute in un paese limitrofo anno disgraziatamente cospirato a ritardar il desiderato effetto di que' provvedimenti.

Ciascun di fatto per sè vede che in un momento di tante perturbazioni le Camere Legislative verrebbero nelle loro discussioni a mancare di quella pacatezza e tranquillità di che tanto abbisognano; pacatezza e tranquillità che non verranno certamente sturbate da immaginarie reazioni.

Il Governo ha perciò creduto convenevole in vista della pubblica utilità prolungare la prorogazione delle Camere sino al dì primo del vegnente febbrajo, nella viva speranza che anco prima di questo giorno possano conseguirsi condizioni di tempo più propizie a' lor rilevanti lavori.

E sia ch' esse prima del giorno prefisso, sia che in questo si riuniscano, sempre si troveranno in tempo opportuno per discutere il *Budget* che il Ministero ha già in pronto per presentarlo alla loro disamina.

Ferdinando II, &c.

Veduto l'Articolo 64 della Costituzione Politica del Regno;

Udito il Consiglio dei Ministri;

Abbiamo risoluto di decretare e decretiamo quanto segue:

Art. 1. La sessione delle Camere Legislative, prorogate con Decreto del 1 Settembre ultimo per la discussione de' corrispondenti lavori al dì 30 Novembre corrente mese ed anno, resta vieppiù prorogata sino al dì primo febbrajo dell' entrante anno 1849, salvo di abbreviare questa prorogazione con altro nostro decreto.

Art. 2. Tutti i nostri Ministri Segretari di Stato, ciascuno per la parte che lo riguarda, sono incaricati della esecuzione del presente decreto.

Napoli, 23 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato) FERDINANDO.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri,

(Firmato) PRINCIPE DI CARIATI.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato dell' Interno.

(Firmato) R. LONGOBARDI.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Grazia e Giustizia,

(Firmato) NICCOLA GIGLI.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato di Agricoltura e Commercio, incaricato del Portafoglio degli Affari Ecclesiastici,

(Firmato) PRINCIPE TORELLA.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato della Guerra e Marina,

(Firmato) PRINCIPE D'ISCHITELLA.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato della Pubblica Istruzione,

(Firmato) BOZZELLI.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato dei Lavori Pubblici,

(Firmato) CARRASCOSA.

Il Ministro Segretario di Stato delle Finanze,

(Firmato) RUGGIERO.

(Translation.)

Naples, November 24, 1848.

HIS Majesty the King our Master having prorogued the Legislative Chamber until the 30th of November, called together the electoral colleges by decree of the 15th of October, for the purpose of electing Deputies to complete the number required for the National Parliament.

But whilst His Majesty was publishing those acts which involved the performance of a duty on the part of the Executive power as well as fulfilled the wishes of the public, the political complications which have arisen, the Sicilian question still pending, and especially the recent sanguinary outbreak, which is the more dangerous from its having taken place in a neighbouring country, have unhappily conspired to retard the effect of those measures.

Every one must clearly see that in a moment of such disturbance the Legislative Chambers could not carry on their discussions with that peace and tranquillity which they so much need,—a peace and tranquillity which certainly will not be disturbed by imaginary reactions.

The Government has therefore thought it expedient in the interest of the public welfare to prolong the prorogation of the Parliament until the 1st of February, in the fervent hope that even before that day a period may arrive more propitious for their important labours.

Whether however they meet before or on the day fixed, they will always find themselves in time to discuss the Budget which the Ministry has already prepared for their examination.

Ferdinand II, &c.

Having considered the 64th Article of the Political Constitution of the Kingdom;

Having consulted the Council of Ministers;

We have resolved, &c.

Art. 1. The session of the Legislative Chambers, which was prorogued until the 30th of November by Decree of the 1st of September, is still further prorogued until the 1st of February, 1849, unless such prorogation be shortened by a future decree.

Art. 2. All our Ministers Secretaries of State, each in his department, are charged with the execution of this decree.

Naples, November 23, 1848.

(Signed)

FERDINAND.

[Signatures of the Ministers.]

No. 620.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 29, 1848.

I AM informed that Prince Felix Schwarzenberg is to be here this night or to-morrow. As soon as I can see his Excellency I will inform him of the opinions expressed by your Lordship in your instructions of the 20th instant, and read to him the four papers directed to be so communicated.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 621.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 30, 1848.

I INCLOSE copy of a note I received last night from the French Chargé d'Affaires. He had sent M. Boileau to Olmütz to speak with Prince Schwarzenberg, and M. Boileau sent back the reply I have transmitted to your

Lordship. M. Boileau went on from Olmütz to Paris, and Prince Schwarzenberg is expected here this morning and is to see M. de la Cour on his arrival.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 621.

M. de la Cour to Viscount Ponsonby.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Vienne, ce 29 Novembre, 1848.

JE m'empresse de vous informer, comme d'une chose qui peut vous intéresser, de la nouvelle qui m'est donnée, savoir: que le Cabinet Autrichien accepte Bruxelles pour siège des conférences relatives à la Médiation, et qu'il est franchement décidé à ne chercher en aucune manière à la traîner en longueur. De plus, il y a grand désir de voir figurer dans les conférences la Russie, la Prusse et Frankfort: ce n'est pas là toutefois un moyen assuré de faire marcher vite les choses.

(Signé)

ED. DE LA COUR.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Vienna, November 29, 1848.

I HASTEN to acquaint you, as a matter which may interest you, with the intelligence which has been given to me, namely, that the Austrian Cabinet accepts Brussels as the seat of the conferences respecting the Mediation, and is sincerely determined not to seek in any way to spin it out. Moreover, it greatly desires to see Russia, Prussia, and Frankfort take part in the conferences; that however is not a very sure way of making matters go on quickly.

(Signed)

ED. DE LA COUR.

No. 622.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Vienna, November 30, 1848.

UPON a subject like that treated in your Lordship's instructions of the 20th inst. I will not venture to speak positively, but I am happy to say that I think it will be settled in a way that may be satisfactory to you.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 623.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

(Extract.)

Turin, November 29, 1848.

AN estafette from Florence reached Turin yesterday afternoon between 4 and 5 o'clock, bringing news of the evasion of His Holiness the Pope from Rome.

The Sardinian Chargé d'Affaires at Florence, the Chevalier Pes de Villamarina, received the above information direct from Signor Montanelli, who had at once come to him to inform him of it, and it is owing to this circumstance that the news of this event first reached the Cabinet of Turin from Florence, and not direct from Rome.

His Excellency General Perron told me last night that Signor Montanelli expected to receive news of a Republic having been proclaimed at Rome.

The Sardinian Cabinet were to meet last night to discuss the course which it may be advisable to follow under existing circumstances; but the Sardinian Ministers are one and all firmly determined to support the Constitutional Monarchy and institutions established in this country, and should it become necessary, vigorously to oppose every attempt to create disorder.

In such a course of policy I have every conviction that they will be readily supported by the mass of the population of Piedmont, who have no tendency towards Republican principles, and whose real wish is to see internal tranquillity once again re-established.

No. 24.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

(Extract.)

Turin, November 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship translation of a communication I have received from Civita Vecchia dated the 26th instant.

The contents of this document have been confirmed by a letter I have seen of the same date received by his Excellency the Baron de Perron from the Sardinian Vice-Consulate at Civita Vecchia.

The Bavarian Minister at Rome had gone to Naples, not considering himself safe at Rome.

Letters of the 24th from Rome describe the town as being quiet for the moment, but as having the appearance of a coming storm.

Two proclamations were issued on the 25th, one by His Holiness the Pope, but signed by Signor Galletti, Minister of the Interior, the other by the Ministers. His Holiness in his address declares that his decision to quit Rome was taken entirely without consultation with or advice from others; the address of the Ministers states that His Holiness yielding to the influence of evil counsel had determined to leave Rome; both however call upon the people to be quiet and orderly, and urge the military to be ready to lend a willing assistance for the preservation of internal tranquillity.

In neither address is there I am told any indication of the intention to proclaim a Republic.

Inclosure in No. 624.

Report from the Sardinian Vice-Consul at Civita Vecchia.

(Translation.)

November 26, 1848.

ON the 23rd instant the English steamer "Bulldog" arrived in this port, and she seems now to be preparing to depart. On board the said steamer are the family of the late Minister Rossi, and Monsignor Della Porte, of the household of the Pope, who embarked yesterday, fearing that they were not safe in this town, where they had arrived some days ago.

Last night arrived here also from Rome, the Portuguese Minister and the French Ambassador with his family, and immediately they embarked on board the French man-of-war steamer "Tonnerre," which had been stationed here for some time, and the said steamer departed hence at 11 A.M., it is not known for what destination.

This morning positive intelligence has been received that the Pope has fled from Rome, and it is supposed that he may have secretly embarked on board the above-mentioned French steamer; of his flight from Rome, however, there is no doubt.

A few minutes after the departure of the "Tonnerre" the Spanish Minister also arrived here from Rome with his own carriage and horses; he had left Rome saying he was going to drive, but he has remained here, and may possibly intend likewise embark on board the English steamer.

No. 625.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 1, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Holiness the Pope was on the 27th ultimo at Gaeta in the Neapolitan States, and that the King and Royal Family had that morning left Naples for the purpose of visiting him. They went in three steamers accompanied by the Nuncio, a large body of the clergy, and about 1400 troops.

It seems that His Holiness proceeded by land to the Neapolitan States in the company of Count Spaur, the Bavarian Minister, while the report was spread at Civita Vecchia and generally believed at Rome, that he had embarked with the Duc d'Harcourt on board a French man-of-war steamer.

His Holiness is it is said going to Benevento, a town which belongs to the Papal States, although situated in the heart of the Neapolitan dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 626.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 5, 1848.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 25th ultimo, reporting the argument used by Baron Wessenberg, that the Lombards have always been discontented, by whatever masters they may have been governed, and that under the French they manifested as much dissatisfaction as under the Austrians, and in the same manner; I have to instruct your Excellency, if you should hear this argument repeated, to observe that this assertion, which is perfectly true, tells strongly in favour of the arrangement proposed by Her Majesty's Government, namely, that Lombardy should be incorporated with Piedmont, and should thus become part of an independent Italian State, instead of being a province subject to a foreign Power. For the French governed Lombardy in a much more liberal manner than the Austrians have done, and in a way far more calculated to reconcile the Lombards to a foreign yoke. The feelings of the Lombards were consulted, by many of them being placed in situations of public employment; vast sums of money were expended by the French in useful or ornamental public works; and no money was levied in Lombardy in order to be sent away into France. If then under a Government which took such great pains to conciliate the Lombards, the galling weight of a foreign yoke pressed so painfully upon them as to make them discontented with a state of things which in so many respects was far better than their condition is ever likely to be under Austrian rule, how can the Austrian Government expect that the new arrangements which they have taken an engagement towards England and France to grant to the Lombards, will remove a discontent which the Austrians themselves acknowledge to be founded not merely upon practical grievances, but upon a deeply-rooted and invincible repugnance to being subject to the dominion of a foreign Power.

The example of the Belgians is a case perfectly in point. Under the Spaniards, under the Austrians, under the French, and under the Dutch, the Belgians were always discontented and turbulent. From the time when they obtained national independence and a national Government their discontent has gradually and progressively subsided, and now when all the rest of the Continent has been convulsed, Belgium remains tranquil and undisturbed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 627.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 5, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, a copy of a despatch* from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan, inclosing a list of the individuals fined by order of Field-Marshal Radetzky, and a statement of the taxes levied by that officer since the 1st of August last; and I have to observe that these proceedings look as if the Austrian Government intended to abandon Lombardy, as it is scarcely to be supposed that any Government would deliberately reduce to beggary a province which it meant to retain.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See No. 614.

No. 628.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 5, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan*, and I have to say that the modification therein referred to of the proclamation imposing fines and penalties on the Lombards, by no means removes the objection that the measure is a direct and flagrant violation of the Capitulation of Milan, of the Armistice, and of the Amnesty. It is perfectly natural that in the present state of things, and until the Conferences of Mediation shall have led to a final settlement of affairs in Northern Italy, all the Lombards who have the means of doing so should remove from their own country, occupied as it is by Austrian and Croatian troops; and more especially is it to be expected that the nobility of Milan should remain absent, seeing that their homes at Milan have been converted into barracks and probably plundered, and have thus been rendered unfit for them to return to. It would be the height of injustice to fine such persons for being under such circumstances absent from Lombardy, even if the three public instruments above mentioned did not preclude the Austrian Government from doing so.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 629.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 5, 1848.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to urge the Austrian Government to agree to Brussels as the place of meeting of the Conference of Mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy, and to name a Plenipotentiary to that Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 630.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 26, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, with reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, a copy and translation of a decree issued by the Provisional Government of Venice, dated the 22nd instant, authorizing the issue of paper-money to the amount of 12,000,000 livres (about 400,000*l.*), and providing for the repayment of this sum by the addition of 25 per cent. to the tax already levied upon all real property.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 630.

Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice for an additional issue of Paper-Money.

IL Governo Provvisorio di Venezia, di concerto col Consiglio Comunale di questa città, che con 43 voti affermativi contro 4 negativi nella convocazione del 6 corrente a scrutinio segreto acconsentiva,

* See No. 615.

Decreta :

1. Per sopperire a' pressanti bisogni dello Stato nella presente guerra dell' indipendenza Italiana, viene gettata una sovraimposta di dodici milioni di lire correnti a carico di tutti gl' immobili compresi nei comuni ora soggetti al Governo Veneto.

2. Tale sovraimposta verrà pagata mediante un' addizionale di 25 centesimi all' anno sopra ciascuna lira d'estimo, e sarà divisa in rate trimestrali, incominciando dal 31 Marzo, 1849.

3. Per ottenere la pronta disponibilità della somma, il Governo cede questa sovraimposta al Comune di Venezia, il quale si obbliga di corrisponderne l'importo complessivo, mediante l'emissione di altrettanta carta monetata, che si nominerà "Moneta del Comune di Venezia," ed andrà in corso col giorno 1° Dicembre p. v., secondo le più precise indicazioni che saranno contenute in apposito avviso del Municipio.

4. Essa verrà consegnata al Governo, in rate azioni che non saranno maggiori di tre milioni di lire al mese.

5. La Reggenza della Banca Nazionale sorveglierà alla sua emissione, e vi apporrà un timbro di controlleria.

6. Di trimestre in trimestre il Municipio di Venezia raccoglierà dai varii esattori il ricavo di tale sovraimposta; ritirerà dalla circolazione l'equivalente quantità di "Moneta del Comune," e la consegnerà alla Reggenza della Banca, dalla quale verrà pubblicamente distrutta coll' intervento del Podestà, degli Assessori, e di un Rappresentante Governativo.

7. Sono applicabili alla "Moneta del Comune di Venezia" tutte le disposizioni contenute nei Decreti 19 Settembre decorso, No. 2217, e 12 Ottobre p. p. No. 3898.

8. E nullo qualunque patto con cui si stabilissero i pagamenti in "moneta patriottica," escludendo in tutto od in parte quella del "Comune di Venezia," e viceversa. Solamente, le cambiali che sono in potere della Banca Nazionale, come corrispettivo e garanzia della "moneta patriottica," non potranno essere pagate che in danaro effectivo od in "moneta patriottica."

9. I livelli enfiteutici, ed in generale tutti i censi portanti divisioni di proprietà, in quanto sieno infissi sopra immobili colpiti dalla presente sovraimposta, saranno, ad onta di qualunque patto in contrario, diminuiti di un decimo dell' originario loro importo a favore dei contribuenti. Però tale diminuzione avrà luogo soltanto durante la percezione della sovraimposta, e non potrà mai eccedere l'importo della medesima.

10. Il Governo si riserva di adottare di concerto coi varii comuni, gli opportuni provvedimenti per alleggerire, mediante un equo riparto su tutte le classi dei cittadini, le imposizioni che aggravano i censiti, e di suddividere in seguito a carico degli altri comuni che venissero aggregati al Governo di Venezia, la sovraimposta gettata dal presente decreto, la quale essendo destinata a sostenere le spese della guerra nazionale, verrà a suo tempo calcolata nei generali conguagli.

Venezia, 22 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

THE Provisional Government of Venice in concert with the Communal Council of this city, which at the meeting held on the 6th instant gave its consent thereunto by forty-three affirmative votes against four negative, taken by ballot,

Decrees :

1. In order to administer to the pressing wants of the State in the present war of Italian independence, an additional tax of 12,000,000 of current livres is imposed on all real property within the communes at present under the Venetian Government.

2. This additional tax shall be paid by means of an increase upon the valuation of such property of twenty-five centimes per current livre per annum,

and shall be divided into quarterly instalments, commencing on the 31st of March, 1849.

3. In order that this sum may become available without delay the Government assigns this additional tax to the Commune of Venice, which engages to advance the entire amount thereof by means of an issue of paper-money to be designated "Money of the Commune of Venice," which is to be legal currency from and after the 1st of December next, in conformity with details of a more precise nature which will be published by the Municipality in a separate notice.

4. This money shall be paid over to the Government in shares of not more than 3,000,000 per month.

5. The Directors of the Bank shall superintend the issue thereof and affix thereto their stamp of control.

6. Every quarter the Municipality of Venice shall receive from the different collectors the amount of this additional tax, shall withdraw from circulation a corresponding amount of the "Money of the Commune," and shall hand it over to the Directors of the Bank, by whom it shall be publicly destroyed in the presence of the Podestà, the Assessors, and an agent of the Government.

7. All the provisions of the Decrees of the 19th September (No. 2217) and 12th October last (No. 3898) are applicable to the Money of the Commune.

8. All agreements or compacts stipulating payments to be made in part or entirely in "Patriotic Money," to the exclusion in part or entire of the "Money of the Commune of Venice," and *vice versa*, are declared null and void. Payment in cash or in the "Patriotic Money" is only obligatory as regards bills of exchange held by the Bank as security for a corresponding amount of the "Patriotic Money."

9. Fines for perpetual leases, and in general all charges on the division of property, when levied on property subject to the present tax, shall, in spite of any agreement to the contrary, be diminished one-tenth of their original amount in favour of the tax-payers. This diminution, however, shall be in force only during the continuance of the present tax, and can never exceed the amount of the same.

10. The Government reserves to itself the power to adopt, in conjunction with the various communes, such measures as may be calculated to alleviate, by means of an equal distribution among all classes of the community, the taxes which are imposed upon the contributors, and to subdivide to the charge of such communes as may be hereafter annexed to the Government of Venice, the additional tax imposed by the present decree, which being destined to defray the expenses of the general war, will at the proper time be calculated in the general repartition.

Venice, November 22, 1848.

(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

No. 631.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 5.)

My Lord,

Venice, November 26, 1848.

I MENTIONED in my despatch of the 19th instant that some Austrian vessels laden with salt had been captured by the Venetians.

I understand that these vessels and their crews have been released, the salt having been previously landed and taken possession of by the Venetians.

The Sardinian Admiral Albini arrived here in a steamer from Ancona on the 23rd instant, and departed again this afternoon. There are now on two Sardinian steamers and one sailing-vessel, the latter apparently a transport, in this port.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 632.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

My Lord,

Admiralty, December 4, 1848.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated the 22nd ultimo, reporting that the "Bulldog" had been dispatched to Civita Vecchia for the protection of British subjects on account of the commotions at Rome.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 632.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Hibernia," Naples, November 22, 1848.

ACCOUNTS having reached Naples on the 19th instant that the Count Rossi, Prime Minister to His Holiness the Pope, had been assassinated, and that serious commotions had ensued at Rome, I dispatched the "Antelope" that night to Leghorn, with orders, of which the inclosed are copies, for Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog" (which was at that place assisting in the repairs of the "Porcupine") to proceed immediately to Civita Vecchia; and I hope this arrangement for the protection of our countrymen in that vicinity, as well as to afford refuge to His Holiness the Pope, should he desire it, will meet the approbation of the Lords of the Admiralty. On the return of the "Antelope" to Naples I shall, as soon as she is replenished with coal, send her back to Malta, calling at the different ports of Sicily on her way back. She is now under strict quarantine for an indefinite period.

Her Majesty's ship "Bellerophon" received pratique this morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 632.

Instructions issued by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

"Hibernia," Malta, November 19, 1848.

IN the event of the commotions at Rome placing the person of the Pope in jeopardy, and exciting a determination in His Holiness to quit the Papal States, you will be ready to receive him on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel under your command, for conveyance to any part to which he may desire to return, in conformity with my instructions to yourself of the 21st of August, 1848, when the "Bulldog" was last sent to Civita Vecchia; but I sincerely hope His Holiness may not deem it necessary to quit his territory.

(Signed)

W. PARKER.

Commander A. C. Key,

H. M. S. "Bulldog."

Inclosure 3 in No. 632.

Orders issued by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

(Extract.)

By Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, &c.

HAVING received information that Monsignor Rossi, the Prime Minister of the Roman Government, has been assassinated, with strong reasons for believing that other acts of outrage have ensued at Rome, where a new Administration has been forced on the Pope by the mob, with whom the troops had fraternised; and as further commotions may be expected, it is my direction that you proceed without delay in Her Majesty's steam-sloop under your command to Civita Vecchia for the purpose of affording such protection and refuge to Her Majesty's subjects resident at Rome or in that vicinity as may be in your power.

You will on your arrival at Civita Vecchia communicate with the British Vice-Consul to ascertain the state of affairs, and have my authority for repairing in person to Rome to confer with the Hon. Mr. Petre and Her Majesty's Consular Agent for the same purpose, sending me intimation thereof by the first opportunity under cover to Lord Napier, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Naples, unless you have an opportunity of making a direct communication by any vessel coming to Naples.

If you find all quiet at Rome, you will rejoin my flag with the "Bulldog" at Naples.

Given on board the "Hibernia," at Naples, the 19th November, 1848.
To Ashley Cooper Key, Esq.

Commander of H. M. steam-sloop "Bulldog."

No. 633.

Lord Napier to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 6.)

(Extract.)

Naples, November 26, 1848.

ABOUT 9 o'clock yesterday evening the Bavarian Minister at Rome appeared in Naples and proceeded to the King's Palace, where he presented to His Majesty an autograph letter from the Pope announcing that His Holiness had escaped from that city and had arrived in safety at Mola di Gaeta.

The Apostolic Nuncio was apprized of this intelligence at the house of the Russian Envoy, which he quitted without disclosing the flight or the deliverance of his Sovereign, and it was not until this morning that the news became known to the Diplomatic Body and the public.

At 8 o'clock His Sicilian Majesty with Her Majesty the Queen and several members of their family embarked for Gaeta on board the steam-yacht, which also carried the Nuncio with some ecclesiastics and a portion of the Royal Foot Guards.

About an hour later two other steam-vessels of war loaded with troops followed in the same direction.

There can be no doubt that the Pope will be received by His Sicilian Majesty with all the veneration due to his exalted character and office, and that he will be at liberty to take up his residence in any part of this country which he may prefer.

The opinion is very generally entertained that he will come to Naples.

No. 634.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 6.)

(Extract.)

Florence, November 27, 1848.

I HAVE received intelligence from Rome that the Pope left that city on the evening of the 24th, and it is supposed that he has gone to Civita Vecchia.

The Pope on leaving Rome left a letter, which has been published by the

Ministry, and of which a copy is contained in the printed notices that I have the honour to inclose herewith.

Rome is tranquil, and it is hoped that the civic guard will be enabled to maintain order.

Inclosure 1 in No. 634.

Notice respecting the Departure of the Pope from Rome.

Foglio aggiunto del "Contemporaneo."

25 Novembre, 1848, ore 6 antimeridiane.

IL Papa è partito stanotte incognito, si crede per abdicare. S'ignora per dove sia diretto.

Ha lasciato il seguente autografo diretto al Floriere di Palazzo, Marchese Sacchetti:

"Marchese Sacchetti,

24 Novembre 1848.

"Affidiamo alla sua nota prudenza ed onestà di prevenire della nostra partenza il Ministro Galletti, impegnandolo con tutti li altri Ministri non tanto per premunire i palazzi, ma molto più le persone addette a lei stessa, che ignorano totalmente la nostra risoluzione. Che se tanto ci è a cuore e lei e i famigliari perchè ignari tutti del nostro pensiero, molto più ci è a cuore raccomandare a detti signori la quiete e l'ordine della intera città.

PP. IX."

Il Ministero è dunque legalmente investito di tutti i poteri.

All'ora 1 pomeridiana il Consiglio dei Deputati si aduna coll'Alto Consiglio insieme ai Ministri e al Senatore di Roma, per deliberare intorno ai provvedimenti che l'urgenza richiede.

(Translation.)

November 25, 6 o'clock A.M.

THE Pope has left to-night *incognito*, it is thought to abdicate. It is not known to what place he is gone.

He has left the following autograph directed to the Marquis Sacchetti:

"Marquis Sacchetti,

November 24, 1848.

"We confide to your known prudence and fidelity the task of making known our departure to the Minister Galletti, engaging him and all the other Ministers not so much to take care of the Palace as more particularly of the persons in your service, who are totally ignorant of our resolution. If we take such an interest in yourself and in our employés, because they are unacquainted with our intentions, we are still more desirous to recommend to those gentlemen the quiet and order of the whole city.

PP. IX."

The Ministry is therefore legally invested with full powers.

At 1 o'clock P.M. the Council of Deputies will assemble with the High Council and the Ministers at the Senate House of Rome, to deliberate on the measures which the urgency of the case may require.

Inclosure 2 in No. 634.

Ministerial Notice on the Pope's leaving Rome.

Romani,

Roma, li 25 Novembre, 1848.

IL Pontefice è partito questa notte da Roma, trascinato da funesti consigli. In questi momenti solenni il Ministero non mancherà a quei doveri che a lui impongono la salute della patria e la fiducia che gli accordò il popolo.

Tutte le disposizioni sono prese perchè l'ordine sia tutelato, e siano assicurate le vite e le sostanze dei cittadini.

Una Commissione sarà nominata all'istante, che siederà in permanenza per punire con tutto il rigore delle leggi, chiunque osasse di attentare all'ordine pubblico e alla vita dei cittadini.

Tutte le truppe, tutte le guardie cittadine siano sotto le armi ai loro rispettivi quartieri, pronte ad accorrere dove il bisogno lo richiedesse.

Il Ministero, unito alla Camera dei Rappresentante del Popolo e al Senatore di Roma, prenderà quelle ulteriori misure che l'impero delle circostanze richiede.

Romani! Fidate in noi, mantenetevi degni del nome che portate, e rispondete con la grandezza dell'animo alle calunnie dai vostri nemici.

(Firmato)

C. E. MUZZARELLI, *Presidente.*

GIUS. GALLETTI.

GIUS. LUNATI.

STERBINI.

P. CAMPELLO.

G. B. SERENI.

(Translation.)

Romans,

Rome, November 25, 1848.

THE Pontiff has left Rome this night, drawn away by fatal counsels. In these solemn circumstances the Ministry will not be wanting in those duties which are imposed upon it by the safety of the country and the confidence accorded to it by the people.

Every arrangement possible has been made to insure order, and that the lives and properties of the citizens be secure.

A Commission will be named at once that will sit permanently to punish with great rigour whoever should dare to disturb public order or attack the lives of the citizens.

Let all the troops, all the citizen guards, be under arms at their respective quarters, and ready to run where they may be required.

The Ministry, united to the Chamber of the Representatives of the people and to the Senate of Rome, will take such ulterior measures as the urgency of the case may require.

Romans! Confide in us, be worthy of the name you bear, and reply with greatness of soul to the calumnies of your enemies.

(Signed)

C. E. MUZZARELLI, *President.*

GIUS. GALLETTI.

GIUS. LUNATI.

STERBINI.

P. CAMPELLO.

G. B. SERENI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 634.

Proclamation of the Circolo Popolare.

Il Circolo Popolare Nazionale ai Romani.

IL Pontefice è partite da Roma. Egli prima di allontanarsi con
con uno scritto di sua mano l'attual Ministero, raccomandandogli di conservare
l'ordine, e tutelare la proprietà di qualsivoglia classe e condizione.

Il Ministero adunque nella pienezza de' poteri non indietreggiando nella via intrapresa, confida in questo Popolo di Roma, che generoso di perdona verso tutti coloro che lo vorrebbero trascinare nella guerra civile, saprà scrupolosamente evitare ogni atto che a disordine accennasse. Tutte le autorità militari, civili, e legislative si stringano insieme onde Roma, modello di civiltà per tutti i popoli, faccia conoscere ai suoi nemici come conservi la sua tranquillità più profonda, e un coscenzioso rispetto a tutte le leggi umane e divine in mezzo a gravi avvenimenti.

La Guardia Civica, istituzione d'ordine e di franchigie costituzionali, unita alla valorosa truppa d'ogni arma, salvi un'altra volta la patria da chiunque tentasse perturbarne la quiete.

Viva l'Italia! Viva il Ministero Democratico! Viva l'Unione!

Dalle sale del Circolo, li 25 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato) Il Direttore,
GIO. B. POLIDORI.

(Firmato) Il Segretario,
FELICE SCIFONI.

(Translation.)

The National Circolo Popolare to the Romans.

THE Pontiff has left Rome. Before removing he confirmed, by a document written with his own hand, the present Ministry, recommending it to preserve order and guard the properties of every class and condition.

The Ministry, therefore, in the fulness of power, not to recoil from the duties it has undertaken, confides in the Roman people, who, generous enough to pardon all those who would drag it into a civil war, well knows how to avoid scrupulously every act that might lead to disorder. All the military, civil, and legislative authorities, are in harmony, so that Rome, the model of civilization to all nations, shall make her enemies see how she can preserve perfect tranquillity and a conscientious respect for all human and divine laws in the midst of serious occurrences.

May the Civic Guard, an institution of order and of constitutional liberty, united with the valorous troops of every arm, save once more the country from whomsoever might attempt to disturb its peace.

Viva Italy! Viva the Democratic Ministry! Viva the Union!

From the Hall of the Circolo, November 25, 1848.

(Signed) The Director,
GIO. B. POLIDORI.

(Signed) The Secretary,
FELICE SCIFONI.

No. 635.

Mr. Addington to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, December 6, 1848.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ultimo, inclosing copy of a despatch from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, relative to a charge made by the Neapolitan Government, that arms and gunpowder had been landed from Her Majesty's ships at Naples; and I am to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Viscount Palmerston considers the replies made by Lord Napier and Sir William Parker to the false charges of Prince Cariati to be perfectly satisfactory.

No. 636.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. W. Temple.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, December 6, 1848.

WITH reference to Lord Napier's despatch of the 3rd ultimo, inclosing the correspondence which has passed between Prince Cariati and himself on the subject of the reported landing at Naples of arms and ammunition by the boats of the British and French ships of war, and the conveyance of those arms and ammunition to the British and French Missions; I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve of Lord Napier's note to Prince Cariati.

I have only further to instruct you to express to Prince Cariati the hope and expectation of Her Majesty's Government that Prince Cariati will not again make himself the channel for conveying to the British Government communications so offensive to the British Navy and to the British Government.

No. 637.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. W. Temple.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 6, 1848.

WITH reference to Lord Napier's despatch of the 13th ultimo, reporting various instances of military outrage on British subjects, I have to instruct you to demand the punishment of the offenders in each of these cases of wanton and cowardly outrage on unoffending British subjects.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 638.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 8.)

My Lord,

Vienna, December 3, 1848.

I HAVE not yet received an answer from Olmütz to my application upon the subject of Marshal Radetzky's measure imposing fines upon certain Milanese proprietors. Your Lordship will have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Campbell at Milan an account of the alterations which have been made in the measure by the Austrian authorities, and it is unnecessary that I should detail them. I presume that Prince Schwarzenberg will reply to my communication to him of your Lordship's opinions respecting the measure as it originally stood, and that he may have been so much occupied with the events and business at Olmütz and Kremsier, as to have caused him to delay writing to me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 639.

*Circular to the Diplomatic Body at Rome.**Roma, 29 Novembre, 1848.*

GLI ultimi casi di Roma, cominciati con un atroce assassinio, e terminati con la improvvisa e soppiatta partenza del Principe, possono agevolmente sorgere nella mente dei Ministri e Rappresentanti esteri un concetto non giusto e non vero inverso coloro i quali reggono di presente lo Stato, e i quali invece reputano di aver adempito un atto di sacrificio e di gran devozione alla patria consentendo di sedere al Governo e di tutelare l'ordine pubblico.

Il Sottoscritto giunse in Roma parecchi giorni dopo i fatti violenti del 16 Novembre, e non accettò il ministero al quale lo chiamava il Principe con dispiacimento dell' Eminentissimo Segretario di Stato, che quando vidde le patrie in

pericolo estremo di rimanere senza Governo, e che un autografo del Santo Padre al Marchese Sacchetti riconfermava i Ministri nel loro ufficio, e raccomandava ad essi in ispecial modo la quiete e l'ordine pubblico.

Rispetto poi ai degni colleghi del Sottoscritto, certo è che la sola parte che prese alcuno di essi agli avvenimenti del 16 di Novembre fu d'interporsi continuamente fra il popolo sollevato ed il Principe, affine di procacciare un pacifico componimento. Quanto al deplorabile ammazzamento del Rossi, il presente Ministero ha come potea il meglio soddisfatto al debito suo, dando ordini ripetuti che si procedesse rigorosamente e speditamente alla scoperta e alla punizione del reo.

Tutta Roma intanto ha fatta adesione e manifestissima e spontanea al Ministero, e mai non fu veduta maggiore e più intima unione fra i popoli costituenti, come apertamente lo mostra il proclama del Consiglio dei Deputati, e quello dell' Alto Consiglio subito dopo comparso, e quello infine del Senato Romano. Ciò basti per istruire i Ministri e Rappresentanti de' Governi esteri intorno alla legalità perfetta dell' attuale Ministero Romano, e alla purezza e nobiltà delle sue intenzioni.

Dopo ciò il Sottoscritto ha l'onore di porre in considerazione dei Ministri e Rappresentanti dei Governi esteri qualche fatto di grave momento e che giova oltremodo a ben valutare l'indole e l'importanza degli ultimi avvenimenti di Roma.

Prima cosa da notare si è che il Santo Padre mai non ha sostenuto la più che minima violenza e minaccia in qualunque esercizio ed atto dell' autorità sua Pontificia. La tempesta viù volte insorta con fiera e minaccevole furia ha sempre spianate e quietate le onde sue a piè dell' altare.

La seconda cosa da notarsi e considerarsi per bene si è, che di tutto quello che di più duro e violento è succeduto negli ultimi tempi in Roma e nelle provincie è stata cagion perpetua il problema difficilissimo di convenientemente accordare il temporale dominio collo spirituale; desiderando i popoli tutti e con unanime voto, che fra i due poteri intervenga una divisione profonda e compiuta, salva rimanendo la unità d'ambedue nella stessa augusta persona, laddove dall' altro lato si è voluto e sperato più che ostinatamente di tenerli, come per addietro strettamente congiunti e confusi. Alla soluzione quieta e durevole di tanto problema occorreva un mutuo spirito di tolleranza, di conciliazione e di longanimità, e soprattutto occorreva la lenta azione del tempo e la forza degli abiti nuovi, e de' nuovi interessi. Ma le passioni di ambedue gli estremi partiti e quella fiera impazienza che spinge in ogni parte d'Europa e del mondo le presenti generazioni a rompere tutto ciò che non vale a piegare, condussero in Roma la resistenza e il conflitto, e le subite e forse immature trasformazioni; e poi aggiuntò asprezza e impetuosità al conflitto il sentimento nazionale soddisfatto e il credersi in questi ultimi tempi che venisse a contesa colla politica nuova Italiana, la vecchia politica della Romana curia, la quale ha pensato troppe volte di scampare se sola nel naufragio delle nazioni.

Da tuttociò il Sottoscritto piglia arbitrio di concludere che le agitazioni dello Stato Romano mettono radice in un bisogno fondamentale e incessante, il quale non verrà rimosso e distrutto dai temperamenti della diplomazia, e neppure il sarebbe dall' uso di qualunque forza armata, la quale comprimerebbe temporaneamente la molla, ma spezzarla mai non potrebbe.

Quindi reputa il Sottoscritto che niuna azione straniera riuscirà ad impedire e a sopprimere ciò che per dura necessità delle cose ha resistito alla forza attrahente delle virtù evangeliche, alla bontà specchiata e all' infinita mansuetudine del Sovrano Pontefice, ed ha eziandio resistito all' amore riconoscente degli Italiani inverso l'iniziatore augusto della nazionale rigenerazione.

(Firmato) **TERENZIO MAMIANI.**

(Translation.)

Rome, November 29, 1848.

RECENT events in Rome, commencing by an atrocious murder and terminated by the unexpected and clandestine departure of the Sovereign, may easily excite in the minds of foreign Ministers and Representatives a feeling neither just nor true in respect to those who now govern the State; who, on the contrary, conceive that they have performed an act of self-sacrifice and of devo-

tion to their country in consenting to undertake the Government and to defend public order.

The Undersigned arrived in Rome several days after the violent acts of the 16th November, and he did not accept the office to which he was called by the Sovereign by the despatch of his Eminence the Secretary of State, until he saw the country in the utmost danger of being without a Government, and until an autograph letter of the Holy Father to the Marquis Sacchetti confirmed the Ministers in their offices, and in an especial manner recommended to them the public tranquillity and order.

And with regard to the worthy colleagues of the Undersigned, it is ascertained that the only part which any of them took in the events of the 16th November was to interpose constantly between the people in insurrection and the Sovereign, with the object of producing a peaceful accommodation. As to the deplorable murder of Rossi, the present Ministry has done its duty in the best way in its power by giving repeated orders to proceed rigorously and with expedition to the discovery and punishment of the guilty.

In the meantime all Rome has very plainly and spontaneously given its adhesion to the Ministry, and a greater and more intimate union has never been known in any nation, as is clearly manifested by the proclamation of the Council of Deputies, by that of the High Council which appeared soon after, and finally by that of the Roman Senate. This may suffice to prove to the Ministers and Representatives of foreign Governments the perfect legality of the present Roman Ministry, and the sincerity and generosity of their intentions.

After this the Undersigned has the honour to bring to the consideration of the Ministers and Representatives of foreign Governments some facts of serious import, and which it is necessary to be acquainted with in order to be able to estimate the nature and significance of recent events in Rome.

The first thing to be remarked is, that the Holy Father has never sustained the very smallest violence or threat in any exercise or act whatever of his Pontifical authority. The tempest which several times burst forth with fierce and threatening rage has invariably calmed and quieted its waves at the foot of the altar.

The second thing to be remarked and well considered is, that of all the excess and violence which has taken place recently in Rome and in the provinces, the perpetual cause has been the very difficult problem of properly combining the Temporal with the Spiritual power, all the people unanimously desiring that a profound and complete division should exist between the two powers, the union of the two remaining vested in the same august person; whereas on the other side there has been an excessively anxious wish and hope to retain them joined and confounded as in times past. For the peaceful and durable solution of this problem a mutual spirit of tolerance, conciliation, and patience was necessary, and, more than all, the slow action of time and the force of new habits and new interests. But the passions of the two extreme parties, and that fierce impatience which in every part of Europe and of the world impels the present generation to break whatever it is unable to bend, produced in Rome resistance and conflicts as well as sudden and perhaps immature changes. The struggle has been augmented in severity and violence by the circumstance that the national feeling was not satisfied, and by the belief in recent times that the new political status of Italy was at issue with the old policy of the Roman Court, which had too frequently hoped to escape alone during the wreck of nations.

From all this the Undersigned takes leave to conclude that the movements in the Roman State have their root in a fundamental and unceasing want, which can never be removed or destroyed by the managements of diplomacy nor yet by the employment of any armed force, which might for a time compress the spring but would never be able to break it.

The Undersigned is therefore of opinion that no external action will succeed in impeding or repressing that which from stern necessity has resisted the attractive force of the evangelical virtues, the extraordinary goodness and the extreme clemency of the Sovereign Pontiff, and which has even resisted the grateful love of the Italians towards the august initiator of the national regeneration.

(Signed)

TERENZIO MAMIANI.

No. 640.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 9.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 4, 1848.

THE resignation of the whole of the Sardinian Cabinet will be this day announced in the Chamber of Deputies.

The immediate cause of the resignation of the Perron Cabinet was the vote of yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies, upon a petition of the students of the University of Turin against an article in the new University Regulations prohibiting the students from attending political clubs.

The Minister of Public Instruction, the author of these rules, having been defeated in his attempt to retain this regulation, declared his intention of retiring, and the other members of the Government feeling their position in office to be no longer tenable in consequence of the combined conduct of the Opposition, of the unfavourable election returns lately made, and the threatened demonstration of the National Guard at Genoa against them which would require them to adopt vigorous and perhaps even also military measures of repression, unanimously decided to avail themselves of the present occasion to tender their resignations in mass to the King who has accepted of them.

No. 641.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 11.)

My Lord,

Milan, December 5, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a circular was lately issued by Count Montecucoli, the Imperial Plenipotentiary here, and dispatched to each of the provincial delegations in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, relating to the money to be raised for the public service during the ensuing year, the preamble to which is as follows:—

“Although every effort has been made to introduce the strictest economy and saving into every branch of the public service, nevertheless it is easy to understand that, with the usual revenue of the kingdom considerably diminished in consequence of the abolition of the poll-tax, the reduction in the price of salt, the exemption of the poorer classes from the payment of the stamp-duty, and in general from the lessened demand for numerous articles of consumption, and the stagnation of trade, which may for the most part be attributed to the prolonged absence of multitudes of citizens, it is impossible to supply the enormous sum required in the actual state of things for the maintenance of a large army indispensable for the defence and tranquillity of these provinces during the negotiations now going on, against ulterior convulsions.

“As the system hitherto followed of leaving the supplies for the maintenance of the troops to the care of provincial commissions has been found to be either difficult and embarrassing, or too burthensome, it is therefore judged fit that such a system should cease on the 1st of January, 1849, substituting in lieu thereof the administration of the same by military bureaux, these last offering greater guarantees of regularity as far as the interest of the provinces are concerned, and of control over the demands of the troops. To meet these expenses, fresh measures must be carried out.

“According to the returns handed to me by the Imperial and Royal Provincial Delegations, the expense for the maintenance of the troops, for the quarter ending this year (viz. from the 1st of October to the 31st of December, 1848), amounts to the heavy sum of upwards of 18,000,000 Austrian livres,* whilst the product of the ordinary extra tax is only 16,500,000 Austrian livres,† thus leaving a deficit of upwards of a million and a half‡ of the sum required to liquidate the amount due at the end of the said quarter.”

Your Lordship will perceive, from the preceding statement, that the Austrian army in Italy costs at the rate of 6,000,000 Austrian livres a-month, or 200,000*l.* sterling. To meet this expense, the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces are called on

* About £600,000 sterling.

† About £550,000 sterling.

‡ About £50,000 sterling.

to furnish 72,000,000 Austrian livres during the year, from an extra tax on landed property, or 2,467,000*l.* sterling nearly. The large sum thus required for the maintenance of the army is independent of the ordinary predial tax, which amounts to 44,000,000 Austrian livres, or 1,467,000*l.* sterling nearly, making in all about 3,954,000*l.* sterling.

The estimated value of the landed property in the whole Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom as established by the Government Cadastro, is 226,000,300 scudi, equal to 1,130,000,000 Austrian livres, or 37,670,000*l.* sterling nearly.

Thus, in conformity with the resolutions in Count Montecucoli's circular, a tax will be levied on landed property in the provinces throughout the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, at the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or 32 centimes for every scudo. The scudo is equal to five Austrian livres.

By establishing military bureaux instead of provincial commissions, it is confidently expected that a stop will be put to those abuses in the collection of the taxes which existed under the administration of the provincial commissions; at the same time a better system will be introduced so as to check the hitherto exorbitant demands of the military for local contributions and requisitions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 642.

The Baron de Perron to Marquis Ricci.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Revel, December 16.)

(Extract.)

11 Décembre, 1848.

D'APRES la réponse faite par M. Bastide à votre note du 4 courant, je vois avec un sentiment de profond regret que pour nous maintenir dans un *statu quo* qu'il est impossible au Piémont de garder, le Gouvernement Français permettant même à l'Autriche d'envahir les Etats Sardes, dans le cas où nous nous opposerions par la force des armes au despotisme et aux exactions qui sont exercés par l'armée ennemie dans les duchés.

Je crois qu'une telle politique de la part de la France est contraire à ses vrais intérêts ; mais il ne m'appartient pas de la juger, ni de donner des conseils au Gouvernement de la République Française. Toutefois il est du devoir du Gouvernement du Roi de rappeler à celui de France, que, quels que soient les obstacles que nous ayons à surmonter, quelle que soit la faiblesse à laquelle nous puissions être réduits, il est impossible au Piémont de ne pas recommencer la guerre, si la médiation est dans l'impuissance de nous faire obtenir une paix honorable dans un bref délai. La lenteur des négociations, l'excitation produite en Piémont et dans le reste de l'Italie par les derniers événemens de Toscane et de Rome, ont forcé le Ministère à résigner ses pouvoirs entre les mains du Roi, ainsi que nous en avons prévenu par nos notes les Gouvernemens de France et d'Angleterre. Aujourd'hui nous espérons être remplacés par un Cabinet qui adoptera à peu près la marche que nous avons suivie ; mais quelles que soient ses vues, il lui sera impossible de résister à l'opinion générale et de ne pas reprendre les hostilités dès le moment qu'il lui sera prouvé que la médiation est impuissante.

La proclamation de l'Empereur François Joseph au Général Radetzky prouve jusqu'à l'évidence qu'en acceptant Bruxelles pour lieu des conférences, Sa Majesté Impériale se joue de la médiation et ne s'en sert que comme d'un moyen dilatoire. Cependant, malgré cette conviction, le Gouvernement du Roi, par déférence envers les Hautes Puissances médiatrices, nommera son Plénipotentiaire pour le représenter aux Conférences de Bruxelles ; mais il croit de son devoir d'avertir dès aujourd'hui le Gouvernement de la République, que si, d'ici au 15 Janvier, l'Envoyé Autrichien n'est pas rendu à Bruxelles, et si à cette époque il n'a pas accepté les bases de la médiation, les hostilités recommenceront avec toute la fureur d'une guerre nationale ; car nous préférons être engloutis nous mêmes dans la catastrophe Italienne, si Dieu en a ainsi ordonné, plutôt que de laisser torturer plus longtemps par le vandalisme Autrichien, la partie de l'Italie qu'il foule aux pieds aujourd'hui, et qui s'est unie volontairement à nous.

Je vois le Gouvernement Français très mal informé sur la force et la valeur de notre armée : la discipline y est rétablie ; 80,000 hommes sont prêts à entrer

en campagne ; 30,000 autres de troupes de ligne sont destinées à maintenir la tranquillité dans l'intérieur ; la garde nationale est organisée et partout animée du meilleur esprit, et même nous ne tarderons pas à avoir de nouveau un parc de siège plus nombreux que celui que nous avons dans la dernière campagne.

Si la France nous accordait un secours de 30,000 à 50,000 hommes, nul doute que l'on verrait, avec la rapidité de l'éclair, flotter le drapeau tricolore de l'indépendance, de clocher en clocher jusqu'à l'Isonzo.

Si par contre nous faisons la guerre seuls, les chances pourront être balancées, mais elles seront encore en notre faveur, puisque outre notre propre armée de terre, nous devons compter, 1°, sur l'insurrection ; 2°, sur le concours des contingens Toscans et Romains ; 3°, sur les 18,000 hommes enfermés dans Venise ; 4°, sur notre flotte.

Je vous prie, M. le Marquis, de faire connaître au Gouvernement Français la ferme résolution dans laquelle nous sommes de continuer la guerre, si nous ne pouvons obtenir une paix honorable et qui assure l'autonomie de l'Italie. Je vous prie encore de lui faire apprécier à leur juste valeur quels sont nos moyens pour soutenir notre résolution.

Du reste, il vous sera facile de faire comprendre à M. Bastide qu'une médiation sans correspectif, qui ne garantit pas, par conséquent, les bases territoriales sur lesquelles elle repose, ne peut nous imposer des obligations.

(Translation.)

December 11, 1848.

FROM the answer returned by M. Bastide to your note of the 4th instant, I observe, with feelings of the greatest regret, that in order to keep us in a position which it is impossible for Piedmont to maintain, the French Government would even allow Austria to invade the Sardinian States in case we should oppose by force the arbitrary exactions imposed on the Duchies by the hostile army.

I consider that such a policy on the part of France is contrary to her true interests ; but it is not for me to pronounce judgment upon it, or to give advice to the Government of the French Republic. Nevertheless it is the duty of the King's Government to remind the Government of France that whatever may be the obstacles which we may have to surmount, to whatever degree of weakness we may be reduced, it is impossible that Piedmont should not renew the war if the mediation is incompetent to enable us shortly to obtain an honourable peace. The slowness of the negotiations, the excitement produced in Piedmont and in the rest of Italy by the late events in Tuscany and in Rome, have compelled the Ministry to resign, as by our notes we have informed the Governments of France and England. At present we expect to be replaced by a Cabinet which will adopt nearly the same course that we have pursued ; but whatever may be its views, it will be impossible for it to resist the general opinion, and not to recommence hostilities the moment that it shall be proved that the mediation is unavailing.

The proclamation of the Emperor Francis Joseph to General Radetzky evidently proves, that in accepting Brussels as the seat of the conferences, His Imperial Majesty makes light of the mediation, and only uses it as a means of delay. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this conviction, the King's Government, out of deference for the high mediating Powers, will appoint its Plenipotentiary to represent it in the conferences at Brussels ; but it deems it to be its duty at once to apprise the Government of the Republic that if between this and the 15th of January the Austrian Envoy has not repaired to Brussels, and if at that period he has not accepted the bases of the mediation, hostilities will be resumed with all the fury of a national war ; for we prefer to be ourselves swallowed up in the ruin of Italy, if God has so ordained it, rather than to allow for a longer time that Austrian barbarism should oppress the part of Italy on which it now tramples, and which has voluntarily united itself with us.

I perceive that the French Government is very ill informed as to the force and worth of our army ; its discipline is restored ; 80,000 men are ready to

take the field; 30,000 more regular troops are destined for the maintenance of peace in the interior; the national guard is organized and animated throughout with the best spirit, and we even shall not be long without a new siege artillery more numerous than that which we had in the last campaign.

If France should grant us a succour of from 30,000 to 50,000 men, the tricolour flag of independence would doubtless be seen with the rapidity of lightning waving from steeple to steeple as far as the Isonzo.

If, on the other hand, we carry on the war alone, the chances may be balanced, but they will still be in our favour, because, besides our own land-army, we may reckon,—1st, upon the insurrection; 2nd, upon the co-operation of the Tuscan and Roman contingents; 3rd, upon the 18,000 men shut up in Venice; 4th, upon our fleet.

I request you, M. le Marquis, to apprise the French Government of our firm resolution to continue the war, if we cannot obtain an honourable peace, and one which secures the independence of Italy. I request you besides to cause him to estimate at their right value the means which we possess to support our resolution.

Moreover, it will be easy for you to make M. Bastide understand that a mediation without some corresponding advantage, which consequently does not guarantee the territorial basis on which it rests, cannot impose any obligations upon us.

No. 643.

Lord Eddisbury to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 11, 1848.

WITH reference to your letter of the 4th instant inclosing a copy of a despatch from Sir William Parker, stating that he had sent the "Bulldog" steam frigate to Cività Vecchia, and inclosing copies of the instructions which he had given to the commanding officer of that vessel, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that it appears to his Lordship that Sir William Parker acted quite rightly on this occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDDISBURY.

No. 644.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 12.)

My Lord,

Venice, December 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy and translation of a decree issued by the Provisional Government and published in the Venice Gazette of the 28th ultimo, ordering that the 1st of December should be considered as a national festival, as being the anniversary of the day on which the Lombard League was concluded.

On the 1st instant a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from a Venetian brig of war and from a floating battery on which were placed three of the guns taken from the Austrians in the sortie made by the Venetians on the 27th October, which I reported in my despatch of the 30th October.

The two French steamers of war in this port, the "Solon" and the "Brazier," dressed ship and also fired twenty-one guns each, hoisting the Italian tricoloured flag.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 644.

Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia;

Decreta:

IL primo Dicembre, anniversario del giorno in che fù stretto la Lega Lombarda, è festa nazionale.

Venezia, il 28 Novembre, 1848.

(Firmato)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

The Provisional Government of Venice

Decrees:

THE first of December, the anniversary of the day on which the Lombard League was concluded, is a national festival.

Venice, November 28, 1848.

(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

No. 645.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 8, 1848.

THE arrangements for composing the new Cabinet are nearly completed; they are as follows:—

The Chevalier Massimo d'Azeglio	-	-	President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
The Chevalier Galvagno	-	-	Minister of the Interior.
The Chevalier Gioja	-	-	Minister of Justice.
The Chevalier Alphonse de La Marmora	-	-	War.
A Genoese naval Captain	-	-	Marine.

Signor Torelli remains in the Cabinet. The name of the Minister of Finance I have not been able clearly to learn, but he is to be selected, I am informed, from amongst the Senators of the kingdom.

The new Cabinet is thus selected from the majority of the present Chamber, and its members continue to represent entirely the political opinions and views of their retiring predecessors.

This change of persons, and not of principles, will I hope meet with the support of the Chamber; and the concession now made to the unpopularity which so undeservedly attacked certain individuals of the Pinelli-Revel Cabinet, will I trust in some measure disarm the violence of the Opposition, and at all events help to unite in closer bonds of union the members of the majority.

The Chevalier Massimo d'Azeglio not being present at Turin, he will have to be sent for from Tuscany, and in the meanwhile the Chevalier Gioja will hold the seals of the Foreign Department.

It is in my opinion fortunate that at this moment it has been possible to form an Administration without having been forced to apply to the Abbé Gioberti and the members of the Left; for although their political existence could not have been of long duration, it might yet have sufficed, in the present disorganized state of Italy, to break down the monarchical institutions of this country, where alone any power remains to resist the secret practices of the revolutionary and anarchical factions.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 646.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 13.)

(Extract.)

Frankfort, December 10, 1848.

I AM told that the Austrian Ministry are firmly resolved not to cede an inch of territory in the north of Italy.

Prince Schwarzenberg says that as Baron Wessenberg engaged his word to send a Plenipotentiary to the conferences to be held under the mediation of England and France, he will keep to the agreement made; but that no bases were settled, and that he will treat upon none but the indemnities to be paid by Sardinia to Austria. Austria is prepared to accept war if it is the only other alternative.

No. 647.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 2, 1848.

THE most remarkable circumstance that the late events in Rome have as yet given rise to in this country has been the proclamation by the Tuscan Ministry and by the liberal press, of the necessity of a Constituent Assembly being immediately formed at Rome for the promotion of Italian independence, and for the creation of a Central Italy as a centre of political gravitation which shall attract to itself the other scattered members of the Peninsula, and serve as a nucleus for that national union without which Italy (as they understand it) cannot exist.

The idea of this Constituent Assembly emanated from the present Government of Tuscany, and has always been advocated by them as the only measure that can save Italy. It was intended that it should commence its existence in Florence, and no pains have been spared to impress the people with the necessity of its formation.

Bologna has warmly applauded the idea, and by the decisions of its clubs and political assemblies declared its adhesion to the principle.

The late revolution at Rome, however, has so far modified the views of the Tuscan Government, that they consider that Rome should be the seat of the Constituent Assembly in preference to Florence, as carrying with it greater dignity, and they declare that the first duty of the Constituent will be to bind the two States in a strong and compact alliance, so as in fact to form one State, and thus create a Central Italy. In this manner the greatest difficulty in the formation of the national edifice will be surmounted, by giving life to a new political body which will serve as an equilibrium to the two States of Upper and Southern Italy, which States would otherwise in all probability absorb those of Central Italy; the one left without a Government and the other weak and inconsiderable in itself, although the most ardent supporters of political and national freedom. Florence and Rome, however, if united in one will and agreed on one uniform action, would easily resist the designs of their common enemies.

Such, my Lord, are the principles that this Government are endeavouring to spread at Rome, and they have already produced great effect there. The Roman newspapers are with few exceptions applauding the idea that has taken its rise on the banks of the Arno. The Roman clubs talk much of the Constituent, and consider that Rome, fortified by all the force of Central Italy, will be able to recommence that war, which, deserted by two Sovereigns of Italy and regarded by others with indifference, has from henceforth no other hope than in the people and in the Constituent Assembly. The new Roman Ministry has not as yet embraced this proposal with as much energy as was expected of them. They are considered as retrograde, and their downfall predicted in consequence. It is difficult to foresee whether it will be ultimately adopted, but as it is greatly agitating the public mind in both countries, I think it my duty to have thus brought it under your Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 648.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 6, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch which I have received from Mr. Petre at Rome, informing me that the Pope has invited the Diplomatic Body to Gaeta and had established a Governing Commission at Rome, but the chief members of which had refused to belong to it and had left Rome.

Mr. Petre further says in his despatch that order can only be preserved in Rome by foreign troops; such assistance it appears likely will now be available to the Pope, as the disembarkation of French troops at Cività Vecchia is hourly expected.

As Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris will have given your Lordship better information on this head than I am enabled to do, I refrain from any comments thereon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

 Inclosure in No. 648.
Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, December 3, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that a circular letter to the several members of the Diplomatic Body, signed by Cardinal Antonelli, arrived yesterday evening from Gaeta, in which His Eminence, after thanking, by command and in the name of His Holiness, the foreign Ministers for their constant attention and kindness, invites them to repair to Gaeta, as His Holiness, for reasons stated in an inclosed brief, had been obliged to retire from Rome.

The brief was addressed to Cardinal Castracani, the only Cardinal remaining in Rome, with the exception, I believe, of Cardinal Mezzofanti, who is confined by illness, and states that His Holiness, forced by violence, threats, and restraint to abandon the seat of Government, does not recognise the Ministry imposed upon him, and not recognising any of its acts, declares them null and void. His Holiness in consequence establishes a Governing Commission, and names as members Cardinal Castracani, Prince Barberini, Prince Roviano, Monsignore Roberti, Uditore di Camera, the Deputies Ricci and Bevilacqua, and General Zucchi. The three last-named gentlemen are absent; the two Princes refused to accept the nomination and immediately left Rome, and Monsignore Roberti I believe has followed them; he is at least not to be found.

A few hours previously to the arrival of Cardinal Antonelli's despatch of yesterday the Ministry had dispatched the Marchese Sacchetti to Gaeta, imploring His Holiness to return.

All the foreign Ministers have either left or are on the point of leaving Rome for Gaeta.

The city is quiet, but its tranquillity depends solely on the will and pleasure of the Circolo Popolare, increased in its numbers within the last few days from every part of Italy. The great mass of the population is silent and passive, either from fear or from indifference. Hence a very small number of well-disciplined troops would be sufficient to uphold the authority of a Government. General Zucchi will be able to maintain tranquillity in the Province of Bologna, for he has nearly 3000 Swiss under his command, and has now been associated with the Pro-Legate and the Senator in the government of the province.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 649.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 7, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a despatch which I have received from Mr. Petre at Rome, stating that the Roman Deputies do not consider that the brief of the Pope, dated Gaeta, November 27, can be received, as it is unconstitutional, and consider in consequence that it is the duty of the actual Ministers to continue in the exercise of their functions.

A deputation has already left Rome for Gaeta to convey the decision of the Deputies to His Holiness.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 649.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, December 4, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to report to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that a little before midnight on Sunday the 3rd instant, the Council of Deputies assembled in public sitting, and after a long speech of the President Sturbinetti, in which he attributed the flight of the Pope, to whom no violence had been offered, and his acts at Gaeta, to diplomatic intrigues for the purpose of bringing about foreign intervention, and some remarks of other Deputies, it was resolved to put forth a manifesto to the people of the States of the Church; to appoint a deputation of two members to repair to Gaeta; and to invite the Alto Consiglio to name some members of their Chamber to join them in a mission to His Holiness.

The manifesto begins by stating that a writing, said to be signed by the Pontiff at Gaeta on the 27th November, declaring null the acts of Government and naming a Governing Commission, of which some members immediately left the State rather than accept the office, had called upon the Deputies to look to the protection of their constitutional rights and of public order; to support the Ministry; and to prevent the consequences which the enemies of Italy would provoke; and it was therefore resolved that the said writing, not having any character of authenticity or of regular publication, and even if it had, not presenting in any manner a constitutional character (*caratteri della costituzionalità*) (it was not signed by a Minister)—to which the Sovereign is not less subject than the nation,—cannot be received; and it being moreover necessary to retain some form of Government, the Council of Deputies considers it the duty of the actual Ministers to continue in the exercise of their functions until otherwise provided.

The Ministers have consequently consented, with the exception of the Finance Minister, to remain in office.

The deputation to His Holiness has already left Rome for Gaeta; and the Municipality has likewise resolved to send the Senator, accompanied by two of its counsellors, on a similar mission.

The town is tranquil, but from one moment to another its quiet may be disturbed; and I know of no force able or willing to stand forward in defence of order if seriously threatened. The treasury is empty, and the issue of bills on the security of Government property decreed by the Chambers but without the sanction of the Sovereign, cannot of course relieve its necessities.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 650.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 18.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 12, 1848.

THE Sardinian Government have this morning been informed that a deputation sent to His Holiness the Pope by the Roman Chambers, for the purpose of concerting measures for carrying on the Government, had been refused admittance into the Neapolitan States at Terracina.

The Chambers immediately met for the election of a Provisional Government, and were still sitting when the above intelligence was forwarded.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 651.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 18.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 12, 1848.

I HAVE received from Her Majesty's Consul at Genoa the following account of a disturbance which took place at Genoa on the 10th instant.

After the procession which took place on that day to commemorate the anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa in 1746, a mass of people, including many civic guards, proceeded to the Ducal Palace with the intention of liberating the Advocate Pellegrini, now under prosecution for his share in former tumults and recently elected a Member of the Chamber of Deputies for Genoa. They were refused admittance by the troops, the adjacent streets were gradually occupied, and at 11 o'clock at night all was quiet; no one was wounded or hurt.

Many Lombards of the better class had arrived at Genoa during the end of last week, and it is not impossible that they aided in this disturbance. Cries of "Viva la Rivoluzione di Roma!" and "Viva l'Assassino di Rossi!" were heard in the crowd.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 652.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 19.)

My Lord,

Milan, December 13, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a Te Deum was chanted yesterday in the Duomo, in honour of the accession of His Majesty Francis Joseph to the Throne of Austria, at which I attended, together with the Foreign Consuls, by invitation.

During the passage of the cortège to the Duomo, and the marching by of the troops after the ceremony, the utmost indifference was manifested by all classes of the Milanese. Very few people were on the balconies or at the windows, and not a single piece of tapestry or other ornament was displayed from them, contrary to the practice in former years, when on many less important occasions the balconies and windows were crowded with spectators and decked out with finery of every variety.

Since the proclamation was published here announcing the abdication of the late Emperor and the nomination of his successor, I have endeavoured to ascertain the real state of public feeling in consequence of these events. The result of these inquiries is, that the accession of His Majesty Francis Joseph is regarded with the utmost unconcern, not only in the city of Milan but throughout the provinces in Lombardy.

The city of Milan is still in a state of siege, the tranquillity of which has never been disturbed since the return of the Austrians. In the provinces no

outbreak has taken place for some time past, any hostile demonstration being kept down by an overwhelming military force. All popular demonstrations have ceased everywhere; in fact the people in general seem to be tired and dispirited from the misery to which they are now reduced in consequence of the late revolutionary proceedings. Wherever there is any symptom of demonstration or disturbance, detachments of troops are immediately quartered on the refractory towns and villages, who levy immense contributions and requisitions on the inhabitants. This system is most rigidly acted upon throughout the Brianza, round the Lake of Como, in the country on the eastern side of the Lake Maggiore, and in those parts in the vicinity of Varese; by which means the peace of the country is preserved. In the Provinces of Bergamo and Brescia armed bands of peasants no longer appear: all is quiet in those parts.

The garrison of Milan at the present moment consists of 22,000 men. The accounts as to the force of the Austrian army in Lombardy are so contradictory that it is difficult to find out the precise amount. Judging, however, from the corps d'armée concentrated at Lodi and in its neighbourhood, and the large detachments quartered in the most disaffected districts, together with the strong garrisons in the fortresses, the entire force of the Austrian army in Lombardy may be calculated at about 80,000 men.

The rich and noble Lombard families remain still voluntary exiles.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 653.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 9, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note from M. Montanelli, in which he informs me that the Tuscan Government have determined to send a Representative to the Court of Her Majesty, in the person of Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, who will hold the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 653.

M. Montanelli to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 8 Décembre, 1848.

SON Altesse Royale le Grand Duc mon Auguste Souverain ayant jugé à propos de nommer un Représentant Toscan auprès de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, a fait choix à cet effet de M. le Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, en le revêtant du titre de son Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

En m'empressant d'informer votre Excellence de cette détermination souveraine j'aime à croire que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique y verra une nouvelle et éclatante preuve du haut prix que celui du Grand Duc attache à resserrer davantage les liens d'amitié existant entre les deux Etats.

Je profite, &c.

(Signé) G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Florence, December 8, 1848.

HIS Royal Highness the Grand Duke, my August Sovereign, having judged fit to appoint a Tuscan Representative at the Court of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, has selected for this purpose Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, conferring upon him the title of his Minister Plenipotentiary.

In informing your Excellency of the determination of my Sovereign, I

would fain believe that Her Britannic Majesty's Government will see in it a new and striking proof of the high value which the Government of the Grand Duke attaches to drawing closer the ties of friendship existing between the two States.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) G. MONTANELLI.

No. 654.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 19.)

(Extract.)

Florence, December 10, 1848.

I HAVE received advices from Bologna, that that town continues tranquil. A public demonstration was attempted in favour of Count Mastai, the Pope's brother; but it turned out a failure. The clubs have determined to take an active part against the Pope and to adhere to the Roman Chamber of Deputies. The clubs are now masters of the Provincial Councils and the Municipality. The national guard is completely guided by them.

No. 655.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 19.)

(Extract.)

Paris, December 17, 1848.

THE Marquis Ricci called on me yesterday and read a despatch from General Perron, which announced the intention of the Sardinian Government to fix the 15th of January as the last day for the opening of the conferences at Brussels, beyond which time they should consider the mediation at an end. It further stated as the intention of the Cabinet of Turin to inquire, upon the opening of the conferences, whether the mediating Powers adhered to their original basis, and if not to retire from any further discussion.

I told M. Ricci that I regretted the form of the first announcement, and hoped that before the time arrived, the Sardinian Government would altogether revise the last decision.

As to fixing a day and that the 15th of January, I sincerely trusted that the conferences might be opened before that time, but if he was right in supposing that Austria's great object was delay, of course by saying that the meeting should not be after a certain day, they secured that it should not be before. I further observed if it was meant as an ultimatum to the mediating Powers, it seemed to me very inappropriately addressed; at this moment England did not require it, as she had been always ready to commence negotiations at the earliest possible occasion; and M. Bastide would naturally say, "the Government of which I am a member will have ceased to exist long before the 15th of January, and therefore I can give you no satisfaction on a question of time;" nor could he address himself for nearly half the interval proposed to any other authority, the new President would not for some days be proclaimed, and then his new Cabinet would have to enter upon its functions. But I should much more deplore if the Sardinian Government gave any such instructions to their Plenipotentiary as seemed contemplated by the despatch. They must always recollect that this was a mediation, not an arbitration; we were advisers not judges. It was also important for all parties that it should be recollected precisely under what circumstances the original terms were proposed. The Sardinian army were in retreat from the lines of Peschiera, but they were still in actual possession of that tract of country which Austria had not long before offered to cede, and the authority of the King of Sardinia was paramount in its capital, Milan. The moment, however, the King of Sardinia felt, from the derangement of his military resources, the impossibility of maintaining these advantages, he applied for that active assistance from France which the French Government had under then existing circumstances pledged itself to give. M. Ricci must be aware the mediation alone prevented the move of the French armies, which would otherwise have taken place without a moment's delay. This move was considered by Sardinia herself as a great but necessary evil, and would

have been received by the rest of Europe as an unmixed calamity. It was then that England stepped in as the disinterested friend of all the parties, and recommended Austria still, upon the advice of an ally, and to avert an European war, to adhere to those said terms of peace which, as we thought with a due sense of her own permanent interest, she had not hesitated to offer in the face of the advance of a Sardinian army backed by the declared will of the Lombard population.

At the time the mediation was arranged we were far from anticipating that rapid series of disasters which followed. England might still think the arrangement she had proposed the best for the peace of Europe and the lasting interests of all parties. But as I had always spoken unreservedly to him, I must give him my own decided opinion, though I had no instructions to speak in behalf of my Government, that Sardinia would be both unjustifiable and unwise if she now assumed that these original proposals were not to be considered with the probability of very considerable modifications.

I have given your Lordship this detail of the language I felt it my duty to hold to M. Ricci, that in case he should report it to his Government, and your Lordship should share the views thus expressed, you might forward such directions to Mr. Abercromby as might tend to prevent the Sardinian Government from giving such instructions to their Plenipotentiary as must bring the conferences at once to an abrupt conclusion.

No. 656. X

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 20, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, for your information, copy* of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Turin, inclosing a copy of a memorandum addressed by the Consulta of Lombardy to the Sardinian Government on the subject of Field-Marshal Radetzky's decree of the 11th of November; and I have to instruct your Excellency to show this memorial to Prince Schwarzenberg, and to point out to him how obviously impossible it is for the Lombards to pay this enormous imposition, even if it could, consistently with the good faith and honour of the Imperial Crown, be imposed upon them. It is to be hoped, however, that the young Emperor will signalise the beginning of his reign by revoking and cancelling this monstrous act of military oppression.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 657.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 20.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, December 14, 1848.

IN reply to your Lordship's instructions of the 5th instant, I have to say that the French Government some time ago was informed that the Imperial Government agreed to Brussels as the place of meeting of the Conference of Mediation in the affairs of Northern Italy. I was not officially acquainted with the fact by the Austrian Minister, but learnt it from the French Chargé d'Affaires.

Count Colloredo is, as I am informed, to be the Austrian Plenipotentiary at Brussels. It is not yet declared who is to replace Count Dietrichstein as Ambassador in London.

* See No. 603.

No. 658.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 16, 1848.

THE decree appointing the Abbé Gioberti President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs was yesterday countersigned by Signor Pinelli, Minister of the Interior in the Administration now about to quit office.

It is expected that the formation of the new Cabinet will be announced in the Chamber of Deputies this morning; and according to the last reports in circulation yesterday evening, it will be composed as follows:

President of the Council and Minister					
for Foreign Affairs - - -					The Abbé Gioberti.
Justice - - -	-	-	-	-	Signor Rattazzi.
Interior - - -	-	-	-	-	Signor Sineo.
Finance - - -	-	-	-	-	Marquis V. Ricci.
War - - -	-	-	-	-	General Ettore Sonnaz.
Marine - - -	-	-	-	-	Rear-Admiral Mamelli.
Public Instruction - - -	-	-	-	-	Signor Cadorna.
Agriculture and Commerce - - -	-	-	-	-	Signor Buffa.
Public Works - - -	-	-	-	-	Signor Tecchio.

It is possible that the political programme of the new Cabinet will be officially announced to-day in the Chamber of Deputies.

No. 659.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 17, 1848.

HIS Excellency the Abbé Gioberti announced yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies the formation of the new Cabinet, which, with the exception of Rear-Admiral Mamelli, whose appointment has not yet taken place, is composed of the same individuals whose names I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch of yesterday's date.

The Abbé Gioberti, after he had communicated to the Chamber the names of his colleagues, read the programme of his Ministry.

I have the honour herewith to transmit to you the translation of those portions of this paper which appear to have more importance than the rest.

These extracts refer to the following subjects:—

1st. To the question of internal Italian dissensions, and the desirableness of avoiding foreign intervention.

2ndly. To the question of the prosecution of the war, and to that of the time for so doing.

3rdly. To the question of the mediation, its objects, the probability of its succeeding in those objects, and the feeling of the new Cabinet towards the mediating Powers.

4thly. To the question of the Constituent Assembly of Italy.

5thly. To the complimentary thanks of the Ministers to His Sardinian Majesty for the frankness of his conduct with regard to the granting Constitutional institutions to his country, and to the declaration of the Ministry that their political profession acknowledges that the preservation of Monarchy is necessary for the welfare of Italy.

The perusal of the inclosed extracts will furnish your Lordship with the best means of estimating the value and sincerity of this document, and I therefore do not trouble you with any observations of my own with regard to it.

The galleries of the Chamber, which were more than ordinarily crowded, manifested their approbation of such parts of the programme as coincided with their own particular views, and some few expressions and declarations were well received by individual members of the Chamber.

It is too soon as yet for me to be able to say distinctly how this programme has been received by the ultra-Liberal party in mass out of doors, but I have already heard that it has by no means given universal satisfaction, and that an opposition is already in progress of organization on the part of some of the most violent Revolutionary members of the Chambers, and that the attack will be commenced to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 659.

Extracts from the Abbé Gioberti's Programme.

(Translation.)

Extract 1.—IF dissensions should arise in any Italian State between its different provinces, or between the Prince and the people, none have a better right to offer their mediation than the other Italian States. Let us be grateful to the foreign Powers if they also offer their services, but let not their zeal accuse our carelessness. The more the various Italian States show themselves jealous and watchful guardians of their common independence, the less will they suffer it to be attacked by others; and if any of them should be in want of friendly service, let him find it from a brotherly hand, without having to seek for it beyond the Alps.

Extract 2.—But if we are asked the precise time at which we intend to recommence the war, we shall not be able to make any answer different from that which we have already given to this Chamber, because when asked whether it was expedient to recommence the war immediately, we could not give a satisfactory answer, as a minute and ocular investigation of all that refers to the military preparations is absolutely necessary for that purpose, a few special reports not being sufficient to form a grounded opinion.

Extract 3.—Nor will the mediation of England and France, whose negotiations will soon be ended, be a cause of delay or obstacle to the war. To break them at their termination would be useless, as they do not in any way impede the progress of our operations, and it might be hurtful if it was interpreted as an insult to the mediating Powers. If the mediation cannot give us that absolute autonomy which we claim (we foresaw that from the beginning), our not breaking its ties, which are dissolving naturally, will be a sign of the high esteem which we bear to two friendly nations, noble and generous, like England and France. It has not been the fault of their favourable dispositions towards us if the mediation has not realised their intentions, and if the obstinacy, the delays, and the artful conduct of our enemy had not opposed an invincible obstacle to their benevolence.

Extract 4.—We eagerly adopt the principle of an Italian Constituent. We are earnestly waiting for an opportunity to concert with Rome and Tuscany the most convenient and speedy manner of calling together such an Assembly, for the purpose of giving to Italy civil unity, with due respect to the autonomy of our various States and to their respective right.

Extract 5.—We are warm and sincere friends of Monarchy, not by instinct of servility, old habits, custom, or interest, but from rational motives, and we glory to follow in this the example of our Prince, who having of his own free will granted liberty to his people, a very rare instance in history, is so much above common passions, that his mind is prepared for sacrifices to any extent. . . . Monarchy is necessary to the welfare of Italy. This political profession is also ours.

No. 660.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, December 15, 1848.

THE Nuncio visited me to-day and told me he had news of the Pope, and that His Holiness was at Gaeta, and that it being supposed he was not in complete security in Italy, he probably might go to Malta.

I asked if the Pope wished for the interference of Austria in his affairs, he replied that His Holiness deprecated it as a thing most disadvantageous to his interests, and added that I must know very well the Imperial Government had no intention of interfering. I replied that I did not know, and rejoice in the fact, because it is my opinion that interference would be injurious both to the Pope and to Austria.

Your Lordship has seen the allocution published by the Pope and the appointment of certain persons to form a Government in Rome. The Nuncio said that those persons had refused to undertake the charge.

No. 661.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

(Extract.)

Venice, December 12, 1848.

I HAD the honour to receive on the 9th instant your Lordship's despatches of the 21st and 28th ultimo.

On the following day I saw Signor Manin, the President of the Provisional Government of Venice, and I thought that the best way of fulfilling your Lordship's instructions was to read to Signor Manin your Lordship's despatches expressing the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the recent proceedings of the Venetian authorities therein referred to.

Signor Manin said, with regard to the sorties made by the garrison of Venice, that no armistice had ever been observed by Austria towards Venice, and that consequently Venice had a full right to act as she had done. That although the Austrians had not made an assault upon Venice, yet they were continually advancing their works and sentries towards the Venetian forts, and that that alone was a justification of the proceedings of the Venetian garrison. He added that it was unfair to call upon the weaker party to observe an armistice which was neither observed nor admitted by the other side. Signor Manin proceeded to discuss the other points adverted to in your Lordship's despatches, viz., the formation of an Hungarian Legion in Venice, the supposed expedition to the Dalmatian coast, and the sacrifices imposed upon Venice by the various forced contributions and issue of paper-money. On the last-mentioned point he asserted that such voluntary sacrifices should rather excite admiration than otherwise; and he said the suggestion that Venice would do well to come to an amicable arrangement with Austria was unworthy to be made by England towards a people struggling for their independence. "After all, however," said Signor Manin, "I was not unprepared for this communication, for it agrees with what Lord Palmerston himself wrote to me some time ago, to the effect that it was not intended to separate Venice from the Austrian dominion" (this was stated to me in your Lordship's despatch of 5th October last). Signor Manin added that Venice would never make terms with Austria, a Power that had never kept her word, and in whom it was impossible to put any faith. "Remember what I say," continued Signor Manin, "and I pray you to repeat it to Lord Palmerston; Venice will support the utmost extremities; she will do anything but submit again voluntarily to Austrian rule. Not even will Venice not return under the Austrian rule, but she will not even now accept an Austrian Prince as King or head of the Government."

I requested Signor Manin to observe that the suggestions of Her Majesty's Government were made in the most friendly spirit, and that their only object was to preserve Venice from the ruin and misery which a prolonged resistance

must ultimately bring down upon her; and I observed that Austria under a Constitutional form of Government, was different from the Austria of the past.

At the close of our conversation Signor Manin said that if I would put into a note the observations I had made, the Venetian Government would reply to them. I answered that I had no instructions to take any such step, that I had only been directed to make in a friendly manner the suggestions I had made, and that I had even gone beyond my instructions in reading to him your Lordship's despatches.

I believe Signor Manin to be a sincere and honest man. He is undoubtedly a man of courage and energy.

In the meantime the party opposed to him is daily acquiring numerical strength. The heavy contributions imposed upon the merchants and inhabitants make them desire a termination to the present state of affairs.

No. 662.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

Venice, December 13, 1848.

A DESIRE to return to their own country had for some time existed among a portion of the Roman troops forming part of the garrison of Venice, and upon the arrival here of intelligence of the recent events at Rome, it was decided that the entire division of Roman troops, amounting to about 5000 men, commanded by General Ferrari, should return to the Roman States. About one-half of this number have already left Venice by sea for Ravenna, and the remainder are about to follow immediately. The garrison of Venice will thus be reduced to from 15,000 to 16,000 men, of whom it is calculated from 2000 to 3000 are sick; but this reduction is rather an advantage to the Government, who get rid of a body of men that were beginning to show signs of turbulence, and the expense of their pay is saved.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 663.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

(Extract.)

Venice, December 14, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship copies of two decrees which appeared in the Venice Gazette of last night, ordering the formation of two additional regiments, one to be called the Legion of the Chasseurs of the Alps, to be composed of persons from the neighbourhood of Feltre, Belluno, the Cadore, &c.; the other to be called the Dalmatian-Istrian Legion, to be composed of persons from Dalmatia and Istria.

Inclosure in No. 663.

Decrees of the Provisional Government of Venice.

1. UNA legione dei Cacciatori delle Alpi viene formata dei militi e cittadini del Cadore, Bellunese, Feltrino, e dei Sette Comuni, che si presentano per tal uopo in Venezia.

2. Viene in tutto parificata alle altre legioni regolari d'infanteria Veneta.

3. Un primo drappello è immediatamente riunito nella caserma del Sepolcro, sotto gli ordini del 1° Tenente Vecellio Osvaldo e del Tenente Pruchi Taddeo, i quali dipenderanno dal Commandante S. Maggiore Giupponi, finchè altre compagnie saranno a numero per formare un separato battaglione.

4. I colonnelli direttori della 1a. e 2a. divisione del Dipartimento della Guerra sono incaricati della esecuzione di questo decreto.

Venezia, 9 Dicembre, 1848.

G. B. CAVEDALIS.

1. Si forma in Venezia una legione Dalmato-Istriana di tutt' i militi e cittadini di quelle provincie che quì si trovano o qui concorressero per esservi ascritti.

2. La costituzione del corpo, il trattamento e l'uniforme saranno eguali a quelli de le legioni regolari Venete d'infanteria, e l'arrolamento sarà obbligatorio finchè duri la guerra dell' indipendenza Italiana.

3. Agli ufficiali e sottufficiali saranno conservati i gradi che documentassero d'aver ricevuti in altri eserciti regolari d'Europa.

4. Una prima sezione è immediatamente riunita nella caserma di S. Francesco di Paola, sotto gli ordini del capitano della 7a. Legione Veneta, Giuseppe Mirkovich, e del Tenente Gio. Battista Ziliotto.

5. I colonnelli direttori delle divisioni 1a. e 2a. del Dipartimento della Guerra hanno l'incarico della esecuzione del presente decreto.

Venezia, 9 Dicembre, 1848.

G. B. CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

1. A LEGION of the Chasseurs of the Alps shall be formed of the soldiers and citizens of the Cadore, Bellunese, Feltrino, and the Seven Communes, who shall present themselves for that purpose in Venice.

2. It shall be in every respect conformable with the other regular legions of Venetian infantry.

3. The first company shall be immediately formed in the barracks of the Sepolcro, under the orders of the First Lieutenant Vecellio Osvaldo and of Lieutenant Pruchi Taddeo, who will be under the command of Commander Major Giupponi, until other companies can be formed, sufficient to make up a separate battalion.

4. The colonels directors of the first and second division of the War Department are charged with the execution of this decree.

Venice, December 9, 1848.

G. B. CAVEDALIS.

1. An Istro-Dalmatian Legion shall be formed in Venice of all the soldiers and citizens of those provinces here or who may come here to be enrolled.

2. The constitution of the corps, the pay and the uniform shall be the same as that of the regular Venetian infantry ; and the service shall continue obligatory so long as the war of Italian independence shall continue.

3. The officers and non-commissioned officers shall receive the rank which they may prove by their papers to have received in other regular armies of Europe.

4. The first division shall be immediately incorporated in the barracks of St. Francesco di Paolo, under the orders of Giuseppe Mirkovich, Captain of the 7th Venetian Legion, and of Lieutenant Gio. Battista Ziliotto.

The colonels directors of the first and second departments of war are charged with the execution of the present decree.

Venice, December 9, 1848.

G. B. CAVEDALIS.

No. 664.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a note which has been addressed to me by the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that in consequence of the favourable reception that was given to the Marquis Ridolfi's proposal by your Lordship and M. Bastide, for the admission of a Tuscan Plenipotentiary to the conferences about to take place on the affairs of Italy, it is the intention of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke to send a Plenipotentiary to be present at those conferences.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 664.

*M. Montanelli to Sir George Hamilton.**Florence, 11 Décembre, 1848.*

LES résultats de la mission donnée par le Gouvernement du Grand Duc de Toscane à M. le Marquis Ridolfi près les Gouvernemens de la République Française et de Sa Majesté Britannique, sont pour les dits Gouvernemens un titre inaltérable à la gratitude de la Toscane.

Encouragé maintenant par les déclarations officielles et officieuses de Lord Palmerston et de M. Bastide, le Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane, en apprenant la nouvelle des conférences qui doivent avoir lieu dans la ville de Bruxelles, croit de son devoir de déclarer à son Excellence Sir George Baillie Hamilton, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, que le Gouvernement du Grand Duc est dans la détermination d'être représenté à Bruxelles ainsi que la Sardaigne, et d'y envoyer à cet objet un Représentant.

Le Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Grand Duc, est dans la confiance que le Gouvernement Britannique, après avoir reconnu à la Toscane le droit de traiter ses affaires et gouverner ses intérêts, voudra donner une nouvelle preuve de l'amour que la Grande Bretagne porte à la cause de la nationalité Italienne, en employant ses offices pour qu'il en soit ainsi.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

Florence, December 11, 1848.

THE results of the mission to the Governments of the French Republic and of Her Britannic Majesty, entrusted by the Government of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Marquis de Ridolfi, constitute, as regards the aforesaid Governments, an eternal title to the gratitude of Tuscany.

Encouraged at the present time by the official and unofficial declarations of Lord Palmerston and of M. de Bastide, the Undersigned, &c., on hearing the account of the conferences which are about to take place in the city of Brussels, deems it his duty to declare to his Excellency Sir George Baillie Hamilton, &c., that the Government of the Grand Duke has determined to have, as well as Sardinia, a Representative at Brussels, and to send a person thither for that purpose.

The Undersigned, &c., trusts that the British Government, having recognized the right of Tuscany to manage its own affairs and to regulate its own interests, will be disposed to give a fresh proof of the love which Great Britain entertains for the cause of Italian nationality by employing its good offices that such may be the case.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

G. MONTANELLI.

No. 665.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 15, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch from Mr. Petre, announcing the formation at Rome of a Provisional Government entitled Giunta di Stato, which shall exercise during the absence of the Sovereign, the executive power.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 665.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, December 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Alto Consiglio and the Council of Deputies yesterday decreed the formation of a provisional and supreme Giunta di Stato, which, in the absence of the Sovereign in a foreign land, into which entrance has been denied to any deputation directed to him, shall exercise in his name all the functions belonging to the head of the Executive power.

The Giunta di Stato to be dissolved immediately on the return of the Sovereign, or whenever he shall depute in a legal manner some person to execute the duties of his office.

This Giunta di Stato, by decision of the Chambers, is to be composed of three persons; and the majority of votes fell on Prince Corsini, Senator of Rome, the Senator of Bologna, and the Mayor-Gonfaloniere of Ancona.

No. 666.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 25.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, December 12, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke William of Austria arrived here early on the morning of the 9th instant, for the purpose of announcing to this Court the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria and the accession to the Throne of the Emperor Francis Joseph the First.

I understand that the Russian Government propose sending a person of distinction in the course of a few days to Olmütz, to congratulate the Emperor Francis Joseph on his accession to the Throne.

No. 667.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 30.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 17, 1848.

I SEND you the programme of the Abbé Gioberti's Ministry.

Inclosure in No. 667.

Programme of the Abbé Gioberti's Ministry.

Signori,

CHIAMATI dal nostro Augustissimo Principe al maneggio dei pubblici affari in tempi difficilissimi, noi avremmo rifiutato l'incarico, se ci fossimo consigliati colla debolezza delle nostre forze anzichè coll' amore di patria e col debito di cittadini. Ora avendo consentito di addossarcelo, noi brameremmo esporvi minutamente qual sarà la nostra politica e il tenore del nostro procedere; ma la novità stessa dell' ufficio e le angustie del tempo ce lo divietano. Premurosi e solleciti anzi tutto di accorciare al possibile la crisi ministeriale, noi non potemmo pur dare uno sguardo al grave compito che ci viene imposto; onde ci è forza restringerci a esporvi succintamente le massime che regoleranno la nostra amministrazione. Le quali non sono già nuove, poichè avemmo occasione di dichiararle e di difenderle più volte al vostro cospetto; e possiamo dire che nel trascorso aringo della nascente libertà Italiana, esse sono le più antiche, come quelle che partorirono e promossero il nostro risorgimento.

Il patrocinio della nazionalità nostra, o Signori, e lo sviluppo delle istituzioni,

sono i due capi essenziali e complessivi della nostra politica. La nazionalità Italiana versa sopra due cardini, che sono l'indipendenza e l'unione della Penisola. L'indipendenza è politica e morale, come quella che da un lato esclude ogni straniero dominio, e dall'altro rimuove ogni forestiera influenza che ripugni al patrio decoro. Tali non son certamente gli amichevoli influssi e le pacifiche ingerenze di quei Potentati esterni che ci sono uniti coi vincoli della simpatia e delle istituzioni; onde non che risultarne alcun biasimo, ci torna a non piccolo onore; essendo sommamente onorevole che la nazioni più illustri si interessino alle cose nostre.

Ma affinchè l'opera esterna non pregiudichi alla dignità nazionale, egli è mestieri che quella non si scompagni dal patrio concorso. I vari Stati Italiani sono legati fra loro coi nodi più intimi e soavi di fratellanza, poichè compongono una sola nazione e abitano una sola patria. Se pertanto nasce in alcuno di essi qualche dissenso tra provincia e provincia o tra il Principe e il popolo, a chi meglio stà il profferirsi come pacificatore, che agli altri Stati Italici? Siamo grati alle Potenze esterne, se anch'esse conferiscono l'opera loro; ma facciamo che il loro zelo non accusi la nostra oscitanza. Quanto più i vari dominii Italiani saranno gelosi custodi e osservatori della comune indipendenza, tanto meno comporteranno che altri l'offenda; e se l'uno e l'altro di essi avrà bisogno di amichevoli servigi farà sì che a conseguirli con vicenda fraterna non abbia d'uopo di cercarli di là dai monti.

L'indipendenza Italiana non può compiersi senza le armi; laonde a queste rivolgeremo ogni nostra cura. Ma se altri ci chiedesse il tempo preciso in cui le ripiglieremo, non potremmo fargli altri risposta che quella che già demmo a questa medesima Camera. Imperocchè interrogati se la guerra era di presente opportuna, non potemmo soddisfare direttamente al quesito; quando a tal effetto è richiesta una minuta e oculata contezza di quanto riguarda i militari apparecchi; e non bastano certi ragguagli generici per formare un fondato giudizio. Ora entrando in questo punto all'indirizzo della cosa pubblica, non possiamo meglio di allora compiacere ai richiedenti. Ben possiamo assicurarvi sul nostro onore che per accelerare il momento in cui il valore dell'esercito subalpino potrà pigliare la sua riscossa dell'infortunio, useremo ogni energia e sollecitudine; adoperando a tal fine con maschio ardore tutti i mezzi che saranno in nostro potere.

Nè alla guerra sarà d'indugio o di ostacolo la mediazione Anglo-Francese, le cui pratiche volgono alla loro fine. Il troncarle nel loro scorcio sarebbe inutile, non pregiudicando in modo alcuno alla libertà delle nostre operazioni, e potrebbe esser dannoso, quando fosse interpretato a ingiuria delle Potenze mediatrici. Se la mediazione non può darci quell'assoluta autonomia a cui aspiriamo (e noi il prevedevamo sin da principio), il non riciderne i nodi mentre stanno per disciogliersi naturalmente farà segno dell'alta stima, che da noi si porta a due nazioni amiche, così nobili e generose, come l'Inghilterra e la Francia. Dalla cui egregia disposizione a nostro riguardo non è rimasto che la mediazione non abbia sortito l'intento; se alla loro benevolenza non avesser frapposto invincibile ostacolo la durezza, i ritardi e le arti dell'inimico.

L'unione, o Signori, è l'altra condizione fondamentale della nazionalità Italiana. Già questa unione fu da voi solennemente iniziata quando confirmaste il voto libero dei popoli con un decreto del Parlamento. Noi applicheremo l'animo a compiere l'impresa vostra, e a far che l'atto magnanimo da voi rogato divenga un fatto durevole e perpetua. Ci riusciremo? Ne abbiamo viva speranza; senza la quale non si sarebbe per noi accettato il gravissimo incarico. Ma la speranza eziandio più ragionevole non dà assoluta certezza; e noi non ci dissimuliamo gli impedimenti che possono attraversarsi al nostro disegno. In ogni caso, quando la necessità rendesse vano ogni conato, noi non rinnegheremo mai in ordine al diritto una religione politica che ci è sacra e inviolabile; e non potendo attuarla nel fatto cederemo il luogo a chi professando una dottrina diversa può rassegnarsi al fato ineluttabile senza tradire la propria coscienza. Laonde, finchè terremo il grado di cui il Principe ci ha onorati, voi potete essere sicuri che porteremo fiducia di far rivivere l'opera vostra e non dispereremo delle sorti Italiane.

Il compimento dell'unione è la confederazione tra i vari Stati della Penisola. Questo patto fraterno non può essere sancito in modo condegno, e proporzionato alla civiltà presente, se coi Governi liberi i popoli non ci concorrono. Noi facciamo plauso di cuore al patrio grillo, che sorse in varie parti d'Italia, e abbracciamo volenterosi l'insegna della Costituente Italiana. Attenderemo premurosamente a concertare con Roma e Toscana il modo più acconcio e pronto per convocare

una tale Assemblea, che oltre al dotare l'Italia di unità civile, senza pregiudizio dell'autonomia dei vari Stati nostrali e dei loro diritti, renderà agevole l'usufruttare le forze di tutti a pro del riscatto comune.

Lo sviluppo delle nostre istituzioni si fonda principalmente nell'accordo della Monarchia Costituzionale cogli spiriti Democratici. Noi siamo caldi e sinceri patrocinatori del principato civile, non già per istinto di servilità, per preoccupazione, per consuetudine, per interesse, ma per ragione: e ci gloriamo di seguire in questo le orme del Principe, il quale avendo con esempio rarissimo nelle storie, assentito spontaneamente alla libertà de' suoi popoli, sovrasta talmente ai volgari affetti, che l'animo suo è disposto ad ogni grandezza di sacrificio. Che se egli tuttavia ci commette di tutelare la Corona e la Monarchia, il fa persuaso che il Principio è necessario al bene d'Italia. Questa professione politica è altresì la nostra; essendo profondamente convinti che sola la Monarchia Costituzionale può dare alla patria nostra unità, forza e potenza contro i disordini interni e gli assalti stranieri.

Ma la Monarchia sequestrata dal genio popolare non risponde ai bisogni e ai desideri che oggi spronano ed infiammano le nazioni. Perciò noi accogliamo volentieri il voto espresso da molti di un Ministero Democratico, e faremo ogni opera per metterlo in essere. Saremo Democratici, occupandoci specialmente delle classi faticanti e infelici, e facendo opere efficaci per proteggere, istruire, migliorare, ingentilire la povera plebe, innalzandola a stato e dignità di popolo. Saremo Democratici serbandone rigidamente inviolata l'uguaglianza di tutti i cittadini al cospetto della legge comune. Saremo Democratici, procurando con vigilante sollecitudine gl'interessi delle provincie, e guardandoci di postergarli con parzialità ingiusta a quelli della metropoli. Saremo Democratici, corredando il principato d'istituzioni popolari, e accordando cogli spiriti di queste i civili provvedimenti, e in specie quelli che riguardano la pubblica sicurezza, la costituzione del municipio, e il palladio loro, cioè la guardia nazionale.

La Democrazia considerata in questi termini non può sbigottire e non dee ingelosire nessuno. Essa è la sola che risponda al suo nome e sia degna veramente del popolo, come quella che virtuosa, generosa, amica dell'ordine, della proprietà, del Trono, è alienissima dalla licenza, dalle violenze, dal sangue; e non che ripulsar quelle classi che in addietro chiamavansi privilegiate, stende loro amica la mano, e le invita a congiungersi seco nella santa opera di salvare e felicitare la patria.

Il carattere più specifico di questa Democrazia in ciò risiede ch'essa è sommamente conciliativa; e a noi gode l'animo di poter coll'idea di conciliazione chiudere il nostro discorso. Noi vi abbiamo esposto, o Signori, candidamente, i nostri principii, ma questi non potranno fruttare e trapassare dal mondo delle idee in quello della pratica, senza l'efficace concorso della nazione e di quelli che la rappresentano. Questa è la richiesta che a voi generosi vi facciam noi non immeritevoli al tutto di questo titolo; perchè se le tenui nostre forze hanno mestieri della vostra cooperazione, ci sentiamo un animo degno della vostra fiducia.

VINCENZO, GIOBERTI.

SINEO, RICCARDO.

SONNAZ, ETTORE.

RATTAZZI, URBANO.

RICCI, VINCENZO.

CADORNA, CARLO.

BUFFA, DOMENICO.

TECCHIO, SEBASTIANO.

FELICE ROMANI, *Capo Estensore.*

E. LEONE, *Gerente.*

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,

CALLED by our most august Prince to the direction of public affairs in most difficult times, we would have refused the charge if we had consulted the weakness of our power instead of the love of our country and the duty of citizens. Now, having consented to undertake it, we would desire to lay before you minutely what will be our political feeling and the tenor of our proceedings, but the novelty itself of the office and the shortness of time prevent us. Anxious and

solicitous to shorten as much as possible the Ministerial crisis, we could not even give a look to the heavy task which has been imposed on us. Therefore we are obliged to restrict ourselves to exposing to you succinctly the maxims that will rule our administration.

These are not new, since we have had frequently occasion to declare them and to defend them before you, and we may say that in the recent efforts made for the rising liberty of Italy, they are most ancient, having giving birth to and promoted our resurrection.

The defence of our nationality, Gentlemen, and the development of its institutions, are the two essential points of our politics. Italian nationality rests upon two cardinal points, which are, the independence and the union of the Peninsula. Independence, political and moral, on one side excluding all foreign dominion, and on the other removing every external influence which is repugnant to the honour of our country. We certainly must not consider as such the friendly influence and the pacific interference of those foreign Potentates who are united to us by the ties of sympathy and of common institutions, which, far from causing the least hindrance, turns more to our honour, it being creditable that the most illustrious nations should be interested in our affairs.

But in order that foreign influence should not be prejudicial to the national dignity, it would be desirable that it should be accompanied by patriotic co-operation. The various Italian States are bound to each other by the most intimate and dear ties of brotherhood, as they form one and the same nation, and inhabit one and the same country. If, however, there should arise in some of these dissensions between province and province, or between Prince and people, to whom would it belong to act as pacificator better than to the other Italian States? We are grateful to foreign Powers if they impart their co-operation; but let us beware that their zeal may not accuse us of inertness. Inasmuch as the various Italian Powers will be jealous guardians and observers of general independence, so much the less will they allow the others to offend against it, and if either of them have need of friendly assistance, it will take care, by recurring to brotherly interchange of good offices, not to have need to apply for it beyond the mountains.

Italian independence cannot be accomplished without arms; therefore to these we will turn all our attention. But if we should be asked the precise time that we will take them up, we could make no other answer than that which we have already given to this House; for if we were interrogated whether the war was at present seasonable or not, we could not give a direct answer to the question; to this purpose a minute and secret inquiry into what regards military preparations would be requisite, and general accounts do not suffice to form a proper opinion. And now we are on the subject of the management of public affairs we cannot answer this question better than we did then. But we can assure you on our honour, that in order to accelerate the moment in which the valour of the Sub-Alpine army will be enabled to recover from its misfortunes, we will use every energy and solicitude, adopting to that end with manly boldness all the means in our power.

Nor shall there be any hindrance or delay from the Anglo-French mediation, whose negotiation approach their termination. To interfere with these towards their close would be useless, as they do not in any way affect our liberty of operation, and it might be prejudicial if it gave cause of offence to the mediating Powers. If the mediation cannot give us the absolute independence to which we aspire (and this we foresaw from the beginning), our abstaining from cutting the knots which are being undone of themselves, will only be affording a proof of the high esteem which we bear to two friendly nations so noble and so generous as those of England and France, whose noble intentions we cannot blame for the failure of the mediation, the harshness of sentiments, delays, and cunning of the enemy having interposed invincible obstacles to their benevolence.

Union, gentlemen, is the other fundamental condition of Italian nationality. Already this union has been by you solemnly admitted when you confirmed by a decree of the Parliament the free vote of the people. We will strive to accomplish your undertaking, in order that the magnanimous act subscribed by you may become a lasting and perpetual deed. Shall we succeed? We hope it strongly, or else we would not have accepted this weighty charge. But hope, however reasonable, does not afford absolute certainty; and we do not overlook the impediments which may oppose our designs. In every

way, if necessity should render vain every effort, we will never deny *de jure* a political faith which is sacred and inviolable ; and if we are not able to act up to our conviction in deed, we will make way for those who, professing a different doctrine, can resign themselves to inevitable fate without betraying their own conscience. Therefore as long as we hold the rank with which the Prince has honoured us, you may be sure that we will with good faith endeavour to revive your work, and we will not despair of the fate of Italy.

The completion of the union will be the confederation of the different States of the Peninsula. This fraternal compact cannot be properly sanctioned, and in a manner suitable to present civilization, if the people do not act in accordance with free Government. We applaud from our hearts the patriotic cry which has arisen in different parts of Italy, and we embrace willingly the ensign of Constituent Italy. We will take special care to concert with Rome and Tuscany on the fittest and most expeditious means to convoke such an Assembly that shall, besides giving to Italy civil union, without prejudicing the independence of our different States and their rights, render easy the turning to good account the powers of each for the general safety.

The development of our institutions is founded principally on the agreement of Constitutional Monarchy with Democratic spirit. We are warm and sincere defenders of Monarchy, not from a servile instinct, from pre-occupation, from habit, or from interest, but from reason ; and we glory to follow in this, the steps of a Prince, who, affording an example rare in history, has consented spontaneously to the liberty of his people, and is so far above common passions, that his mind is ready to every sacrifice ; who, if he calls upon us to guard the Crown and the Monarchy, does so because he is persuaded that the principle is necessary to the good of Italy. This political profession is our own, being, as we are, intimately convinced that Constitutional Monarchy alone can give to our country, unity, strength, and power against internal disorders and the attacks of foreigners.

But Monarchy separated from popular spirit does not correspond to the wants and desires which now incite and inflame nations. Therefore we agree willingly to the desire expressed by many for a Democratic Ministry, and we will do everything in our power to form one. We will be Democratic, occupy ourselves specially for the working and unfortunate classes, and by efficaciously protecting, instructing, and bettering the condition of the poor, advance them, and raise them to the state and dignity of a people. We will be Democrats, preserving strictly inviolate the equality of all citizens in the presence of the common law. We will be Democrats, studying with vigilant solicitude the interests of the provinces, taking care not to put them with unjust partiality below those of the metropolis. We will be Democrats furnishing the principality with public institutions, establishing civil arrangements, in accordance with their spirit, especially those which regard public security, municipal constitution, and their palladium, that is, the National Guard.

Democracy considered in these terms cannot alarm, and ought not to cause suspicion in any one. It is the only thing which answers to its name, and is really worthy of the people, being virtuous, generous, friend of order, of property, of the Throne, and farthest from licentiousness, violence, and blood ; and so far from repulsing those classes who call themselves privileged, holds out a friendly hand to them, and invites them to join with it in the holy work to save and render our country happy.

The most specific character of this Democracy is, that it is highly conciliatory, and we are happy to be able to conclude our discourse with the idea of conciliation. We have exposed to you, gentlemen, candidly, our principles, but these could not succeed, and pass from the world of theory to that of practice, without the efficacious co-operation of the nation with those that represent it. This is the request that we make to you, generous people, not altogether ourselves unworthy of this title, because if our weak abilities are in want of your co-operation, we feel in us a spirit worthy of your confidence.

[Signatures.]

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 25.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 19, 1848.

I CALLED yesterday upon the Abbé Gioberti, and had my first interview with him since his entrance upon his functions as President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Abbé received me with great civility, and was earnest in the expressions in his own name and in that of his colleagues, of their sense of obligation for the interest which Her Majesty's Government have taken in the cause of Italy, and in the welfare and prosperity of the States of His Sardinian Majesty.

To these assurances I replied in terms suited to the occasion.

I then entered upon the question of the mediation. I stated that I had read the programme which he had communicated to the Chamber of Deputies, and that I had observed therein with satisfaction that the Cabinet of Turin had wisely determined to avoid adopting any hasty or inconsiderate measure that might have the effect of embarrassing the conferences about to be commenced at Brussels; that the declaration above alluded to led me to suppose that the Government of His Sardinian Majesty accepted the basis which the mediating Powers had proposed, now that they had become acquainted with the nature of it, and that I was anxious to learn what were the views and intentions of his Cabinet with regard to the engrossing subject of Sardinian foreign policy, in order that I might report them to your Lordship.

The Abbé Gioberti replied that the Government of His Sardinian Majesty had decided that it would be unbecoming in Sardinia, after the friendly interest shown towards her by the Governments of Great Britain and of France, to reject the mediation which they had offered; that he would at once frankly state that he did not expect that the labours of the Conference would lead to any satisfactory result, and therefore that those conferences would shortly have a natural termination which would save them from having to adopt any extreme course; that neither the present Sardinian Cabinet, nor did he believe any other set of Sardinian Ministers would be able to accept of an arrangement founded upon bases such as those at present proposed, and that to limit the negotiations to such terms would not satisfy the views and opinions of His Sardinian Majesty's Government.

In answer I inquired if I was therefore to understand that the Sardinian Government refused the basis which the Cabinets of London and of Paris had proposed.

The Abbé Gioberti replied in the negative, qualifying however that negative by stating that he and his colleagues would retire from office rather than subscribe to any arrangement that did not carry with it the complete and entire independence of Italy.

I asked what he considered to be the complete and entire independence of Italy; he replied, the total evacuation by the Austrians of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, rejecting as unacceptable the possibility of placing an Austrian Archduke as an independent Sovereign, which he said would serve as a pretext for a continuation of Austrian interference in the politics and concerns of Italy.

The Abbé Gioberti having stated his views with regard to the independence of Italy and the territorial arrangements which he considered to be indispensable, proceeded to say that Austria, in his opinion, would be best consulting her own power and interests by renouncing her claims upon Italy, and by securing her friendship and alliance by means of reciprocal commercial relations; and the Abbé concluded by saying that Her Majesty's Government might be of the greatest service in bringing Austria to a satisfactory settlement of the Italian question.

I did not allow these remarks of the Abbé Gioberti to pass unnoticed: I stated that it was not now that Sardinia had to learn for the first time that Great Britain was disposed to take a lively interest in her welfare; that he might feel certain that such would continue to be the case; that England had

no selfish or individual objects in view when she had come forward with the offer of her mediation ; that her advice had always been and would continue to be offered according as she viewed the true interests of Sardinia to be affected ; that that advice would be offered in the true spirit of friendship, whether it was likely at the moment to be agreeable or disagreeable to the Sardinian Government ; and that I then once for all requested him to understand that such would be the course I should invariably adopt ; that with regard to the present question, and to the power which he attributed to Her Majesty's Government, I had to observe, that Her Majesty's Government had offered, in concert with France, their mediation to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy, and to put an end to the state of war which then desolated that country, but that we had never intimated the slightest intention of allowing that mediation to be transformed into an arbitration, or of enforcing by active measures the advice or recommendations which as mediators we might deem it just and reasonable to offer for the acceptance of the parties interested.

I took advantage of the opportunity which a turn in the conversation gave me, to state to the Abbé Gioberti in distinct and positive terms, the serious dangers to which Sardinia would be exposed by any Government that might recklessly drive her to sustain alone the weight of a war with Austria, and to take upon herself the immense responsibility of renewing hostilities and of endangering the public peace ; I stated that any Government that adopted such a course of policy would be betraying the interests confided to their care ; that they would probably bring ruin and defeat upon the State and Sovereign whose affairs they had been called upon to administer ; and further, that if by the measures which they adopted they should finally diminish or destroy the power and influence of their country which they were bound to uphold, they would in that case not only have entailed disaster upon Sardinia, but they would have broken down the resources of that country which, by its position was evidently destined to have become the support and bulwark of Italian independence and of the success of the Italian cause ; I therefore seized that occasion, I told him, to impress upon him as strongly as I was able, the immense danger, not only to Sardinia, but to Italy in general, of an inconsiderate renewal of hostilities against Austria.

Before quitting the subjects of the mediation and of the possibility of an unprovoked return to war upon Austria on the part of Sardinia, I said that I had to execute instructions from your Lordship, urging the Sardinian Government to lose no time in appointing a Sardinian Plenipotentiary at the Conference at Brussels, and in desiring him to proceed there with as little delay as possible.

The Abbé Gioberti informed me that the appointment of the Marquis Albert Ricci to represent Sardinia at the Conference had been already made out ; that his instructions would be immediately prepared, and that he would be ordered to repair forthwith to Brussels.

In concluding a conversation which had already occupied a good deal of time, I briefly but strongly recapitulated the dangers likely to arise to Sardinia from any unprovoked renewal of hostilities on her part against Austria ; I pointed out to the Abbé Gioberti that I considered it to be the duty of the Sardinian Ministers towards their Sovereign and their country to adopt every means possible to avoid incurring the responsibility of another appeal to arms ; I urged the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs to dispatch as quickly as possible a Sardinian Plenipotentiary to the Conference at Brussels ; and I renewed my declaration that Great Britain, actuated only by a feeling of sincere friendship for Sardinia, and having no private objects of interest to gain, would continue in the course she had hitherto followed of proving the sincerity of her professions whenever an occasion for so doing should occur ; but that on the other hand he must be prepared to hear and to receive the expressions of the disapproval of Her Majesty's Government whenever it might in their opinion appear that the policy about to be adopted by Sardinia was likely to be prejudicial to the real and true interests of His Sardinian Majesty or his dominions.

The Abbé Gioberti heard my observations with much attention, and assured me that he set too high a price upon the friendship and support of Great Britain, not at all times to desire to cultivate an alliance so honourable and important for Sardinia.

I have now reported to your Lordship as succinctly as I have been able, the substance of my conversation with the Abbé Gioberti.

The impression which it has left upon my mind is, that the present Sardinian Cabinet wish to avoid coming to an open and unbecoming rupture with the mediating Powers with regard to the pending negotiations for a settlement of the affairs of Northern Italy, and that the civil and moderate declarations relative to the mediation contained in the ministerial programme are only intended ostensibly to satisfy the obligation which was imposed upon them by His Sardinian Majesty upon their entrance into office, that they should accept and respect the mediation and the basis upon which it is founded; but that the real policy and intention of the Sardinian Government is to avail themselves of the first opportunity to withdraw from the mediation, and eventually to resume the war.

I shall no doubt be told that no such intentions exist, and that the King's Government is sincerely desirous of prosecuting the conferences at Brussels out of respect for the mediating Powers; but I have little belief that the acts of the present Government are likely to be in unison with their professions.

I shall be happy if my previsions prove hereafter to have been incorrect, for in that case Sardinia, and Italy also, may possibly be saved from many of the dangers which otherwise are likely to gather round her.

No. 669.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 25.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 20, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy and translation of a proclamation issued by Signor Domenico Buffa, Minister of Commerce and of Agriculture, now at Genoa, acting as Royal Commissary invested by His Sardinian Majesty with full civil and military powers.

This proclamation appeared last night in the Piedmontese Gazette, the official journal of this country.

The mission of Signor Buffa to Genoa has been occasioned by the agitated state of the population of Genoa during the preceding week, owing to the dissatisfaction felt at the conduct of the Intendant, which had been unjustly represented to the people as being disrespectful and arbitrary; and by the intrigues of the revolutionary faction, which had been raising a cry for the proclaiming of an Italian Constituent Assembly, and for the installation of the Democratic Administration.

I need not either point out to your Lordship's attention the pains which Signor Buffa has taken in this address to disclaim, not merely in his own name but in that of the whole Cabinet of which he is a member, all idea of the basis upon which the mediation is founded, for in one part of his proclamation he uses the following expression: "The present Ministry, of which I form a part, insist (*vuole*) upon the absolute independence of Italy at the cost of any sacrifice," and in order to make this declaration even more positive and distinct, the word absolute has been carefully printed in italics.

This first act of the new Cabinet indicates I fear but too correctly the real policy of the present Ministry.

Since this despatch was written I have seen the Abbé Gioberti, who informed me that he and his colleagues felt that Signor Buffa had inconsiderately exceeded the bounds of discretion, and that in consequence orders had been dispatched to him last night to withdraw the order for the evacuation of the forts of Genoa by the royal troops, if it was still time.

Inclosure 1 in No. 669.

Proclamation of Signor Buffa.

Viva la Costituente Italiana!

Genovesi,

I NUOVI Ministri appena giunti al potere udirono che Genova da più giorni tumultuava. Ma perchè tumultuava?

Perchè volevasi seguitare una politica contraria alla dignità, agli interessi, all'indipendenza della nazione. Ecco perchè Genova tumultuava. La città generosa, iniziatrix di libertà ed indipendenza, non poteva rassegnarsi a siffatta vergogna.

Ma ora uomini nuovi, cose nuove.

Il presente Ministero, del quale io pure fo parte, vuole l'*assoluta* indipendenza d'Italia a costo di qualunque sacrificio; vuole la Costituente Italiana, e già l'ha proclamata, e già fin dal primo giorno che entrò al potere scelse persona che andasse in Toscana e a Roma a concertare con quei Governi il modo di prontamente effettuarla. Vuole, in una parola, la Monarchia Democratica.

Un Ministero di tal fatta avrà sempre Genova amica ed aiutatrice.

Non può averla nemica che ad un patto solo, quello cioè ch'esso tradisca la sua missione.

Genovesi,

Io investito dal Rè di tutte le facoltà civili e militari spettanti al potere esecutivo, sono venuto a dare una mentita solenne a coloro che dicono la vostra città amica delle turbolenze.

Io farò veder loro che quando il Governo segue una politica veramente nazionale, non è mestieri d'alcun apparato di forza per tener Genova tranquilla. La forza vale cogli imbelli, non già coi generosi.

Pertanto ho ordinato che le truppe partano della città. Fin d'oggi spedisco una stafetta a far loro preparare gli alloggi nei luoghi ove debbono recarsi. Fra due giorni spero farle partire. Quanto ai forti della città, sarà interrogata la guardia nazionale se voglia o possa presidiarli, e le saranno consegnati o tutti o in parte, a sua scelta.

A mantenere l'ordine pubblico in una città veramente libera basta la guardia nazionale.

Così tolto ogni apparato di forza, noi faremo vedere a tutta Italia che quando il Governo batte veramente la via della libertà, della nazionalità, Genova è tranquilla.

Viva l'indipendenza assoluta!

Viva la Costituente Italiana!

Genova, il 18 Dicembre, 1848.

DOMENICO BUFFA,

Ministro di Agricoltura e Commercio, e Commissario investito di tutti i poteri esecutivi della città di Genova.

(Translation.)

Viva la Costituente Italiana!

Genoese,

THE new Ministers had hardly entered office when they learned that Genoa had been for some days in a state of tumult. But why was she tumultuous?

Because it was attempted to follow a policy contrary to the dignity, to the interests, to the independence of the nation. That is why Genoa was tumultuous. The generous city, author of liberty and independence, could not resign itself to such shame.

But now new men, new things.

The present Ministry, of which I am myself part, insist (vuole) upon the *absolute* independence of Italy at the expense of any sacrifice: they insist on the Italian Constituent and have already proclaimed it; and even from the first day of their entrance into power they chose a person to go to Tuscany and

Rome to concert with those Governments the means of promptly putting it in operation. They insist, in a word, on the Democratic Monarchy.

A Ministry of this sort will always have Genoa for its friend and supporter.

It could have her as its enemy on one condition only, that of itself betraying its own trust.

Genoese,

Invested by the King with all the civil and military functions belonging to the executive power, I am come to give a solemn contradiction to those who say that your town is a friend to turbulence.

I shall let them see that when the Government follows a truly national policy, there is no need of any array of force to keep Genoa quiet. Force is required with the unwarlike but not with the generous.

Therefore I have ordered the troops to leave the town. This very day I dispatch an estafette to have quarters prepared for them in the places where they are to go. Within two days I hope to send them off. As to the forts of the town the national guard will be asked whether they will and can garrison them, and they will be given up to them, or in part, at their choice.

The national guard suffices to maintain public order in a truly free city.

Thus every display of force being removed, we shall show to all Italy, that when the Government treads truly the path of liberty and nationality, Genoa is tranquil.

Viva absolute independence !

Viva the Italian Constituent !

Genoa, December 18, 1848.

(Signed)

DOMENICO BUFFA,

*Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, invested with
all the executive power of the city of Genoa.*

No. 670. X

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 27, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to you for your information, a copy of a despatch* addressed by the Baron de Perron to the Marquis Ricci, which has been communicated to me by Count Revel. Her Majesty's Government have received this communication with great regret, but they trust that further reflection may induce the Piedmontese Government to modify the intentions therein announced. And in the first place, with regard to the desire of the Piedmontese Government to march its troops into the duchies of Parma and Modena, in order to drive the Austrians out of those Duchies, it is to be observed that the Austrian Government concluded last year treaties offensive and defensive with the Sovereign of those duchies; and that however much those treaties may in principle be objected to by other States, and especially by neighbouring Italian States, as introducing the armed interference of a foreign Power into the internal affairs of the two duchies, yet those treaties do seem to give the Austrian Government a right to send troops into those duchies if invited to do so by their respective Sovereigns; and in fact the main objection against those treaties lies in the circumstance that they did confer that right upon the Austrian Government. But as those treaties were concluded before the Armistice of the 9th of August was signed, it is plain that a military occupation of those duchies by Austrian troops, resting as it does upon treaties concluded before the date of the Armistice, cannot be looked upon as a violation of that Armistice.

General Perron says that unless Austria accepts the basis of negotiation to which Piedmont has acceded, or in other words, unless Austria consents to relinquish Lombardy, the Piedmontese Government will be forced by public opinion in Piedmont, to recommence the war; and the General states that this decision cannot be delayed beyond the 15th of January.

* See No. 642.

The Piedmontese Government must of course know better than the Government of Her Majesty, what is the direction and the force of public opinion in Piedmont ; but Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the people of Piedmont are accessible to reason ; and it is difficult to conceive that if the Piedmontese Government were to take pains to explain to the King's subjects the disparity of a conflict between Piedmont and Austria, and the moral certainty that such a conflict must end disadvantageously to Piedmont, public opinion would not take another direction. A brave and high-minded nation may naturally be expected to stand the brunt of a defensive war against a superior force, rather than submit to ignominious or injurious conditions ; but that an intelligent and enlightened nation should wantonly rush into an aggressive war against a powerful adversary, with no reasonable prospect of success, is a thing difficult to imagine. General Perron, however, seems to reckon upon receiving the assistance of a French army of 50,000 or 60,000 men, in the event of the Piedmontese being driven back by the Austrians, and being compelled to recross the Ticino ; and the General seems to think that a declaration by France that she would not allow the Austrians to pass to the westward of the Ticino would stand upon the same grounds as the declaration of the Frankfort Government, that the Piedmontese troops could not be permitted to enter the Tyrol.

Now with regard to the assistance which Piedmont may expect from France, General Perron will of course receive his answer from the French Government ; but as to the latter point there is evidently an important difference between the two cases which General Perron represents as similar, and the difference consists in this,—that the Tyrol being part of the territory of the German Confederation, the Frankfort Government is justified in preventing any hostile foreign force from entering it ; whereas Piedmont not being a part of France, it is not necessarily incumbent on the French Government to provide for the defence of Piedmont.

Her Majesty's Government earnestly hope that the Piedmontese Government will act with prudence and circumspection in these matters, and will not expose to great calamities the country with whose interests it is charged ; but that it will on the contrary trust to the good offices of the mediating Powers for obtaining terms of peace which may be honourable to both parties, although they may not entirely satisfy the wishes and pretensions of either.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 671.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 29.)

(Extract.)

Paris, December 26, 1848.

I HAD a conversation of some length with M. Drouyn de Lhuys yesterday on the subject of the joint mediation in the affairs of Italy.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said the French Government were quite prepared to go on with the negotiations and immediately to name a Plenipotentiary. He inquired of me what expectations I entertained of any favourable result from the meeting at Bussels.

I admitted that the position of extreme antagonism latterly more than ever assumed by the two parties between whom we were to mediate, certainly afforded but small hopes that we should be able to effect a satisfactory settlement ; but that the abandonment of the attempt at this moment would render war between these parties almost inevitable, and I thought the conferences might lead to some good, and promote a better understanding. For instance, there were some points connected with the Armistice on which the Government of Turin had desired to be allowed to right of itself, and the mediating Powers had suggested that the appeal should be made to them at the conferences.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys and I then went through the different proposals which it was possible we might make to the parties when assembled. These

were in accordance with suggestions which have been made at different periods since the mediation was proposed.

The Minister expressed his satisfaction that we seemed likely to agree on all these points.

No. 672.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 29

(Extract.)

Paris, December 28, 1848.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS seemed uneasy at some reports which he had heard of an Austrian attack upon Venice. He said that if Venice were to fall now, upon the eve of the conferences, it would produce so fatal an impression as to render them almost impossible, as the mediating Powers had always held to the complete suspension of hostilities on both sides during their intervention. M. Drouyn de Lhuys wished me again to impress the importance of this point upon your Lordship.

I promised to do so, but assured him that I knew you had made most energetic and repeated representations to the Cabinet of Vienna on the subject of Venice.

No. 673.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 30.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 24, 1848.

THE Bishop of Savona, Monsignor Riccardi, and M. de Montezemolo have been sent by the present Sardinian Cabinet on a mission to the Pope to propose, in the name of His Sardinian Majesty, that His Holiness should come and reside at Nice, or at any other point of His Sardinian Majesty's dominions which he might select, until he should deem it expedient to return to his own dominions.

I have not however much expectation that His Holiness will be permitted to accept of this offer on the part of His Sardinian Majesty and of his Government.

The Count Arese, a Milanese nobleman, has been dispatched to Paris on a complimentary mission to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

No. 674.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 30.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, December 24, 1848.

A LETTER has been written by His Holiness the Pope to the young Emperor Francis Joseph, in which letter His Holiness addresses the Emperor as his "très cher fils," and requests his assistance against his rebellious subjects.